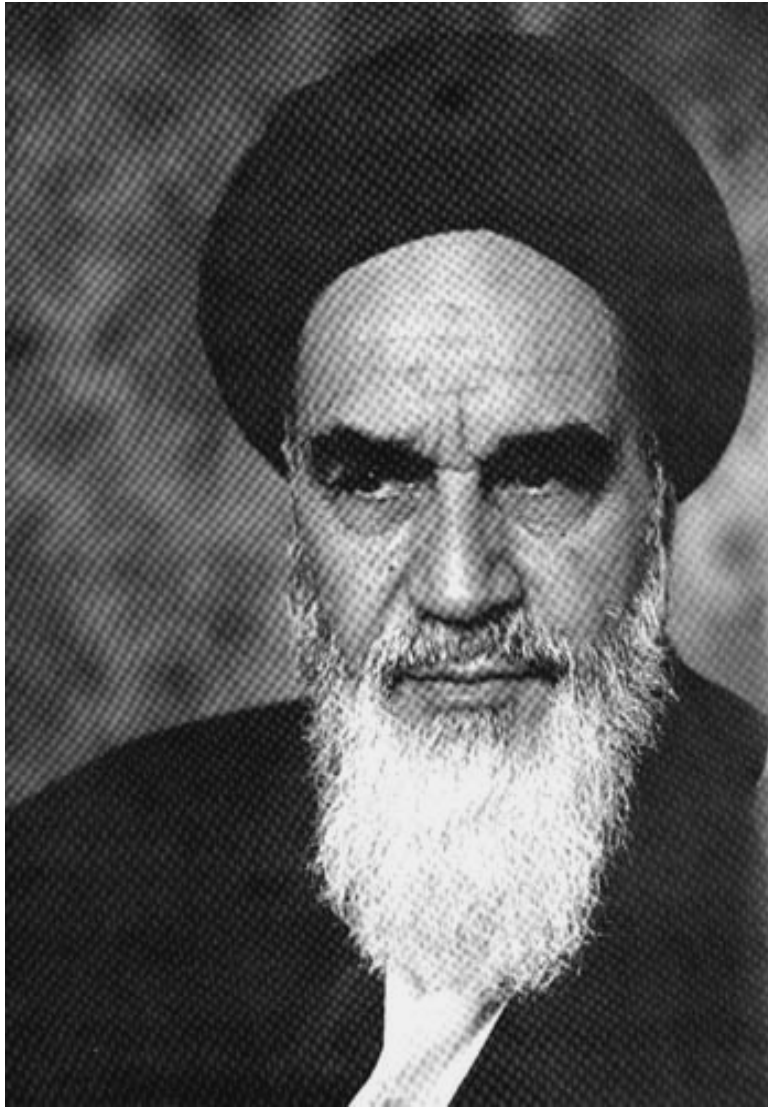




**IN THE NAME OF ALLAH,  
THE ALL-BENEFICENT, THE ALL-MERCIFUL**







**SHINING TORCH  
OF  
THE ISLAMIC REVOLUTION OF IRAN**

(A Survey of the Conduct and Political Works of Imām Khomeinī)

By

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## **Shining Torch of The Islamic Revolution of Iran**

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## Transliteration Symbols

<u>Symbol</u>	<u>Transliteration</u>	<u>Symbol</u>	<u>Transliteration</u>
ء	'	أ	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
ه	h	و	w
ی	y	ة	ah
<u>Long Vowels</u>		<u>Short Vowels</u>	
آ	ā		a
ای	ī		i
او	ū		u
<b>Persian Letters</b>			
<u>Symbol</u>	<u>Transliteration</u>	<u>Symbol</u>	<u>Transliteration</u>
پ	p	چ	ch
ژ	zh	گ	g

## ***Preface***

Imām Khomeinī is one of the prominent Muslim scholars of contemporary world and a history making man of the world of Islam. He not only guided a great and man making revolution in the last third 20<sup>th</sup> century, but also managed to shine out like a brilliant sun on the horizon of the sky of civilization of the Islamic-Iranian Revolution despite numerous restrictions and obstacles in a dark and gloomy period. With the rays he exuded from himself, he laid the foundation of Islamic Republic system in Iran; He also shouldered the leadership of the Islamic establishment of Iran for a period of ten years. The Imām also constructed major foundations and laid the foundation for important thoughts and new military ideas in the history of this land. With his prophetic leadership, along with loyal people of Iran he managed to shatter the prestige of the western world powers and shine out the light of enlightenment and revivalism among Muslims of the world.

Islamic Revolution of Iran as the a glaring and living fact is regarded as the product of thought of that great man, a thought that can be regarded as dynamic, direction giving and promising not only for us Iranians but also for many people of the world. As architect, constructor, manager, leader, theoretician and ideologue of the Islamic Republic system he managed to present fundamental ideas in this respect.

His thought was undoubtedly inspired from Islam, political wisdom of thinkers and philosophers of Muslim World, Islamic theology and being under the influence of Islamic mysticism, Muslim mystics, Islamic *fiqh* and Muslim *fuqahā*. In this mid, what is more vivid in the worlds of that honorable one more than other cases is the impact of mysticism and mystical

ideas of that great mystic and his Shī'ah *fiqh* attitude.

Understanding the lifestyle and political works of Imām Khomeinī however brief is of great significance for us from different aspects:

*Firstly*, he is a Muslim thinker and particularly follower of the school of Imām 'Alī ('a) and his immaculate sons; that is, follower of Shī'ah school.

*Secondly*, Imām Khomeinī in the realm of politics and political affairs of society has prominent views and votes the analysis and study of which can open the way for many problems of our society today.

*Thirdly*, Imām Khomeinī is the leader of a great revolution that managed to overthrow one of the despotic and puppet regimes, replacing it by an Islamic Republic establishment. Most certainly, leader of any revolution has fundamental and determining ideas and viewpoints on that revolution and the system based on that revolution. Accordingly, to understand any revolution and awareness of its different dimensions is one of the most important and effective ways for understanding thoughts of the leader of that revolution and system. Therefore, for understanding the Islamic Revolution of Iran and the Islamic Republic establishment, one should study Imām Khomeinī and his ideas and beliefs well and gain correct knowledge of them.

*Fourthly*, Imām Khomeinī is counted as not only leader of a great popular revolution but also founder and administrator of a political system. He also laid the foundation for Islamic Republic in collaboration with and through the efforts of people of Iran.

### **Political Thought of Imām Khomeinī (ṣ)<sup>1</sup>**

Governance and lead the republic: Ten years of administration of society is an enormous political experience that can undoubtedly play a fundamental role in formation of political ideas and thoughts of Imām Khomeinī. Moreover, appreciation of theoretical and practical experience of him in the course of this period of relatively long time can be guiding in many of the cases for advancement of society. Therefore, from one aspect, thought and action of him were correlated. On the other hand, his political lifestyle can interpret his thought and viewpoints and can play a fundamental role in establishing and strengthening his theoretical findings or playing fundamental role in formation of his political thought of Islamic Republic and its foundations. As such, we heed here the political ideas and thoughts of

---

<sup>1</sup> Political Idea/second ample/Quds/20/7/1384/correction of some pages 12/9/1384/correction of some pages along with namāyeh 18/11/1384 AHS/name and family ANDISEG-2/correction 17/12/1384 AHS.

a thinker who has himself experienced administration of a society that is product of a revolution in practice and this experience undoubtedly produces profound impact on his ideas and its profundity.

*Fifthly*, Imām Khomeinī has been a militant man and justice-seeking and oppression fighting individual and justice-seeking and oppression fighting occupies the top of his practical programs and political lifestyle. This comes at a time when militant and justice-seeking individuals usually has significant thoughts regarding men from tyranny, oppression and despotism and from this angle dealing with the thoughts and ideas of him is of serious significance for us.

*Finally*, Imām Khomeinī is a scholar and scientist in different realms such as *fiqh*, mysticism, philosophy, theology and to some extent exegesis and history in which he is specialized and well-versed. From two attitudes and style as an informed and specialized scientist mingled with commitment and *taqwā* or piety he is a model and prototype for us. Generally speaking, based on what was pointed out, research into the ideas and thoughts of Imām Khomeinī and presentation of his viewpoints with a view to issues developing society can serve as a way guiding all, particularly the younger generation.

In survey of the political policies and behavior of Imām Khomeinī, some research works have been conducted each of which is of value and appreciable, but what is more important is that majority of these works are with single subject or one dimension. That is to say, it deals with a dimension of the dimensions of the political style of Imām Khomeinī and ignoring the other dimensions. However, such works and one dimensional works and single subjects bar full appreciation and all out understanding of the life of Imām Khomeinī. Also majority of the works conducted in this realm seems to be incomplete in terms of use of resources as in major form depends only on memoirs or simply on *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām* or set of messages and his words and not many of his written and unwritten works and about him. Therefore, such works and researches cannot present a general and symbolic picture of the political style and behavior and political works of Imām Khomeinī. Some of the works have been written with a special attitude or monolog. Such writings can also be raised as propaganda food for those raising attitudes desired by them so that it would be expressive of symbolic pictures from ideas, viewpoints and style of Imām Khomeinī.

With a view to the ground of time, place and status of revelation—and therefore along with previous interpretations so far written some had also been written with more general perspective in terms of writing without

considering the bounds of special time and place, exigencies and conditions of the age.

Interpretation of the minute by minute report of the political life of Imām Khomeinī will not suffice for expressing his style as observed in some of the written works in this seminary although it reveals part of the truth; it cannot depict a clear picture of the generality of the style of this great man. Actually, minute by minute report or diary deals with partial style and personal life in separate and disconnected course of events and even without considering the thread of their development.

To survey the style and political works of that thinker, particularly when the aim for supply of a brief and useable collection for all layers of society the following points should be noted:

*Firstly*, the purpose behind study of the style and works of a personality is to present a symbolic and telling picture of him and his life and works. Therefore, some sort of perfection is significant in study and research into the attempt in that it can present a general image and symbolic picture and at the same time telling and brief portrayal to the reader.

Therefore, in survey of Imām Khomeinī's political style, one should note two important, telling and comprehensive signs in brevity.

*Secondly*, in study of the life of a personality it should be noted that his nucleus of political attitude and policy should be clarified for readers, being parted and distinguished from the skin and surface. Here, some sort of attempt to outstanding is under consideration, but this aggrandizement should not cause forgetfulness of some other aspects of his life and exigencies of time that is naturally more secondary.

*Thirdly*, in study of a political-religious character, personal and group understanding should be separated from the major text and content of his life. It is because these two would be misunderstood and truth of attitude and life and decision making and truth of his behavior remain hidden in personal and collective background are concealed at times.

*Fourthly*, it should be noted that partial understanding or interpretation of events of life are also useful that are accomplished in the arena of very massive arena or in a special frame, while in survey of political style of personality with various dimensions partial understanding of events and behaviors would not be workable and useful. It may occasionally result in emergence of conflict in viewpoints of that scholar. In study of the life of a personality, particularly one's political life, generality is of greater significance than parts in the frame of partial interpretation of behaviors. Moreover, such understanding triggers elimination of internal and

fundamental bonds and general attitude and style of that personality and in absence of integrity in that personality, while general and all-out attitude and style stresses one's internal bond and integrity.

*Fifthly*, in study of the life of an important character it is important to pay attention to intellectual pillars, conditions of time and place as these two influences the behavioral frame and disposition of that personality. This issue is of greater significance with regard to Imām Khomeinī because he took up political affairs with a comprehensive, universal, spiritual, ethological and knowledge-oriented aspect.

Above all, we should know that political style should be presented in a way that it should firstly be helpful in the sense that it should open a bright future for the reader or be presented as a model and prototype for individuals. Therefore, aim at mission is regarded as the most important issue in any affair, particularly occupying a special place in political thought and it consists of counsel, alarming, removing shortcomings that are disastrous, giving alarm of unfavorable existent situation or swarming to preserve a situation that is favorable to better in a way that it prevent worsening of the situation and resulting in better situation. The mission of political thought aims to lead man from bewilderment and crookedness in administration of leading to justice and truth. Foregoing this, survey of the style and works of a scholar or scientist cannot be dynamic or contributing to opening any way for the better. The main purpose of presenting political style of outstanding men or women is their dynamism, helpfulness, ability to change for the better, introduction of favorable discipline and in general enjoyment of mission and its goal and that lofty and sublimated goal and mission.

Secondly, political style should be studied and searched in a way that introduces change in the nature of political order of society. Accordingly, in this world while a voiding one-dimensional looks, monolog or special inclinations or discriminatory treatment with the style ad political wars of Imām Khomeinī we made attempt to present a general and all out picture of however brief of the political life and works of Imām Khomeinī. The picture heeding the reception of truth of life and his works keeping it away from misunderstanding and one-dimensional attitudes and monologs is presented here. On this basis, we have raised the question on four general aspects, existences of time and place, political style, political works and its general hint at intellectual and political foundation. Therefore, the work has been constituted from one introduction and four chapters.

In the introduction in the frame of a general theoretical and research theory and need for study of the issue and its significance, groundwork, goal,

method, organization is given attention. The first chapter studies the exigencies of his time. Second chapter covers political style of Imām Khomeinī in brief and in transient manner. In third chapter important works and symbolic works are treated in some important works of this noble man. In chapter four also general reference is made to theoretical and intellectual foundation and thought of Imām Khomeinī such as knowledge, ontology, human logy, ethics and political outlook.

It is hope that this work can present a be helpful in presenting a symbolic and outstanding picture the political life and works of Imām Khomeinī in simple frame understandable for all layers of society, succeeding in correct reconsideration of political life ad his intellectual system. Obviously, plagues and defects of the book are the writers' and the men of knowledge and research should not spare the writer of their guidance's and suggestions.

In the end, I thank God for granting success in enabling us to present the however small drop of the ocean of the existence of the Imām unfolding it before the people of the world.

May God's peace be upon those who follow the right path



## *Chapter 1*

### **Exigency of Time during the Life of Imām Khomeinī (s)**

#### **Introduction**

Since political personalities of political views do not assume shape in vacuum and are not made in vacuum do not create change in vacuum (... they are like pearl: it is meant that they are not created minus move.)<sup>1</sup> That is, in a way their character and its formation is answer to some fundamental and urgent problems and difficulties of existing society that attracts the view of that character. Therefore, impact and exigencies of time and lack of discipline existing in formation and emergence of that personality has a fundamental share. Whether their main goal is that fundamental principle and infrastructure political system existing are surveyed critically and embark on edification of people and society. Weather in the face of status quo takes on a conservative state and began confirming it. Of course, our character under discussion here aims to changing social impact by a constructive character. As put by Imām Khomeinī:

“Who is responsible to edify the society? It is upon the ‘*ulamā*’ and scholars and scientists... it is upon the ‘*ulamā*’ of villages everywhere, thinkers of villages everywhere they are, teachers, experts everywhere they are. This obligation and duty primarily is directed to them and all people are bound.”<sup>2</sup>

That is why prominent characters in reaction to exigencies of time turn to

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<sup>1</sup> Tomas Spriknez; *ibid.*, p. 49.

<sup>2</sup> *Ṣahīfeh-ye Imām*: Collection of the Works of Imām Khomeinī, Tehran: the Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imām Khomeinī’s Works, edition 2, vol. 19, pp. 134-135.

reconstruction, admonition and edification of society and on this basis and in view of the significance and impact of conditions and exigency of time in formation of development generated by political character like subject of Imām Khomeinī here we firstly study some of the issues and important exigencies of the time of Imām Khomeinī in three axes (Iran, region and the world).

## **1. Iran**

### **A) From Beginning to 1322 AHS**

Imām Khomeinī came to this world<sup>1</sup> in conditions that Iran experienced one of its hardest conditions of its history. The constitutional movement went astray with the conspiracies and oppositions of agents of Britain in Qājār court and domestic differences and treason of a number of westernized intellectuals and once again despotic government was established. Tribal nature of Qājār kingdom and weakness and inability and inefficiency of its leaders brought about intense economic and social disturbances of Iran and opened the hand of khāns and rebels open in depriving security of people. Also in the same period, in two world wars Iran's neutrality was violated and our land was subjected to invasion of allied forces. These conditions left lasting impact on this great man who was then (World War I) in the prime of his youth and in his young days (World War II).

For instance, Imām Khomeinī remembers his memoirs of the World War I while he was a 12-year-old boy in the following words:

I remember both world wars. I was young but I used to go to school and met the Soviet forces in the very center we had in Khomeinī. I saw them there and we were subjected to invasion in the World War II. These are the only world wars in the events of the region engaging the attention of the Imām.

Elsewhere, Imām Khomeinī has noted that the list of some of the khāns and tyrannical tyrants embarked on plundering until were embroiled in the World War I.<sup>2</sup>

Elsewhere, Imām Khomeinī says,

‘Since my childhood I was in war... We were subjected to the attacks of hostile tribes; we had rifle. While I was almost in my early puberty age and was a child, we went round the bunkers set up in our locality to avert their

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<sup>1</sup> Imam Khomeini was born on the 29<sup>th</sup> of Jumādī al-Thānī, 1320 lunar calendar in Khomein district of central province.

<sup>2</sup> *Ṣahīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 21.

attacks and lootings, inspected the bunkers.<sup>1</sup>

In another place the Imām observed:

In the very place we lived; that is, Khomein, we set up bunkers. I also had a rifle. Obviously, I was a child and did as my childhood allowed. As a 15- or 16-year-old boy, we held gun. We received training with gun. We used to sit in the bunkers and fight the rebels who attacked us and wanted to plunder us. There was chaos. The central government had not power and chaos prevailed everywhere.<sup>2</sup>

These words indicate the critical conditions of that day of Iran's society leading to 1299 court with the intervention of aliens. The coup launched by Sayyid Ḍiyā' and RiḌā Khān in third Esfand 1299 had been organized by Britain and its support as demonstrated by documents and historical cases. Although it ended the shameful monarchy of Qājārs in Iran and to some extent restricted the tribal rule of government of mereneraeies of khan and the riopter scarttered here and there. However, it created a dictatorship under whose shaddow a one thousands family gradually began ruling the country. The dynasty of Pahlavī singly dominated Iran as stooges of aliens. In general, the basis of domestic policy of government of RiḌā Khān was based on three principles: violence, all-out stduggle with religion and westernization, persisted throughout the time of the rule of Pahlavī.

In such conditions, Iranian '*ulamā*' who had been subjected to the uncasing attack of the then governments and agents of Britain on the one hand and enmities of modern westernized people on the other after the constitutional movement began their struggle for defending Iran, Islam and preservation of their own entity. The grand *marja*' Shaykh 'Abd al-Karīm Ḥā'irī Yazdī at the invitation of the then '*ulamā*' of Qum migrated from Qum to Arāk and embarked on setting up Qum Theological Seminary (Fayḏiyyah School). Some time later Imām Khomeinī who had completed the preliminary and intermediate courses in theological seminary in Khomein and Arāk came to Qum under impression of Ḥā'irī Yazdī and since then began active participation in the newly established Qum's seminary.

Since his early education, Imām Khomeinī had special interest in pursuing political and social issues. This happened when RiḌā Shāh had strengthened the pillars of his monarchy in the early years and implemented massive programs for eliminating the cultural impacts of Islam and Iran in

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 11, pp. 12-13.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 11, p. 269.

Iranian society. For instance, he had closed *rawḍah* sessions and religious preaches in separate orders, banned teaching of religious matters and Qur'an in schools and initiated murmurs of removing *ḥijāb*.

In contrast, immigration and sit-in of '*ulamā*' and superficial retreat of the regime was a suitable opportunity for Imām Khomeinī to become acquainted with issues of struggle and manner of battle between clerics and the ruling regime by being present in the currents at close range. Meantime, several months prior to this event, in Nowrūz 1306 AHS another issue of clash of squabble of Āyatullāh Bāqī with Riḍā Khān in Qum and surrender of the city by military forces and injury of this militant alim by the Shāh and his exile to the city of Rey took place. This event and similar events and the currents going in legislative assembly at this time, particularly the words and struggles of famous and militant '*ālim* Āyatullāh Sayyid Ḥasan Mudarris produced tremendous impact on Imām Khomeinī. The impacts of struggles of Mudarris on Imām Khomeinī were such that Imām Khomeinī recognized him as wise leader and a noted model. For instance on him the Imām observed:

We say the like of Mudarris should sit at the head of legislative board and executive and judicial power so that the country would be rid of this state of destitution.<sup>1</sup>

Or out of them (religious '*ulamā*') real human beings are produced; like Mudarris is produced; Sayyid Ḥasan Mudarris is produced<sup>2, 3</sup>.

Imām Khomeinī embarked on his struggles in the area of religion, seminary, politics and society under the impression of struggles of individuals such as father, mother, Sayyid Ḥasan Mudarris, Bāqī and... and with a view to responsibility of men of knowledge and awareness of time.

For instance when Riḍā Pahlavī issued order for holding state examination for religious students (*tullāb*) and '*ulamā*' in order to disrupt the theological seminary of Qum, Imām Khomeinī began disclosing the goals of regime in this respect and raised voice against it.

After demise of Āyatullāh al-'Uzmā Ḥā'irī (10 Bahman 1315 AHS), Qum Theological Seminary was subjected to the threat of dissolution. Committed '*ulamā*' began finding a solution. For a period of eight years Qum

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<sup>1</sup> Political Thought, Sample two, improvement of some pages 12/9/1384 AHS, correction along with *namāyeh* 18/11/1384 AHS, file name *Andīsh-2/Correction* 17/12/1384 AHS.

<sup>2</sup> *In Search of Path of the Imām*, office five, personalities, Tehran, Amīr Kabīr Publications, vol. 2, pp. 16-17, 1370 AHS.

<sup>3</sup> *Ṣahīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 1, p. 309.

Theological Seminary was superintended by grand *āyatullāhs* such as Sayyid Muḥammad Ḥujjat, Sayyid Ṣadr al-Dīn Ṣadr and Sayyid Muḥammad Taqī Khwānsārī. After the fall of Riḍā Khān, conditions for realization of religious authority in one person were provided. In these conditions, Imām Khomeinī in inviting Āyatullāh Borūjerdī to immigrate to Qum and accepting the dire responsibility of authority of the seminary seriously struggled. At this time, Imām Khomeinī closely watched the political condition of society and situation of seminaries. He completed his information by constant reading of contemporary historical books, magazines and the then newspapers and visiting Tehran and meeting noted '*ulamā*' such as Mudarris.

In Shahrīvar 1320 AHS, Iran was occupied by allied forces in Second World War. The regime ruling Iran had equipped the army for a period of 20 years by spending exorbitant expenses so that he could imprison the breath in the chest of his people surrendered in the face of invasion of occupiers. As confessed by Muḥammad Riḍā Pahlavī, his soldiers escaped the scenes of conflict prior to confrontation and fighting the aggressors.<sup>1</sup> After that order of the royal government was issued from British embassy and with green light of another members of *muttafiqīn* front; that is, the Soviet Union under the name of Muḥammad Riḍā Pahlavī. In this way, once again a chapter replete with pain and suffering began in line with sale of independence and dignity of the country. Of course, in early years of rule of Muḥammad Riḍā, relative freedom provided brought about opportunity for expression of truth of society because:

Simultaneously, political prisoners were released and religious gathering and other gatherings could now be held openly. Dailies and books could be published irrespective of political censorship. People could freely speak in their houses without fear of *mansūbīn* and servants betray them...<sup>2</sup>

It was at this time that group of Fadā'iyān-e Islām (devotees of Islam) first mooted the idea of establishing Islamic government heeded the way of forceful and armed struggle in conditions of domination of dictatorship.

In describing the suffocating conditions of the years of rule of Riḍā Khān, Imām Khomeinī had versified the following:

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<sup>1</sup> Muḥammad Riḍā Pahlavī, *Mission for My Land*, Tehran: Pocket Book Joint Company, third edition, pp. 88-89.

<sup>2</sup> Muḥammad 'Alī Kātūziyān, *Iran's Political Economy*, Tehran: Pāpīrūs, vol. 2, pp. 11-12, 1368 AHS, Muḥammad Golbon and Yūsuf Sharīfī, *Trial and Those Trying...* Tehran, Noqreh Publisher, 1363 AHS, Muḥammad Ḥasan Rajabī, *Imām Khomeinī's Political Life*, Tehran, Qiblah Publisher, vol. 1, edition 4, pp. 103-106, 1374 AHS, and... Of course the main goal of Furūqī has been to give conditional freedom to people to prevent a fundamental movement by them.

Where can we cry out of the tyranny of Riḍā Shāh?  
Where can we complain against this demon?  
The moment there was some breath to take he closed the way to wail,  
Now there is no breath to cry out.<sup>1</sup>

At this time he found the opportunity suitable and by writing and publishing the valuable book *Kashf al-Arār* (1322 AHS), the Imām disclosed some of the crimes of the regime and by defending Islam and religious 'ulamā' began providing answer to the misgivings and attacks of the book of One Thousand Years Secrets. Also it was in this book that idea of Islamic government and the need for revolt to establish it was for the first time popped up.

Meantime, at this time as the result of occupation of Iran by the allied forces, the country suffered from poverty and dire economic problems, providing the ground for public discontent. This matter along with relative freedom and increase of political awareness of people towards the goals and performance of British colonization paved the ground for Iran National Movement.

In the course of relative free Majlis elections in the 16<sup>th</sup> period, a number of real representatives of people found their way into Majlis on top of whom stood Āyatullāh Kāshānī and Dr. Muḥammad Muṣaddiq. Several months after convention of the Majlis, Muḥammad Muṣaddiq who chaired the oil commission raised the idea of oil industry nationalization. Āyatullāh Kāshānī strongly supported the idea and called the struggle for implementation of religious and national obligation of Muslim people of Iran. With the growth of the revolution and taking a popular nature, Iran's oil became nationalized. However, intervention of foreigners, difference among heads of the movement and other numerous factors were involved and eventually a coup orchestrated by the US and Britain in 28 Mordād 1332 AHS took place for this progressive movement followed by fall of government of Muṣaddiq and emergence of suffocating atmosphere and dependence of the regime ruling over Iran on the US.<sup>2</sup>

### **B) From 1322 to 1357 AHS**

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<sup>1</sup> Muḥammad 'Alī Kātūziyān, *Political Economy of Iran*, Tehran: Pāpīrūs, vol. 2, 1368 pp. 1, 12, Muḥammad Golbon and Yūsuf Sharīfī and Trialers, ..., Tehra: Noqreh Publisher, 1363 AHS, Muḥammad Ḥasan Rajabī, *Political Biography of Imām Khomeinī*, Tehran, Qiblah Publisher, vol. 1, pp. 103-106, fourth edition, 1374, and... of course main goal of Furūqī government has been this and by granting conditional freedoms to people prevented a fundamental popular movement.

*Dīwān-e Imām Khomeinī*, Tehran, the Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imām Khomeinī's Works, 13<sup>th</sup> edition, p. 442.

<sup>2</sup> Muḥammad Ḥusayn Jamshīdī, *American Behaviorology versus Iran National Movement*, Tehran, Cetner for Documents of the Islamic Revolution, first edition, 1378 AHS.

The king and the court after the coup came fully under the control of the US in conditions different from previous period in a way that the regime ruling Iran turned to a way that the regime ruling Iran turned to an affiliated and puppet regime. During one decade after the coup hundreds of foreign companies were established in Iran and as the result of the policy of open doors, import of goods in 1338 AHS grew six times as much as 1332 AHS and export of non-oil goods decreased. At this time, a noticeable part of the country's income was spent on army. Only 10 years after the 32 coup, the army's budget increased four times and military expenditures were averagely increase by 26% annually.<sup>1</sup> In this manner, ground for paved for emergence of an unpopular army affiliated to the American military advisors.

Formation of SAVAK in 1336 AHS and demolition of opponents and intensification of suffocating climate for paving the ground for social conditions for American reforms speeded up. However, social and economic fiber of Iran's agriculture was counted as a major impediment for American reform in Iran.

The Cold War and intense competition of America and the Soviet Union added to the sensitivities of strategic Persian Gulf region. The White House had fixed eyes avidly on oil interests of Iran and the region, preferring the regime and the Shāh to act as gendarme of the Persian Gulf and protect the interests of the west in the region to any other regime existing in the region. In establishing link with the Shāh and supporting his regime, the US sought another goal: support for the Quds occupying regime of Israel. At that time, confrontation of the Islamic countries with occupying Israel was predicted as an inevitable matter. Therefore, the Shāh's regime as a favorable ground for creation of rift in the world of Islam was heeded. Oil had a fundamental role in this story. In case of emergence of confrontation between Muslims and Israel energy crisis would follow and triggering concern of the west. Development, discovery and exploitation of Iran's oil and stability of the regime as guarantee for decrease of crisis in such situation rose.

In these conditions a large number of bills and plans proposed for changing the conditions in Iran were presented to the senate and national consultative assembly. In this mid, the plan agrarian reform was an experimented step for paving the ground for ratification of the principle of famous movement known as the white revolution or revolution of the Shāh and people. Agrarian reform was raised with great propaganda and slogans such as combat against khans and feudal, distribution of land among

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<sup>1</sup> Muḥammad Ḥasan Rajabī, *ibid.*, p. 114.

deprived farmers and increase of production and in 20 Dey 1340 AHS after approval was implemented legally.

Opposition to behind the curtain goals of agrarian land reform raised by the regime, was regarded as support for big land owners and suppressed. After demise of Āyatullāh al-'Uzmā Borūjerdī in 10/1/1340 AHS and experience of religious authority, the Shāh's regime gave greater acceleration to the reform and attempted to transfer the question of religious authority to outside of Iran as well.

State and provincial associations bill according to which condition of being Muslim and swearing by the holy Qur'an and vacillation of voters and candidates changed was approved by cabinet of Asadullāh A'lam in Mehr 1341 AHS. As stated by some informed individuals, elimination and change had been considered as two primary conditions to legalize presence of Bahā'ī elements in high posts in the country. At this time, support of the Shāh of the Zionist regime in development of relations between Iran and Israel was the condition for the US support for the Shāh's regime and the influence of followers of Bahā'ī sect in Iran's three branches of power gave reality to this condition. As soon as the new of ratification of the said bill was released, Imām Khomeinī along with 'ulamā' of Qum and Tehran embarked on all-out protests after exchange of view.

Moreover, telegraphs of Imām Khomeinī to Shāh and the prime minister were clear and warning. For example, in one of the telegraphs one reads:

“I again advice you to succumb to the obedience of Almighty God and the Constitution and fear the aftermath of violation from the Qur'an and commands of 'ulamā' of the nation and zu'amā of Muslims and violation of law and do not pose a threat to the country without reason or else 'ulamā' of Islam will not spare comment on you.”<sup>1</sup>

The Shāh's regime in contrast embarked on threat and propaganda against 'ulamā' of religion. Asadullāh A'lam in his radio speech said: “The government will not withdraw from the reformist program in progress.” However, the scope of revolt began expanding. In Tehran, Qum and some other cities bazaars were closed and people gathered in mosques in support for the movement of 'ulamā'. Eventually, one month and a half after outset of this event, the government retreated and by sending a written reply by the Shāh and the prime minister began humiliating the 'ulamā' and their justification although refusing to send reply to Imām Khomeinī. This came when Imām Khomeinī staunchly continued with his opposition. He believed

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<sup>1</sup> *Ṣahīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 1, p. 90.



that the government should officially cancel the bill of state and provincial associations and publicize its news. Therefore, he openly announced:

“The Muslim nation will not remain silent until removal of these threats and if anyone keeps silent, one will be accountable to almighty God and subjected to destruction in this world.”<sup>1</sup>

Eventually, the regime accepted defeat in the face of the movement of ‘*ulamā*’ and people and in 7 Āzar 1341 AHS the cabinet officially cancelled its ratification. After agreement with Kenedy, the then president of the US, the Shāh raised the resignation of Amīnī and selection of Asadullāh A‘lam as prime minister in Dey 1341 AHS, raised the six principles of reform as principle of the white revolution or revolution of the Shāh and the nation and called for holding a referendum. At this time, some nationalist parties with the slogan of reforms yes, dictatorship no showed green light in the face of the regime. Iranian communists also with the analysis that the Shāh’s reforms expedites the dialectic trend of the feudal system to industrial and capitalist system were coordinated with the stand of the Soviet Union and called the principles of the white revolution progressive. In such conditions, Imām Khomeinī continued his struggles. At this time at his suggestion holding of the traditional feast of Nowrūz of 1342 AHS was boycotted in protest against the measures of the regime. In a statement, Imām Khomeinī described the white revolution as black revolution and revealed the concord of the Shāh with the goals of the US and Israel and called the government a dictator regime. In this statement he announced:

“I see the solution in the fact that this dictator government should abdicate for violation of commands of Islam and aggression against the constitution and a government committed to the rules of Islam and sympathizing with the Iranian nation come to power.”<sup>2</sup>

On the second day of Farvardīn 1342 AHS coinciding with the martyrdom of Imām Ja‘far Ṣādiq the regime’s armed forces disrupted the gathering of *tullāb* (theology students) of religious sciences in Fayḍiyyah School and subsequently police forces stormed the Fayḍiyyah School with hot arms. Concurrently, religious School of Ṭālibiyyah in Tabrīz was attacked by government agents.

Imām Khomeinī in his speech in 12 Farvardīn 1342 AHS strongly criticized the silence of ‘*ulamā*’ in Qum, Najaf and other Islamic lands in the

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 110.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 154.

face of new crimes of the regime, stating:

“Today silence is compliance with the tyrant system.”<sup>1</sup>

The next day he got published his famous statement under the title of loving the Shāh means pillaging and therein condemned the Shāh’s regime. At the end of the statement, he stressed that in these conditions *taqiyyah* is forbidden and expression of truth obligatory (even if *balagh mā balagh*). In the communiqué, Imām Khomeinī addressed the Shāh and his agents announcing:

“I have now prepared my heart for the bayonet of your agents, but will not make it ready for your bullying and submission to your tyrannies.”<sup>2</sup>

Thereafter, with the arrival of Muḥarram of 1342 AHS, Imām used the opportunity and invited the people to rise up against the regime. After that, numerous revolts took place the most important of which was the ‘Āshūrā Revolt of 1342 AHS. The revolts began in 13 Khordād 1342 AHS and continued up to 14 Khordād. In continuation of his path, the Imām in a historical speech in the afternoon of ‘Āshūrā of 1342 AHS addressed the Shāh, saying:

“Gentleman, I advise you... Stop doing such acts. Gentleman! You are being deluded... What is our relation between the Shāh and Israel prompting the Security Council said: Do not speak about Israel... Is the Shāh from Israel?...<sup>3</sup>

Following these events on the night of 15 Khordād of the same year, Imām Khomeinī was arrested and transferred to Tehran. On the morning of 15 Khordād, news of arrest of Imām Khomeinī was followed by demonstrations in many cities but all the cries were crushed. Asadullāh A‘lam made the following comment on the suppression:

“If we had retreated, unrest would permeate the four corners of the country and our regime fall with shameful surrender...”<sup>4</sup>

After suppressing the revolt of 15 Khordād and exile of Imām Khomeinī, the regime did not see any ambiguous obstacles on its way in order to realize its goals. Iran turned to heyday of military and political advisors and big

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<sup>1</sup> *Ṣahīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 1, 213.

<sup>2</sup> *Ṣahīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 1, 179.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 245-248.

<sup>4</sup> Ḥamīd Anṣārī, *The Narrative of Awakening*, Tehran, the Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imām Khomeinī Works, vol. 7, pp. 55-56, quoting secret memoirs of Asadullāh A‘lam.

investors of America and Europe who decided the destiny of our country. The situation of the government had reached a stage that court women were involved in appointment and ouster and Ashraf Pahlavī sister of the Shāh had been repeatedly revealed about her shames of moral corruption and acting as ringleader of drug gangs in foreign press. She had come to be known as one who did everything in the court. Selection of Amīr Abbās Huwaydā whose always tekeh kalam was may I be sacrificed for His Excellency and served for a period of 13 years in ceremonial cabinets of the Pahlavī regime meant that there is no longer the least sign of political independence of the country and sovereignty of people in its lowest levels.

The puppet regime governing Iran galloped rapidly towards its imaginary great civilization by following the west, a civilization constituted on propagation of culture of foreigners, spread of unprincipledness, pillage of national resources by hundreds of American and European companies in Iran, destruction of the pillars of relatively independent agriculture of Iran, making immigration of productive forces of Iran to marginal cities and turning them to jobless and consuming forces, development of assemblages, dependent and unnecessary industry and equipment of evesdropping bases and espionage and military bases of the US in Iran. One of the good features of this civilization can be called combat against illiteracy. According to consensus of illiteracy only in 1355 AHS there existed an equivalent of 52.9% of the population above seven years<sup>1</sup> were illiterate. When the Shāh in 1357 AHS escaped Iran, 25 years old elapsed since American domination over Iran and 15 years since the implementation of the white revolution. During this span of time despite the production and sale of unprincipled sale of oil and other national resources and supports of foreign governments, Iran not only did not rid of dependence but also increased its dependence on economic and military terms on foreign countries and parallel to this economic inconveniency and public poverty and injustice developed. In political terms, the Pahlavī regime had turned the country to one of the most dependent countries in the region on the west particularly the US and Europe. From cultural terms, spread of unprincipledness, corruption and lewdness and in religious terms lack of commitment to religion along with distortion of religious facts and disentanglement of religious ideas and elimination of religious values from society had overtaken Iran. In such conditions the nationwide movement of people of Iran; that is, the Islamic Revolution under

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<sup>1</sup> ‘Abd al-Riḍā Rukn al-Dīn Iftikhārī and ‘Alī Dīnī Turkmanī (providers) and Iran’s Economy, Tehran, the Institute for Commercial Studies and Researches, p. 59, 1371 AHS.

the leadership of Imām Khomeinī was launched to rescue the people of Iran from the paws of foreigners and eventually achieved victory in 2 Bahman of 1357 AHS.

## **2. World of Islam**

### **A. Cultural and Spiritual Crisis**

The world of Islam in the course of life of Imām Khomeinī had turned to materialism due to remoteness from Qur'an and rightful tradition of immaculate Imāms on the one hand and on the other under the influence of western hegemony, colonialism and liberalism and socialism orders and despite commanding fateful religious intellectual foundations was embroiled in the crisis of osrat of spirituality, *mahjūriyyat* of justice and forgetfulness of human nature. Imām Khomeinī introduced the basic factor responsible for crisis of Islamic society to be selfishness and abandonment of revolt for God:

“Selfishness and abandonment of revolt for God has brought about this black condition for us and made the whole world overpower us and making Islamic countries under the influence of others.”<sup>1</sup>

Critical situation has overtaken the political systems ruling over Islamic communities on the one hand and turned them to affiliate or puppet regimes of foreigners and on the other hand influencing the popular parties and organizations of Muslim countries. Therefore, two elements of lethargy and rigidity governed over Islamic communities in a way that these communities suffered from laxity, debility, inaction and above all lack of identity.

In the opinion of Imām Khomeinī this problem and crisis were observed in theological seminaries and scholarly centers of Muslims more than in other organizations. Theological seminaries on the one hand considered argument and philosophical reasoning to be forbidden thus resulting in tendency towards traditionalism and Ash'arism. With the efforts of Waḥīd Behbahānī and his predecessors official proponents of traditionalism were rooted out but tendencies towards Ash'arism and traditionalism remained surreptitiously in scholarly circles, with men of knowledge practicing them in their mind. This problem was followed by rigidity, sanctimoniousness and consequently materialism and despotism. Āyatullāh Sayyid 'Izzuddīn Zanjānī has said:

“The Imām observed that some of these sanctimonious people rinsed the vessel used by my Muṣṭafā, but I know that the situation was far worse than

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<sup>1</sup> *Ṣahīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 1, p. 22.

this and Imām Khomeinī only narrated part of that poisonous atmosphere.”<sup>1</sup>

Domination of such an attitude on the minds of theology students and men of letters resulted in negation of philosophical, mystical and political inclinations. For instance, on denial and excommunication of philosophers we read:

“The situation of philosophy was so bad that if somebody studied philosophy or taught it, he would be excommunicated.”<sup>2</sup>

On the other hand, teaching ethics and injecting the spirit of commitment had gone away from theological seminaries and the issue of purification of the self had been slid into oblivion, this affecting the materialism and daily life of men of letters. Imām Khomeinī examining the situation of edification of ethics and purification of the self in theological seminaries in his time writes in his book *Jihād-e Akbar* (the Greatest Jihād):

“One more year of our age elapsed. You young adults move towards old age and we old people move towards death. In this one academic year, you are aware of the limit of your education and scientific reserve. You know how much you have studied and to what extent elevated your scientific pillar. But what have you done with edification of ethics, acquisition of religious rites, divinely sciences and purification of the soul? What positive measures have you taken to this end...?”<sup>3</sup>

In continuation, he stresses the need for education and purification classes in a regrettable tone:

Unfortunately, in scholarly centers such necessary and urgent issues are given less heed. Spiritual and mental sciences are on the wane. There is feat that theological seminaries in the future cannot produce scholars of ethics, refined trainers and divinely men. Discussion and research into preliminary issues leaves no opportunity for dealing with fundamental and basic issues highly regarded by the holy Qur’an and Prophet of Islam and other Imāms and saints.”<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> ‘Alī Akbar Diyā’ī, *Role of Imām Khomeinī in Revival of Philosophical Thought*, Tehran, Qadr-e Wilāyat Cultural Institute, 1372, pp. 22-23, and refer to Imām Khomeinī, interpretation of Chapter *al-Ḥamd*, Tehran, the Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imām Khomeinī Works, third edition, pp. 189-193, 1376 AHS.

<sup>2</sup> ‘Alī Akbar Diyā’ī, *ibid.*, p. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Imām Khomeinī, *Struggle with the Self* (the Greatest Jihād), Tehran, Hūd Publisheer, Bītā, p. 11.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12.

In this book, Imām Khomeinī (s) alludes to three basic questions in connection with status quo of theological seminaries and scholarly centers as follows:

- 1- Disregard of training ethics and purification of self in scholarly centers;
- 2- Threat of fall of theological seminaries and scholarly centers (in case of continued situation generating disintegration of moral and human pillars and high morality);
- 3- Significance and necessity for acquisition of ethics through training struggle and travel.

Another problem posing a threat to religious learning and religious scholarly centers is single subject of discipline of *fiqh* and mere attention to individual as guardian, separation from society and as a result expansion of individuals subjects and abandonment of political and social subjects in a way that political and social debates such as defense, jihad, enjoining to good and forbidding evil acts were gradually eliminated or minimized. Moreover, other religious discipline such as theology, *ḥadīth*, ethics... were also weakened. This situation paved the ground for growth of individualisms, lack of attention to politics and society, strengthening of the theory of separation of religion from politics, remoteness of theology students and men of letters from politics and their lack of command over political and social insights, also fomenting differences among men of letters; the differences Imām Khomeinī criticizes by observing them in these words:

“These differences are dangerous. Irreparable corruption will overtake them, overthrow the seminaries, and discredit you in society, these groupings only end in your detriment. It will not bring discredit only to you but also to prestige of a society, a nation and disadvantage of Islam.”<sup>1</sup>

Also at this time domination of colonialism within the framework of cultural and social movement has shown its mask and thus encroached upon many aspects of the community of Muslims advancing deep into the Islamic countries, being raised as a threat menacing the foundation of Islamic communities. For this reason, Imām Khomeinī observed:

“Culture is the basis of a nation, basis of nationality of a nation, basis of independence of a nation and therefore they have attempted to colonize our

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 24.

culture and not to let real human being be produced.”<sup>1</sup>

### **B. Political Crisis**

In line with colonialist movement of the west, numerous political crises have overtaken the world of Islam. One of the most important of these crises is the existence of occupying and usurper government of Israel. The government of Israel is seen like a cancerous tumor in the sight of Imām Khomeinī for Middle East and Muslim countries, being agent in the hand of western colonialism and will not be content with Palestinian land, but also resort to all satanic means to create discord among Muslims. Therefore, it is obligatory for all Muslims to equip himself/herself in the face of Israel.

Also in regional policy dimension, from viewpoint of Imām Khomeinī Muslims have two major problems and all of the problems befallen them in these periods is due to these two problems. One is difference among states of Islamic countries that is the source of all their problems and the other is the problem of these governments with their nations in the sense that the states in Islamic societies treat their Muslim nations in a way that separation between them is quite palpable and nations will not support them.<sup>2</sup>

### **C. Revolt of Muslims**

Therefore, a number of fundamental crises stormed the world of Islam:

- 1) Existence of Israel and its expansionist goals,
- 2) Difference and clashes between states and Muslim people,
- 3) Existence of dictator and puppet heads and regimes dependent on foreigners in the world of Islam. Above all, in this period since one hundred back a little prior to birth of Imām Khomeinī movement of Muslims particularly Shī‘ahs across the world particularly in Iran and the Middle East region was launched with the enlightening measures and efforts of Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn Asadābādī and his competent predecessors. These efforts gradually were connected and paved the ground for emergence of Islamic Revolution in Iran on top of which Imām Khomeinī stood. It was a movement that since the beginning of Islamic civilization by immaculate Imāms, philosophers, informed and justice-seeking *fuqahā* had launched, bearing fruit at this time and the first fruit was victory of Islamic Revolution

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<sup>1</sup> *Ṣahīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 7, p. 57.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 9, p. 547.

in Iran. Therefore, Imām Khomeinī lived in an atmosphere replete with suffocation, despotism, difference, materialism, forgetfulness of spirituality and human values. On the other hand, he is confronting a movement taking shape in line with revival of sound human nature and alteration of secondary nature of human beings to their primordial and Godly nature. These two currents played a fundamental and fateful role in his political thoughts and ideas.

Murtaḍā<sup>1</sup> Muṭahharī writes on revivalist and new reformist current in the world of Islam:

“Since the second half of 13th century (19th Christian calendar) onward a reformist movement has been launched in the world of Islam. This movement covers countries such as Iran, Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Africa, Turkey, Afghanistan, India and...<sup>2</sup> These movements took place following a recession of several hundred years, being to some extent in reaction to onslaught of political and economic colonization of western culture. It is regarded as a sort of enlightenment and renaissance in the world of Islam.”

### **3. World and Its Fundamental Questions**

#### **A. Theoretical Foundations**

Exigencies of time concurrent with domestic developments of Iran and Islamic communities affected the formation of the ideas and viewpoints of Imām Khomeinī. Fundamental issues and developments determining the course of life of Imām Khomeinī consisted of domination of liberalism in the orient. The peak of this mentality may be found in the birth, growth and decline of Russian communist and socialist order (Leninism-Stalinism), emergence and decline of some extremist and totalitarian ideologies such as Nazism in Germany and Fascism in Italy and Stalinism in Soviet Union, power of nationalism, particularly in the Middle East region and the world of Islam, spread of nationalist ideologies or racist ideologies based on paganism such as Arabism, Pan Turkism; emergence of bipolar system and emergence of Cold War period, coming to power of the US and former Soviet Union and finally at the end of his life, relative victory of the west and liberalism in the Cold War and its impacts on attitude of communities and individuals towards domination instrumental wisdom and relativist attitudes on human sciences,

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<sup>1</sup> Murtaḍā Muṭahharī, *Brief Survey of Islamic Movements in the Recent One Hundred Years*, Tehran and Qum, Ṣadrā, edition 21, 1375 AHS, *ibid.*, p. 13.

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



emergence of post-modernist theories, expansion of communication and globalization of cultures and above all religious and political revival of the world peoples, particularly gradual resurrection of the world of Islam.

Also, domination of secularism or materialism, individualism and excessive practice of benefits impressed by other liberalist principles and new attitudes of the western world are regarded the most glaring features of this period. This matter naturally has followed lack of spirituality and remoteness from its global values; this remoteness from values and escape of spirituality has been achieved following man's all-out and complete attention to natural sciences and their methods. Therefore, during this period of time enormous advancements were granted to man in the realm of natural and experimental sciences, but in contrast absence of spirituality and reliance on pure materialism caused a type of vacuum in the mentality and spirit of contemporary man. This question that has engaged the attention of many scholars of the world has not also remained hidden from the sight of Imām Khomeinī in a way that he calls this the culture of today world's nations by study and identification of the culture ruling over his time in the following words:

“There is no one who does not know that turning to the culture of today world's nations and laying the foundation of new culture inspired from Islam in the world and resolute treatment of Islam with the US and Soviet Union would be followed by pressure, hardship, martyrdom and hunger.”<sup>1</sup>

Application of the term “low world” is expressive of decline of values-oriented and spiritual debility of the contemporary world, covering that dimension of the world whose feature is lowliness and pollution. Elsewhere, he touches on lack of reasoning and command of arms as one of the important features of big powers of the world. Quoting Shaykh al-Ra'īs Bū ‘Alī Sīnā as saying ‘I am scared of cow because it has weapon and not reason’<sup>2</sup> states:

“Now, these powers have arm but unfortunately do not have reason. And Mr. Carter also demonstrated this fact.”<sup>3</sup>

The viewpoint and attitude that has immersed in materialism on the one hand and on the other abandoned the reason of this precious human gem or degrading it to a simple instrument for pure computation is doomed to defeat

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<sup>1</sup> *Ṣahīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 21, p. 327.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 297.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

and decomposition. Imām Khomeinī outright expresses this subject thus:

“The thoughts that has now been defeated in Europe has come and been exported to this country and are being heeded while these ideas have suffered in Europe.”<sup>1</sup>

The slogans and cries of leaders of the politics of contemporary world are false and empty of content, being another feature of this period. For instance Imām Khomeinī alludes to the question of humanitarian claimed by the US calling it false and stating:

“One man for humanitarian purpose protects the criminal Muḥammad Riḍā for 50 years and this humanitarianism necessitates killing a nation out of hunger to protect a single person. All this because of humanitarian purpose... So was in Vietnam. It was due to their humanitarianism... They do not believe in the fact that man can and should be loved. They do not believe in this. They want everything for themselves.”<sup>2</sup>

That is why Imām Khomeinī raises the question of fundamental change; that is, transformation from secondary nature to primordial nature or development of western man to Islamic man in the face of such critical and deplorable situation in which question of spirituality and forgetfulness of ethics is openly felt.”<sup>3</sup>

Therefore, the culture governing the world in time of Imām Khomeinī’s life is a material culture constituted on humanism and capitalism and thus separate from spirituality and moral excellence. This culture that can be called western culture has been unable to understand the basic human principles such as freedom, reason in the sense of agents for liberation and salvation of man and differentiation of good from bad, justice, democracy, human rights although it has been able in the course of history to inculcate many of its values such as rationalism in the sense of computation, individualism, humanism, relativity, national sovereignty, progress and development in many people of the world. As a result, this culture has turned to the ideology governing the world capitalist order whose major goal is to supersede the world view and ideology of capitalists and materialists by human world view. In fact, today:

“Liberalism has turned simply to an alluring mask by which the world capitalism attempts to hide its ugly and anti human image and achieve its

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 11, p. 164.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 180.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 186.

global aims at the expense of colonization, plunder, growing depravity of deprived nations and massacre, crime and ...”<sup>1</sup>

## **B. Political Outlook**

From the viewpoint of Imām Khomeinī, contemporary situation is so critical that nothing governs the big countries and powers but seeking their interests and doing whatever crime and treason to achieve their interests. Those who imagine that today’s world led by the west can reach somewhere is entirely mistaken, because in the west that is regarded as pioneer of other contemporary communities nothing is observed by crime, lie, treason towards human species particularly oppressed nations:

“And if the gentlemen imagine that there is something in the west, they should know that there is nothing there but crime and treason.”<sup>2</sup>

Obviously, from perspective of Imām Khomeinī, the people and nations even in the west are separate from dominant powers, ruling governments, power wielders and capitalists, because they are also under the oppression of capitalists and dominant powers in their countries and unequal look at them is also rampant in western societies. Dependence of Iran’s government on the west in time of Pahlavī regime had placed Iran in a situation that the totality of the west was entangled in it:

“The Shāh had placed Iran from political viewpoint in the stand of the US and had always made Iran backer of oppressors and tyrants.”<sup>3</sup>

In the viewpoint of Imām Khomeinī, the socialist order of the Soviet Union and its supporters were embroiled in the same crisis as were the west. Therefore, materialist outlook dominate this system in a different manner. Accordingly, eastern bloc also goes the same way as does the west and the two systems are constituted on oppression and domination although in appearance and outward signs the two systems are different. On this basis, he observes:

“And they should know that inclusive propaganda of international communism like vociferous propaganda of global imperialism aim at nothing

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<sup>1</sup> *Ṣahīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 15, pp. 309-310.

<sup>2</sup> Muḥammad Ḥusayn Jamshīdī, *Political Thought of Martyr Imām Sayyid Muḥammad Bāqir Ṣadr*, Tehran, Office for Political and International Studies, vol. 1, p. 32, 1371 AHS.

<sup>3</sup> *Ṣahīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 11, p. 51.

but deluding and colonizing the downtrodden masses of people.”<sup>1</sup>

Elsewhere, the Imām says:

“The US is worse than Britain and Britain worse than the US; Soviet Union worse than the two; all are worse than the other; all are more wicked than the other. But today we are engaged in these rascals with the Americans.”<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 155; *ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 322.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 44.

## ***Chapter 2***

### **Political Lifestyle of Imām Khomeinī (S)**

#### **1. General Features**

The most outstanding features of political lifestyle of Imām Khomeinī can be outlined as follows:

1. Adoption of clear policy and stands in uprising, combat and jihād,
2. Outright declaration of these stands and refusing to draw them back,
3. Resolution and decisive resolve in following up the goals,
4. Sincerity in taqwā in thought, outlook of move and decisions,
5. Revolutionary faith inspired from reason and wisdom,
6. Seeking right and justice,
7. Principled tendency towards ijtihād,
8. Order and coordination in life,
9. Reliance on ethics and spirituality in thought, attitude, words and deeds,
10. Correct and logical look at politics and its manifestations and considering politics synonymous with guidance of human beings towards happiness and real perfection,
11. Attention to nobility of man being two dimensional (physical and psychological),

Reliance on Islam as a comprehensive political and spiritual school of thought and examining the impacts of statements and stands of many of religious and political personalities of time as clearly as difference of extent of commitment of Imām Khomeinī to goals and resolutions for continuation of the movement, revealing the difference with others. In a word, he corresponds to one of the most outstanding Islamic figures among noted Islamic personalities in the course of history of this religion in terms of knowledge and understanding of religion and vast Islamic disciplines, *taqwā* and internal stations.<sup>1</sup>

Imām Khomeinī believed in the right path and justice; that is, borrowing his words, the straight path and accordingly in the entire period of struggle he never withdraw his principle stands and despite difficulties and numerous vicissitudes each of which could serve as factor for changing stand and turning to silence and or compromise stressed on monotheism and lofty human values. Such resistance and perseverance is not attainable unless with a revolutionary and dynamic faith in superior pillars and truth of political and social exigencies of the day. Some of the primary writings of Imām Khomeinī well indicate the excellent features of faith, revolutionary faith and bubbling in the face of tyranny and oppressors ingrained in his psych in the early days of his entry into arena of knowledge and education and teaching. For instance, one of these writings is the historical and important message that in 15 Ordībehesht 1323 AHS (11 Jumādī al-Awwal 1363 AH) addressed the '*ulamā*' and nation of Iran being named as most historical documents of struggle of Imām Khomeinī.<sup>2</sup> For instance, in this document we read:

Purification of the self, purging the inner side, journey of the heart, supplication and its ecstasy, staying up, piety and detachment from material manifestations, unique courage, resolute and rushing will and political enlightenment and awareness of the exigencies of time, understanding commitment and responsibility, understanding the regime, people and society and their problems, presence beside the people and understanding their pains and sufferings, endless hatred of oppression and oppressor and despotic and colonialists, intelligence and outstanding acumen in the face of events sternness of the image, pleasing picture of the face, deep influence of look indicative of his sincerity, combating oppression, seeking justice, attention to Islam and Iran and defending rights of the deprived are some of the fundamental features of his political lifestyle.

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<sup>1</sup> Muḥammad Riḍā Ḥakīmī, *Interpretation of Sun*, Tehran, Office of Publication of Islamic Culture, p. 143, Bitā.

<sup>2</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 1, pp. 21-23, original copy in handwritten of this message is kept in Vazīrī Library.

Being pioneer in purification of the self and ethical journey turned him more than anything else to a constructive<sup>1</sup> model for others in a way that in theological seminary he also engaged the attention of many men of letters and theology students. His ethical lesson associated with his spiritual journey brought him capable audience. He held that God-given intention and incentive and sincerity in training and acquisition of knowledge is helpful otherwise, even the science of monotheism minus such an incentive will be veil:

“Uprising for God that helped the seal of the Prophet (ṣ) to conquer all Jāhiliyyah (Age of Ignorance) customs and beliefs single-handedly and replaced the idols by monotheism and taqwā causing the sacred essence to reach the spiritual position at a distant of two bows length or even nearer.<sup>2</sup> Selfishness and abandonment of uprising for God has degenerated us to this black state of affairs, making the world overpower us and making Islamic countries under the influence of others. O Muslim ‘ulamā’! O prominent clerics! O religious-bound scholars! Listen to the preaching of the Almighty God and accept the only way He has preached; Relinquish selfish benefits and abandon selfish gains so as to achieve the happiness in both worlds and embrace the honorable life of the two worlds... Today is a day when the breeze of clerics has blown and is the easy way for reformist revolt. If you lose ht opportunity and fail to rise up for god and do not invite for religious preaching tomorrow a handful of laws persons could overpower prestige of you and take control of your dignity and right subjecting them to their wrong identifications.”<sup>3</sup>

He was pioneer in self-purification and moral edification turning him to a constructive prototype for all other human beings in a way that in theological seminaries he had engaged the attention of many of the men of letters and knowledge as well as theology students. His ethics lessons that were overwhelming with his spiritual journey brought him notable audience. He believed that divinely intention and incentive and sincerity in training and acquisition of knowledge is guiding or else even science of monotheism is a veil without such an incentive:

“Sometimes science of monotheism is also ḥijāb or veil<sup>4</sup> and there are numerous ḥijābs that are denser than all this science ḥijāb or veil; that is what should be serving one to find the way will become obstacle. The science that

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<sup>1</sup> *Sūrah al-Najm*, verse 9.

<sup>2</sup> *Sūrah al-Najm*, verse. 9.

<sup>3</sup> *Ṣahīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 1, pp. 21-22.

<sup>4</sup> *Interpretation of Chapter al-Hamd*, p. 135.

should guide man may in fact obstacle man's guidance."<sup>1</sup>

Therefore, the important thing is that these veils that through purification of the self, lack of attachment to other than God and reaching inseparable perfection, as put by him signifies evacuation of one's house and one's intimate house and whatever and whoever and joining Him and dissociating from other than Him.<sup>2</sup> Thanks to such an insight and belief, he had constituted the basis of his purification of self and dissociating from other than God Almighty and joining the truth and justice. His silence and cry, patience and anger, leniency and violence, enjoining and forbidding, loving the friends of God and hating the enemies of God, resistance and perseverance and other movements was for gratification of God. On this basis, in his political life, he never neglects his principled stands and feared no power and did not stop for a moment in reaching his goal.

In light of self-edification and purification of the soul, he managed remained unheeded towards corruptions of lust for power, name and fame, ostentation, ambition, hypocrisy, love of the world and selfishness. On this, it has been said:

“And in fact, it is chairmanship and marja‘iyyat that follows Imām Khomeinī and does not abandon him. Whenever feeling of threat for Islam and Islamic society did not stop him to take the rein of affairs of this wandering caravan, he would never step into this arena.”<sup>3</sup>

## 2. Purposefulness

Enjoying goals ad direction and having faith in it in political life of Imām Khomeinī is of clear and definite affairs, as he has also had intellectual direction, insight, and political and social direction. He also taught others this direction and stand to others. Enjoying correct political and social insight beside spiritual and moral insight, among the salient features of Imām Khomeinī and this resulted in his resistance in the way of right and endurance of problems of struggle and insistence on achievement of the aim. As put by a researcher:

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 142; *Sūrah al-Najm*, verse 9.

<sup>2</sup> Imām Khomeinī, *Rāh-e 'Ishq*, Tehran, the Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imām Khomeinī' Works, vol. 5, p. 25, 1377 AHS.

<sup>3</sup> Sayyid Ḥamid Rawḥānī, *Survey and Analysis of Imām Khomeinī's Revolution*, Qum, Office of Islamic Publications affiliated to the Society of the Qum Instructors, Theological Seminary, second edition, vol. 1, p. 28, 1361 AHS.



“Imām Khomeinī indicated that what the meaning of a right man is?<sup>1</sup> That is, right man is like a mountain that cannot be shattered by heavy storms and not moved by hurricanes.”<sup>2</sup>

### **3. Resolution and Courage**

Of the most important glaring features of political lifestyle of Imām Khomeinī, is his resolution and bravery that always stem from purposefulness and faith in it. And these two constitute the features of all prophets and great reformists of human history. Two noted instance of it are the story of the Prophet of Islam (s) in dealing with polytheists of Mecca and story of Ḥaḍrat Ibrāhīm with Nimrūd and Nimrūdiyāns. These two elements are the effective elements in victory of Islamic Revolution in Iran. For this purpose, Iranian and foreign writers and poets have remembered him in terms such as in conformist leader, staunch fighter of freedom, owner of resolute and intelligent line<sup>3</sup> unlimited recalcitrance in the face of injustice and oppression, living martyr,<sup>4</sup> embodiment of resistance and fight, man of right, man of century, idol worshipper of the time, Messiah of our time, dauntless leader. About his resolution the following as instance has been written:

“Another factor differentiating the character of Imām Khomeinī from other world and national leaders is his resistance, perseverance and resolution and unlimited recalcitrance in the face of injustice and tyranny without any wavering, forgiveness and compromise... Not only for a single moment or in one stage of the numerous stages of jihād his resistance and recalcitrance was not weakened but also becoming more difficult, stauncher and more resolute.”<sup>5</sup>

### **4. Revivalism and Negation of Compromise**

Effort in line with revival of religious insight and monotheism of Muslims and principles of Islamic beliefs and also *fiqh* or jurisprudence by lending attention to theology and *fiqh* towards political and social issues and struggle

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<sup>1</sup> *Nahj al-Balāghah*, collection of *Mā Ikhtarat al-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Raḍī min Kalām al-Amīr al-Mu'minīn 'Alī ('a)*, Qum: *Dār al-Thaqalayn*, 1219 lunar calendar, vol. 37, p. 65.

<sup>2</sup> Muḥammad Riḍā Ḥakīmī, *ibid.*, p. 167.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 167.170.

<sup>4</sup> Sīrūs Parhām, *Iran's Revolution and Foundation of Leadership of Imām Khomeinī*, Tehran: Amīr Kabīr Publiation, first edition, p. 76, 1357 AHS.

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

for acquiring political acumen and insight and presentation of such a acumen and insight to men of letters and theology students and attention to the role of time and place in practicing *ijtihad* and issuing political and revolutionary *fatwā* (religious decree) along with effort to propagation of awareness among masses of people and mobilizing them form other features of political lifestyle of Imām Khomeinī. For instance, in his revolutionary speech against approval of the capitulation bill, he announced:

“By God, sinful is the one who refuses to cry. By God one has committed capital sin if one fails to cry out.”<sup>1</sup>

Or in a message on the occasion of disaster of Fayḍiyyah School in Farvardīn 1342 AHS:

“... Taqīyyah is forbidden and expression of truth is obligatory.”<sup>2</sup>

And also... *fatwās* such as questions no. 2793 and 2834 practical laws of Islam or section on enjoining to good deeds and forbidding evil acts in *Tahrīr al-Wasīlah* are expressive of several instances of this effort. For instance, he observed:

“If silence of prominent ‘ulamā’ help strengthen oppression or cause its confirmation or causes it to become daring to commit other forbidden acts is obligatory to express right and truth and deny the wrong even though this move does not bring about immediate result.”<sup>3</sup>

Or in a message, he has described agreement with the monarchical order as treason to Islam, Qur’an, Muslims and Iran:

“Agreement with monarchical system whether openly or by means of a plan necessitating survival of it is betrayal of Islam and the holy Qur’an and Muslims and Iran; whoever with any name comes in terms with it is rejected and it is necessary to avoid him.”<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Ṣahīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 1, p. 420.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 178.

<sup>3</sup> Imām Khomeinī, *Dissertation on Practical Laws of Islam*, third edition, the Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imām Khomeinī’s Works (s), p. 451, question no. 2795, *Tahrīr al-Wasīlah*, Qum: *Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah*, Ismā‘īliyyān Najafī, second edition, 1390 lunar calendar, Jumādī al-Awwal, pp. 476-482, Imām Khomeinī, *Zubdatul Aḥkām Qum*., fourth edition, 1402 lunar calendar, pp. 139-141.

<sup>4</sup> *Ṣahīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 3, p. 485; refer to Research Deputy Director of the Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imām Khomeinī’s Works, *Enjoining What is Good and Forbidding What is Evil from Viewpoint of Imām Khomeinī*, Tehran: the Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imām Khomeinī’s Works, first edition, 1377 AHS.

Or elsewhere, he says:

“Compromise with the Shāh signifies compromise with a cruel and traitor man and this compromise is itself the biggest treason never contained in the terminology of Islam and a real Muslim.”<sup>1</sup>

## **5. Political Policy of Imām Khomeinī Prior to Islamic Revolution**

### **A. From Beginning to 1341 AHS**

Imām Khomeinī from his youth days, wanted to release his society from clutches of oppressors and tyrants. Therefore, he struggled hard to awaken the public with his enlightening views. Riḍā Shāh came to power at a time when “intense silence and suffocating climate” had dominated religious societies and seminaries.<sup>2</sup>

This reaction was a political-cultural measure accomplished following publication of the book ‘secrets of one thousand years’ written by Ḥakamīzādeh. Imām Khomeinī protested against writing of such a book and suspended his classes. In response to the blasphemous book, he began writing of a valuable book entitled ‘Discovery of the secrets one thousand years’ in 1322 (lunar calendar). He dismissed the accusations brought by the enemies against the religion and Iran. During that period of time, he strongly criticized the Pahlavī regime's performance. Then, in a political and revolutionary statement beginning with the verses emphasis on unity, he called on the people of Iran and ‘ulamā’ of Islam to rise against the status quo. Thereafter, his struggles persisted. For example, that honorable man after the demise of Āyatullāh Ḥā’irī played a prominent role in solidification of public marja’iyyat of Āyatullāh al-‘Uzmā Borūjerdī.

### **B. From 1341 to 1343 AHS**

Efforts of Imām Khomeinī in 1341 AHS in confronting the capitulation bill of provincial and state provinces, referendum, Shāh’s white revolution and also his movement in the first and second days of Forwarding, 12 Farvardīn, 12 Ordībehesht, 13 and 14 Khordād of the year 1342 AHS

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<sup>1</sup> *Ṣahīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 5, p. 232, *Enjoining What is Good and Forbidding What is Evil from Viewpoint of Imām Khomeinī*, p. 104.

<sup>2</sup> *Kawthar*: collection of speeches of Imām Khomeinī along with exposition of events of the Islamic Revolution, Tehran: the Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imām Khomeinī Works, first edition, vol. 1, p. 25.

culminating in revolt of 15 Khordād 1342 AHS are each instance and token of his political life. Also in the story of 14 Farvardīn 1342 AHS when Āyatullāh Sayyid Muḥsin Ḥakīm from Najaf in telegraphs to ‘*ulamā*’ and *marāji*’ of Iran called for collective immigration to Najaf and regime of the Shāh with measures displayed his anger with siding with ‘*ulamā*’ of Najaf and Karbalā and Āyatullāh Hakīm in support for uprising of Iran’s ‘*ulamā*’, sent a delegation of communicating threatening message of Shāh to the residence of *marāji*’-e *taqlīd* (religious sources of imitation). Imām Khomeinī declined to accept the delegation and some days later alluding to the issue observed (1342/2/12 AHS):

“Woe upon this country! Woe upon this ruling body! Woe upon this world! And woe upon us! The little man sends the police chief, head of this evil government sends into the house of the ‘*ulamā*’. I did not let them in. If only I had let the in so that I would crush their mouth! He sends the police chief to the house of the gentlemen threatening them if they raise a single word against so and so issue, His Excellency has ordered, we would send people to demolish your houses and kill you and rape your family.”<sup>1</sup>

Thereafter also without attention to these threats has sent the reply to telegraph of Āyatullāh Ḥakīm stressing that collective immigration of ‘*ualmā*’ and evacuating theological seminaries of Qum is not advisable.

Imām Khomeinī also in the evening of ‘Āshūrā of 1383 AHS (13 Khordād 1342 AHS) in Qum Fayḍiyyah School delivered his historical speech that is regarded as outset of the uprising of 15 Khordād. A major part of his speech covered the harmful results of the monarchical government of Pahlavī Dynasty and revelation of the Shāh’s secret relations with Israel. In this speech, Imām Khomeinī with a loud voice addressed the Shāh, saying:

“Gentleman, I advise you. O, Mr. Shāh! O, Dear Shāh! I advise you to abandon these works. Gentleman! You are being duped. I do not like everyone thank God if once you have to go. If you are given dictation to follow, contemplate over it...”<sup>2</sup>

The words of Imām Khomeinī landed on the head of the Shāh like a hammer and this caused to issue the order of silencing the cry for uprising. First, a group of the friends of Imām Khomeinī were arrested at night of 14 Khordād and at 3.30 midnight (15 Khordād 1342 AHS) hundreds of commandos were sent from Tehran and beset the house of Imām Khomeinī and arrested him when he was saying night prayer and transferred to Tehran

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<sup>1</sup> *Ṣaḥīfah-ye Imām*, vol. 1, pp. 213-214, speech in A‘zam Mosque of Qum, 12/2/1343 AHS.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 245.

and detained him in the camp of officers club and evening of the same day transferred him to Qaşr Prison. With the spread of news of arrest of Imām Khomeinī, people from rural areas moved towards Tehran and thereof towards detention place of the Imām. Demonstration of people in Qum was kicked off. On this day, disciplinary forces strongly crushed the people's revolt and in Tehran and Qum martial law were enforced. However, in spite of this, later days too massive demonstrations were mounted leading to bloody clashes in every case. Imām Khomeinī after 19 days in detention in Qaşr prison was transferred to a prison in military garrison of 'Ishratābād.

With the arrest of leader of the movement and savage massacre of people in 15 Khordād 1342 AHS, the revolt was superficially suppressed. Of course, thereafter massive protests were mounted by clerics and people from all walks of life in some cities. A number of marked '*ulamā*' of the country immigrated to Tehran as a token of protest until the regime was forced to transfer the Imām in 11 Mordād 1342 AHS from detention camp to a residence beset by security forces in Dāwūdiyyah region in Tehran. After these events, Imām Khomeinī was under control of the regime's agents was lodged in a house in Qeyṭariyyah, Tehran staying their under house arrest until his release and return to Qum in 18 Farvardīn 1343 AHS.

On the night of 18 Farvardīn 1343 AHS, without prior notice, Imām Khomeinī was released and transferred to Qum. Three days after his release, Imām Khomeinī in a revolutionary speech put an invalid seal on the imaginations and propaganda of the regime and said:

“Today feast has no meaning. As long as the nation is alive people are aggrieved of the disaster of 15 Khordād AHS.”

Next effort of the regime was to sap the power of the militant forces in theological seminaries by creating differences among '*ulamā*' and *marāji'* (religious authorities). The Imām being aware of this in his historical speech in A'zam Mosque of Qum in 26 Farvardīn 1343 AHS observed:

“If one has insulted me, slapped me on the face, slapped on the face of my children, by God I am not happy anyone to stand against them and defend. I am not satisfied. I know that some individuals want to crate discord among this group either out of ignorance or on purpose...”<sup>1</sup>

The first anniversary of uprising of 15 Khordād in 1343 AHS was introduced by issuing a joint statement of Imām Khomeinī and other *marāji' taqlīd* (religious sources of imitation) and separate statements of honorable

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 307.

theological seminaries.

Then the system of capitulation (political and consular immunity of American citizens in Iran) came to be treated on the agenda of the regime. In this episode, Imām Khomeinī was resolute to fulfill his historical mission and launched another uprising. He designated Ābān falling on the birth day of the Shāh as the day of revelation and its news was spread by letter or courier. To threaten the Imām and stop him from making speeches on this day, Shāh sent a representative to Qum. Imām did not accept the Shāh's representative. The Shāh's message was communicated to Hāj Āqā Muṣṭafā (elder son of Imām Khomeinī). However, Imām Khomeinī disregarding the threats delivered one of his lasting speeches on this day among a large number of clerics and people of Qum and other cities, rejecting the illegal interventions of the regime ruling over America in Iran and revelation of crimes of the Shāh. The Imām's speech began with the following words:

“Our dignity was trampled upon, Iran's majesty was ruined, and grandeur of the army of Iran was crushed. A bill has been taken to parliament in which they annexed us firstly to Vienna Pact; all American military advisors along with their family members, technical staff, administrative personnel and servants are immune from any crime they commit in Iran! Gentleman! I see threat! O, army of Iran, I announce a feeling of threat! O, politicians of Iran! I declare a sense of threat!”<sup>1</sup>

Imām Khomeinī on the same day (4 Ābān 1343 AHS) issues a statement, writing:

“Let the world know that any problem suffered by Iranian nation and Muslim peoples is from aliens, from the US. Muslim people are detested with aliens in general and the US in particular. It is the US that supports Israel and its backers. It is the US that empowers Israel to make Muslim Arabs wander.”<sup>2</sup>

### **C. Period of Exile**

Revelation of Imām against ratification of capitulation bill pushed Iran in Ābān 1343 AHS on the threshold of another revolt. However, the regime by utilizing the experience of suppression of 15 Khordād last year (1342 AHS) began confrontation. On the other hand, at this time, a large number of distinguished religious and political elements defending the Imām's uprising were either in prison or in exile. As a result, heads of the regime after many

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<sup>1</sup> *Ṣahīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 1. pp. 415-416, 418.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 411.

discussions finally decided to exile the Imām to a country outside of Iran and in the morning of 13 Ābān 1343 AHS armed commandos beset Imām Khomeinī's residence in Qum and arrested him. Then, he was directly taken to Mehrābād Airport in Tehran and with a military plane already prepared transferred to Ankara under detention of security and military forces. On the evening of the same day, SAVAK published the news of exile of Imām Khomeinī on charges of taking action against security of the country in newspapers. Despite the suffocating atmosphere, a wave of protests in the frame of demonstrations in bazaar in Tehran was followed by long demonstrations in bazaar and theological seminaries and dispatch of scrolls and letters to international organizations and religious sources of imitation. Period of Imām's exile in Turkey was very hard and shattering. Imām Khomeinī did not even have permission to wear clerical garb in there. However, none of the mental and physical pressures could force him to compromise. In this period of time, any type of political measures had been divested of Imām and he was under direct care of agents sent by Iran and the security forces of Turkish government.

Imām's stay in Turkey lasted for 11 months. At this period of time an opportunity was created for Imām to write the book *Tahrīr al-Wasīlah*. This book that contains his *fiqh*-related *fatwās* (religious decrees) raised in those days rulings about *jihād*, defense, enjoining to good deeds and forbidding evil acts and issues of the day with a special approach and by bearing in mind issues such as importance, absence of necessity and lack of influence, financial independence of theological seminaries, negation of domination and injustice and others are raised as instance:

“If silence of religious ‘ulamā’ and leaders of religious schools strengthen or confirm oppression, their silence is forbidden and expression of truth is obligatory for them although not affecting destruction of oppression.”

Or in another issues he has observed:

“If silence of religious ‘ulamā’ and religious leaders cause suspension and slander of them and attributing to them things are not correct and their attribution to them is not viable such as—God forbid—are counted as helpers of oppressors, it is obligatory to deny them so that this shame is effaced from their image although it is not effective in destroying oppression.”

On the day of 13 Mehr 1344 AHS, Imām Khomeinī was transferred from Turkey to Iraq. The causes and incentives of change of place of Imām's exile mainly consisted of: 1) popular strikes and demonstrations in Iran, 2) constant pressures of religious communities and domestic theological

seminaries and outside of Iran, 3) effort and demonstration of Muslim students outside of the country for release of Imām, 4) struggle of Pahlavī regime for normalization of the situation and showing its power and stability to absorb greater support of the US, 5) security problems of Turkish government and rising domestic pressures of religious community in that country, 6) the situation ruling over Iraq that in a word was a barrier in order to restrict activities of Imām Khomeinī.

In 1348 AHS in addition to the fighters inside the country there existed numerous interlocutors in Iraq, Lebanon and other Islamic lands considering movement of Imām Khomeinī as their model. Imām Khomeinī in Bahman 1348 AHS initiated series of lessons on Islamic government or *wilāyat-e faqīh* in Najaf. Publication of the collection of these lessons in the frame of a book entitled *wilāyat-e faqīh* or Islamic government in Iran, Iraq and Lebanon lent a new enthusiasm to the battle. In this book, prospect of combat and goal of the revolution had been depicted and jurisprudential and rational basis of Islamic government and theoretical debates dealing with the goals and methods of Islamic government had been raised.

In the second half of Khordād 1350 AHS differences between the regimes in Iran and Iraq heightened and led to expulsion and wandering of many of Iranians residing in Iraq. Imām Khomeinī in a telegraph to president of Iraq strongly condemned the measures taken by the regime and as protest decided to leave Iraq but rulers of Baghdad knowing about the aftermath of his immigration in those conditions did not give permission to him to leave the country (Iraq).

On the other hand, concurrent with increase of production and price of oil since 1350 AHS onward, the Shāh of Iran felt greater feeling of power and parallel to it demolition of opponents intensified and the regime of Iran accelerated the race of purchase of military equipment and consumption goods from the US and creation of various military bases for the Americans in the country and also enhancing trade and military ties with Israel. The fabulous and unprecedented feasts under the title of 2500<sup>th</sup> anniversary of monarchical rule in Iran with presence of leaders of many countries of the world with exorbitant sums were imposed on the people of Iran, a show displaying the power and stability of the Shāh's regime. Imām Khomeinī in various messages condemned the imposed feasts removing the curtain from backwardness of the country and bitter realities ruling over Iranian society. At this time when Shāh had turned to one of the powerful backers of Israel, Imām Khomeinī in Ābān 1352 AHS called on the people of Iran to rise up against the aggression of the Zionist regime against Islamic countries.



In late Isfand 1352 AHS, Shāh culminated his dictatorship and authoritarianism by setting up Rastākhīz Party and creating a single party system. In a televised speech, he announced that all the nation of Iran should become member of this party and those opposed to it should take their passport and leave the country. Imām Khomeinī in this respect in a *fatwā* (religious decree) observed:

“In view of opposition of this party to Islam and interests of the Muslim nation of Iran, participation in it is forbidden for the nation and assistance to oppression and desperation of the Muslims and opposition to it is the most glaring instance of forbidding evil act.”<sup>1</sup>

Imām Khomeinī’s *fatwā* and that of other ‘*ulamā*’ of Islam fell effective and worked. Regime of the Shāh despite massive propaganda after some years officially announced the defeat of the Rastākhīz Party and disbanded it. In the anniversary of uprising of 15 Khordād 1354 AHS, Fayḍiyyah School of Qum once again witnessed the revolt of tollab. Cries of viva Khomeinī and death to Pahlavī Dynasty carried on for two days. Prior to this, guerilla organizations had been crushed and militant religious and political characters were in prisons of the Shāh. In this stream, also police agents beset the theological seminary and in a merciless attack and beating the *tullāb* arrested the opposition and put them into jail. Imām Khomeinī in a message on the occasion gave the following good tiding:

“Despite all the disasters, enlightenment of the nation is promising. Opposition of universities across the country, as admitted by the Shāh and objections voiced by different prominent ‘*ulamā*’ and educated classes of the nation to all the pressures and bullying mark the dawn of freedom and liberation from the clutches of colonialism.”<sup>2</sup>

In 2<sup>nd</sup> Mehr 1354 AHS, Imām Khomeinī’s message to annual congress of Islamic Associations of students of America and Canada stressed the awareness and enlightenment of the younger generation and awakening movement in Iran, writing:

“A brilliant point that is inspiring at these late years of my age is the awareness and awakening of the younger generation and awakening movement that is fast growing. With the will of God Almighty will come to fruition that is curtailment of the virtual hands of aliens and dispensation of

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<sup>1</sup> *Ṣahīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 3, p. 71.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 101.

Islamic justice.”<sup>1</sup>

In continuation of his measures, in Isfand 1354 AHS the Shāh altered the official calendar of the country from *hijrah* marking the immigration of Prophet of Islam to monarchical calendar of Hakhāmaneshī. In a strong reaction, Imām Khomeinī issued a *fatwā* banning the use of monarchical date that was welcomed by the people and the regime in 1357 AHS was forced to withdraw and cancel the calendar.

Imām Khomeinī who since then closely watched the current developments in the world and Iran used the opportunity particularly with a view to strained relations of Iran and Iraq. In Mordād 1356 AHS, after coming to power of democrats in the US and raising the idea of human rights by Carter, he sent a message announcing:

“Disregard of the rights of hundreds of Muslims and making a handful of rascals dominant on their destiny and giving opportunity to illegal regime of Iran and shallow government of Israel to usurp the rights of Muslims and depriving freedom and conducting middle ages contract are crimes registered in the file of presidents of the US.”<sup>2</sup>

Death of Āyatullāh Sayyid Muṣṭafā Khomeinī in early Ābān 1356 AHS and the glorious ceremonies held on the occasion in Iran was a starting point for bouncing of the people of Iran again, theological seminaries and revolt of religious society in Iran. Imām Khomeinī called this event a hidden divinely favors. The Shāh’s regime at this time carried an insulting article against Imām Khomeinī in *Iṭṭilā‘āt* Daily trying to decrease his influence.

Protest against this article resulted in revolt of people of Qum in 19 Dey 1356 AHS during which a number of *tullāb* were weltered in their blood. The revolt in a short period of time and in conditions different from 15 Khordād 1342 AHS was extended the across the country. Holding the seventh and 40 days in commemoration of the memory of martyrs of recent uprisings in Tabrīz, Yazd, Jahrom, Shīrāz, Iṣfahān and Tehran in successive way gave rise to repeated revolutionary movements. During all this period of time, Imām Khomeinī’s messages and cassettes of his speeches in which he invited people to resistance and continue the revolution until downfall of Pahlavī monarchical regime and establishment of Islamic government were multiplied and distributed by his sympathizers in wide scale across the country. Political and military ploys of the Shāh before impacting on easing the wrath of people were foiled with the statements of Imām. In time of

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 114.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 210.

government of Sharīf Imāmī, merciless massacre of people of Iran by military forces in Shuhadā Square (Former Zhāleh) took place in 17 Shahrivar 1357 AHS. After that, officially martial law was enforced in Tehran and 11 big cities in Iran for an unlimited period. On the other hand, by receiving Imām's messages, people did not care for martial law of the regime and extended their demonstrations.

Imām Khomeinī led his revolution by inspiring from the holy verse<sup>1</sup> and others and by reliance on people and by negating submission<sup>2</sup> to tyranny and oppression, stressing priority of Cultural Revolution by people and believing in uselessness of party and parliamentarian struggles and armed struggles without popular backing in conditions of that day of Iran. He considered military mobilization and armed *jihād* of the public as the final solution and in conditions when the US launches a military coup.

#### **D. From Presence in France to Victory of the Islamic Revolution in Iran**

In the late half of the year 1357 AHS at a meeting of foreign minister of Iran and Iraq in New York decision was taken to expel Imām Khomeinī from Iraq. On the second day of Mehr 1357 AHS the Imām's residence in Najaf was surrendered by Baathist forces and the security organization of Iraq conditioned continued residence of Imām in Iraq on his non-intervention in politics and relinquishment of struggle. As a result on 12 Mehr Imām Khomeinī who was in no way ready to abandon the struggle left Najaf for border of Kuwait. The government of Kuwait by reference of the regime ruling over Iran banned entry of Imām Khomeinī to that country. Imām Khomeinī after consultation with his son Sayyid Aḥmad Khomeinī decided to immigrate to Paris.<sup>3</sup> On the 14<sup>th</sup> of Mehr 1357 AHS he entered Paris and two days later was stationed in the residence of one of the Iranians in Neuphe La Chateau.<sup>4</sup> Agents of Elize Palace communicated to the president of France about avoidance of any political activity by Imām Khomeinī but in a reaction he said such restrictions is against claim of democracy and that if he is forced to move from one airport to another and from one country to another country he would not stop his goals. In his four months stay in Paris, Noughle la Chateau was the most important center of news in the world and

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<sup>1</sup> Chapter *Hūd* (11), verse 11.

<sup>2</sup> Chapter *Saba'* (34), verse 46.

<sup>3</sup> *Kawthar*, vol. 1, p. 416.

<sup>4</sup> Around the district of Paris.

Imām in numerous interviews and meetings raised his viewpoints on Islamic government and fundamental goals of the revolution to the world people. In this way a greater number of people of the world were acquainted with the Imām's ideas and his revolt.

After that in 26 Dey 1357 AHS Muḥammad Riḍā Pahlavī left Iran and Imām Khomeinī returned to Iran in 12 Bahman 1357 AHS. Eng. Maḥdī Bāzargān commanding political-administrative experience in nationalization of oil in Iran was introduced as prime minister by the council of revolution and the Imām appointed him to set up cabinet with a view to preparation of referendum and holding elections. Imām Khomeinī in his verdict provided that:

“According to proposal of council of revolution, according to religious rights and legal rights stemming from vote of overwhelming majority of people of Iran expressed in enormous gatherings and massive demonstrations across the country to the leadership of the revolution... you are appointed to form the provisional government without considering party relations and dependence on special group so that preparation is made for administration of affairs of the country particularly conduction of referendum and referring to vote of the public about change of political system of the country to vote for Islamic Republic of Iran.”

Imām called on the people of Iran to announce their view on this choice. People across the country by holding massive rallies backed this decision.

On 19 Bahman 1357 AHS, personnel of air force paid allegiance to him in his residence (‘Alawī School Tehran) and on 20 Bahman Homāfarān (air forces) in the most important air base of Tehran embarked on revolt. Monarchical guards were sent to crush them but people entered the scene to support them and finally the event ended in favor of the personnel of air force. On the 21th of Bahman police stations and government centers one after the other fell. Tehran martial law commander in a statement increased the ban on people's turnout in the street in a communiqué up to four pm. Concurrent with it, Shāpūr Bakhtiyār held the emergency meeting of security council in Tehran and issued the order for coup designed by Huyser. In contrast, Imām Khomeinī in a message called on the people to prevent the plot on the eve of being occurred and take to the streets and practically cancelled the martial law. People took to the streets and began setting up bunkers. The first tanks and armored forces of the coup people were rendered helpless as soon as moving from their bases by people and the coup suffered defeat in the very outset. In this way the last resistances of the Shāh's regime were crushed and morning of 22 Bahman 1357 AHS victory of the Islamic

Revolution that put an end to the monarchical Pahlavī dynasty in Iran dawned.

Imām Khomeinī in the first public speech after victory of Islamic Revolution observed:

Preservation of faith pushed you to raise voice against oppression... you revolted for Islam and Muslims, you carried out a revolution, you struggle, offered blood, sacrificed your young adults and curtailed the evil of oppression... now is the second step you should take and that is reconstruction.”

#### **E. Features of Struggle Style of Imām Khomeinī**

In general, features of style of struggles and political battle of Imām Khomeinī may be outlined below:

1. Sincerity in combat;
2. spiritual and religious nature of combat and enjoying lofty goal and incentive;
3. negation of separation of religion from politics and stressing unity of the two;
4. positive, value-oriented and lofty look at politicians and therefore considering it guidance towards happiness and human perfection;
5. opposition to the entire regime and ruling body although at the outset of event of state and provisional associations Imām’s criticism was directed to government but after the referendum Imām Khomeinī considered his main interlocutor to be the Shāh;
6. reliance on people and revolutionary Muslim people;
7. confirming the fall of the regime;
8. denial of colonization and intervention of alien powers particularly the US which the Imām called the factors responsible for all adversities and problems of people of Iran and opposition to Islam and the Qur’an;
9. negation of Israel and Zionism and considering it a big threat to Muslims;
10. stressing criticism and struggle from position of *fiqh*, *marja’iyyat* and religious authority;

11. advancement of goals with revolutionary methods remote from military treatments;
12. stressing revolutionary and important events of the history of Islam in the course of struggle.

#### **F. Stages of the Leadership of Imām Khomeinī**

The leadership of Imām Khomeinī (s) may be classified into two general stages: 1) Prior to victory of Islamic Revolution as leader of the revolution; 2) stage of after victory of Islamic Revolution as leadership of political system. Imām's leadership of Revolution also consisted of three periods as follows:

1) Since outset to exile that is the period of revolt; 2) Two periods of exile (1343-1356 AHS); 3) leadership period of popular and revolutionary movement (from dey 1356 to 22 Bahmad 1357 AHS) which is the leadership of Imām Khomeinī after victory of revolution for a period of 10 years and three months and 23 days continued from 23 Mehr 1357 to 14 Khordād 1368 AHS.

#### **6. Political Style of Imām Khomeinī after the Victory of the Islamic Revolution**

##### **A. Since Outset to the War**

In 12 Bahman 1357 AHS Imām Khomeinī entered the country with unique welcome of people of Iran after 15 years of exile and 10 days later that is in 22 Bahman 1357 AHS Islamic Revolution in Iran emerged victorious. With the victory of the revolution the most sensitive and difficult period of leadership of Imām began. As put by some, if we divide leadership period of Imām to four periods, the first period begins from outset of the revolt of Imām to exile, the second period is the exile, the third begins from the sparks of revolution in Dey 1356 AHS up to victory of Islamic Revolution and the four period after the victory of Islamic revolution in Iran. It was in this last period that Imām Khomeinī should enter action as ideological leader and theoretician of revolution as leader of political system and government and founder and architect of a new system. That is why that with his special genius and capability in continuation of difficult path he had started, undertook the political administration of the Iranian society after the victory of Islamic revolution and in the course of one year managed to strengthen the pillars of the new system.

One is by reliance on people and their vote in creation of new structures such as referendum of Islamic republic, elections of Experts Assembly of Constitution, presidential elections and Islamic Consultative Assembly, formulation of the constitution and putting it for referendum. The other through creation of security, military, disciplinary, constructive and economic organizations such as Islamic Revolution Committees, Islamic Revolution Guards Corps, Mustaq'afān Basij (20 million strong army), Jihād-e Sāzandegī, Relief Committee, Shahīd Foundation and... Moreover, with his wise leadership and based on patience and courage not only he saved the fledgling system of Islamic Republic from various types of plots and deviations and threats, but also with settlement of many dilemmas and problems from jurisprudential perspective and in practical terms caused its stability. (provided for its stability. Here some of the cases are pointed out.

After the story of Kurdestān, Imām Khomeinī by having knowledge of behind the curtain hands came to believe in resolute and rapid treatment in suppressing anti-revolutionaries in Kurdestān riots.

Less than two months since the victory of revolution, 98.2% of the voters in 12 Farvardīn Referendum of 1358 in one of the freest election of history voted for establishment of Islamic Republic system and subsequent to it consecutive elections were held for formulation and ratification of constitutional law and election of Majlis MPs. Imām Khomeinī for establishment of organizations of Islamic system and interpretation of goals and priorities of Islamic government and encouragement of people to presence in the scene, every day delivered speech at the site of his residence and Qum Faydiyyah School in meeting with thousands of his enthusiastic visitors. After the victory of revolution in 10 Isfand 1357 AHS, he traveled from Qum to Tehran and up to the time of affliction from heart disease (2 Bahman 1358 AHS) lived in this city. However, after improvement, he temporarily resided in Darband district in Tehran and then in 27 Ordībehesht 1359 AHS and then moved to a house belonging to Hāj Sayyid Mahdī Imām Jamārānī in Jamārān district located in north of Tehran and stayed there by the end of his life. On the day of Ābān 13, 1358 AHS by seizure of American embassy by students following the line of Imām Khomeinī, an embassy turned into den of espionage, whose inalienable documents unmasked secrets of spy and numerous interventions of the US in Iran and different countries came to be known in Islamic Republic culture as occupation of the den of espionage. It was regarded a great disgrace for ruling body of the United States. Imām Khomeinī supported the revolutionary movement of students and called it a greater revolution than the first one. The United States of

America in the course of the Islamic Revolution in Iran officially backed the regime of the Shāh and stood against Imām and the people of Iran. The Americans after this event resorted to various methods to force Iran to surrender. Iran was officially subjected to economic and political sanction by the US and its satellites countries. People of Iran by inspiring from messages of Imām Khomeinī initiated the hard times of boycott but were not ready to surrender. Plan for operations to liberate the spies arrested faced with strange event in Ṭabas desert in 1359 aAHS and suffered defeat. Confrontation and struggles of Imām Khomeinī with America is another of brilliant dimensions of struggles of political style of Imām Khomeinī.

After the Ṭabas story, the Nojeh coup by a number of army people affiliated to former regime and with the help of liberals and with support of CIA to overthrow the Islamic Republic system took place but was discovered and foiled.

Imām Khomeinī in later events such as confrontation with domination of liberals and then in Cultural Revolution treated with modesty and perseverance and thus managed to pave the ground for advancement of the goals of revolution.

## **B. Period of War**

One of the most important events of the time of Imām Khomeinī's leadership was outbreak of war between Iran and Iraq that was staged with the support of superpowers and with aggression of Iraq against Iran in Shahrivar 1359 AHS lasting for a period of 8 years. Imām Khomeinī undertook the supreme management of the war and in all stages of war his guidelines and messages were inspiring for Iranian combatant forces in the face of Ṣaddām forces. Imām Khomeinī who had chanted the slogan of war until elimination of sedition in the world 2 and was in no way ready to relinquish his ideal eventually for the sake of nation, system and the revolution accepted the UN Security Council resolution 598.

Imām Khomeinī's message known as acceptance of resolution (29 Tīr 1367 AHS concurrent with 20 January 1988) is one of the feasts of leadership in political style of Imām Khomeinī in which record of imposed war and its dimensions clearly has been reiterated and future lines of the system and the Islamic Revolution in all fields including conformation with powers and resistance over ideals and goals of the revolution have been depicted. Imām's interpretation of acceptance of revolution as poison goblet has untold facts and contain many delicate points whose exposition is beyond the scope of this writing. Here only we content with mention of brief points



in this respect:

“As regards acceptance of the resolution that was truly very bitter and indigestible issue for all of us particularly for me is that some days prior to acceptance I believed in the same methods of defense and the stands announced in war and saw the interests of the system and country and revolution in implementation of it, but due to the events and factors which I avoid to mention now and in the hope of God in future it will become clear and with a view to view of all senior political and military experts of the country to whose commitment and sympathy and sincerity I believe I accepted the resolution and cease fire. At the present juncture I consider this to be to the interests of the revolution and the system. God knows if it were not for the incentives to sacrifice all of us and dignity and credit in the course of interests of Islam and Muslims, I would never be ready to accept this matter and considered death and martyrdom to be more pleasant for me. However, what is to be done that all should succumb to the gratification of almighty God and definitely the heroic and brave people of Iran has been and will be so.”

As warned by Imām Khomeinī repeated that claims of peace loving of Ṣaddām Ḥusayn and the ruling Bath party over ruling over Iraq is a deceits for public opinion, after acceptance of 598 resolution by Iran Ṣaddām embarked on a new foolish warmongering and in southern fronts again began occupation of parts of this region. At this time, release of exhilarating and emotional message of Imām Khomeinī once again mobilized the nation across the country and the revolutionaries and combatants from across the country hurried towards the war fronts and forced the Bath agents to suffer another defeat and escape. For the Ṣaddām regime there had remained nothing but acceptance of that defeat.

In this way, the eight year long imposed war came to its end, while initiators of war could achieve none of their goals. Islamic Republic system was not overdrawn. However, in light of national unity of Muslim people of Iran clarified the stand of agents and fifth column of the enemy inside the country did altogether and also stabilize its sovereignty in all domestic expanses. In international arena it was demonstrated as a stable power proving its rightfulness despite constant and hostile propaganda of the western people, communicating its message although in this sacred path paying heavy costs, eventually, as put by the Qur’an it came to a result.

It is also noteworthy that Imām Khomeinī in 17/11/1366 AHS in a directive ordered the establishment of expediency council so that in case of emergence of difference between Majlis and Guardian Council they would act according to expediency.

### **C. After the truce**

Imām Khomeinī in 11/7/1367 AHS in a message in nine clauses charted out the policies of reconstruction of the country for officials of Islamic Republic. Precise study of instructions is sufficient to find the depth of farsightedness of Imām as well as importance and standing and nobility of values in his perspective. Imām Khomeinī also after 10 years passing the life of Islamic Republic of Iran and leaving behind many experience in this span of time in 4/2/1368 AHS in order to improve and complete the organs of the Islamic system in a message to the then president delegated a board of experts to take charge of study and drawing up necessary amendments in the constitution based on 8 axes provided in the letter. Improvement of cases dealing with leadership, concentration in management of executive power and judiciary and IRIB and duties of expediency council to be revised in the constitution and changing the name of National Consultative Assembly were the most important of these cases. The amended articles of the constitution were put to referendum in 12 Āzar (after death of the Imām) and were approved by absolute majority with vote of the Iranian nation.

Imām Khomeinī also with high insight and profound understanding not being perceptible for materialist calculators in 11/10/1367 AHS in a letter addressed to Gorbachev predicted:

As of now communism should be sought in museums of political histories.

In this letter he also presented the most profound comments of current developments in the Soviet Union and described the current changes in current Soviet Union describing them as shattering of the bones of communism. Imām Khomeinī also clearly engagement of Russians in the direction of green garden of eastern communism of western capitalism and being cheated by the US gave warning. In this letter he raised the deep philosophical and mystical issues and by referring to failure of communists in their religion fighting policies demanded Gorbachev to turn to God and religion rather than pinning hope on western materialism. Imām Khomeinī had stipulated:

“...The major problem of your country is not ownership, economy and freedom; your problem is lack of real faith in God, the same problem that has turned the west vapid and led them to deadlock. Your main problem is long and useless battle with God, the source of existence and creation.”

Also at the closing section of the letter he writes:

“In conclusion, I clearly announce outright that Islamic Republic of Iran as

the biggest and most powerful base of the world of Islam can easily fill up the ideological vacuum.”

In 25/10/1367 AHS also in a message to Sayyid Ḥamīd Rawḥānī, he called for formulation of the history of Islamic Revolution in correct form and remote from any deviation. The story of formulation and massive distribution of the jejune book the Satanic Verses written by Salman Rushdie and supported officially by western governments is regarded as other important issues triggering encounter of west with Islam and made it necessary that Islamic community display resistance in the face of insults of the book to noble Prophet of Islam.

Following distribution of the book Satanic Verses, Imām Khomeinī in view of numerous reasons issued a verdict (*fatwā*) in 29/11/1367 AHS in a few short lines announcing death sentence of Salman Rushdie and the publishers aware of the blasphemous content of the book, generating another development. Muslims, irrespective of their school, language and country again stood against the west. Concomitances of this event

Muslims irrespective of religion, language and countries in united manner stood against the west. Aftermath of this event manifested the entity of Islamic community as a united nation indicating that Muslims can play a determining role in future of the world as pioneers of revivalists of religious values whenever correctly led.

One of the important measures of Imām Khomeinī at the close of his life in 4/2/1368 AHS was efforts made in connection with revision of the constitution of Islamic Republic of Iran. In a message to the then president of Iran, he highlighted the area of revision in eight cases consisting the following:

- 1- Leadership;
- 2- concentration in management of executive power;
- 3- concentration in management of judicial power;
- 4- concentration in management of IRIB in a way that the three branches of power exercise supervision over it;
- 5- number of Majlis MPs;
- 6- Expediency Council for settlement of dilemmas of the system and supplying the leader with consultation in a way that do not stand as a power in the width of other powers;
- 7- way of revising the constitution;

8- Changing the name of National Consultative Assembly to Islamic Consultative Assembly.

In the years at the close of his life, several important events took place heavily affecting his spirit. One of these events was innocent martyrdom of Ḥajj pilgrims in the house of God in Ḥajj ceremony of 1366, an event Imām strongly condemned. Imām Khomeinī referring to documents of the verses of Qur'an and life-style of Prophet of Islam and dignitaries of religion and numerous narrations handed down from Immaculate Imāms strongly believed that politics is an inseparable part of religion and the same as religion and that separation of religion and politics in recent decades has been done by colonialists and ominous results of this separation in the world of Islam and among followers of other divinely religions is observable. He considered Islam as a religion for guiding human being in all stages, dimensions and periods of individual and social life. Since social and political relations are inseparable part of man's life, therefore, Imām Khomeinī held the Islam merely restricted to acts of worship and individual ethics and keeping Muslims away from involvement in their destiny and social and political issues is a distorted Islam and as put by Imām Khomeinī American Islam. He constituted his revolution based on inseparable idea of religion from politics and continued it inspired from pure Muḥammadan Islam.

Imām Khomeinī after victory of Islamic Revolution in addition to establishment of Islamic government that is a different type of political contemporary systems and whose pillars and principles have been depicted in constitution of Islamic Republic of Iran began resuscitating social rites of school of Islam and political spirit of Islamic laws.

## *Chapter 3*

### **Political Works of Imām Khomeinī**

#### **Introduction**

Divinely prophets placed mankind on the track of humanity by presenting them the Book and voicing their thought and supplying the life style were engaged in. Immaculate Imāms continued the way of prophets by their works and life styles. Celebrated thinkers also tried to write lasting works by resort to the Book of God and Immaculate leaders, perpetuating the goal of prophets in human communities.

Imām Khomeinī was a pure and upright man leaving behind valuable works as charity work. The Imām's works may be classified under two general headings:

**A-** Scholarly and written works comprising the following:

- 1- Written works, compilations or handwritten works;
- 2- Recorded works (speeches, messages...);
- 3- Textbooks on materials of theological seminaries.

**B-** Political-spiritual works such as objective research on Islamic Republic establishment and other spiritual and educational works such as upbringing some militant students.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> This aspect of the works of Imām Khomeinī (r) is not the concern of this book and what comes in coming pages deals with his scholarly and cultural works.

Imām Khomeinī as necessitated by his training style and education in seminaries and curious spirit has left writings or delivered speeches on most Islamic sciences. His compilations may be classified based on different criteria and viewpoints and each division has special value based on the information it provides the reader and the role it plays in interpreting the ideas and making his works understood.

### **Division of Works of Imām Khomeinī (s)**

#### **1. Sample of Writing**

Here we divide his works into several general categories with a view to way of writing:

1. Independent Works (books): Compilations revolving around special subject and written independently such as *Kitāb al-Bay‘*, *Sirr al-Ṣalāt* or some intonations such as *Sharḥ-e Du‘ā-ye Saḥar*;
2. Intonation and taliqat: Works written on the stands and viewpoints of other books (usually textbooks of seminaries) such as *Anwār al-Hidāyah fī Ta‘līqāt ‘alā Kifāyah al-Uṣūl* or intonation on exposition on Fawaed ur-Razaviyah work of judge Sa‘īd Qummī or intonation on *Miṣbāḥ al-Anas*;
3. Textbook *Taqrīrāt*: There are cases in which students have written from the contents of his lessons such as struggle with self or greater jihād written by Sayyid Ḥamīd Ziyāratī or exposition on manzomeh by Sayyid ‘Abd al-Karīm Mūsawī Ardabīlī and...<sup>1</sup>
4. Collection of speeches and messages and... such as *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Nūr*, *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, *Kawthar*;
5. Religious inquiries and jurisprudential verdicts;
6. Collection of Poetry.

#### **2. Subject**

At times on the works of Imām Khomeinī divisions have been conducted based on subject but is not much precise and here we avoid citing them due to brevity. One can cited the general headings of the works of Imām Khomeinī based on subject<sup>2</sup> as follows in brief:

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<sup>1</sup> Regarding *taqrīrāt* of the courses of imam Khomeinī refer to Sayyid Ridā Ḥusaynī’s *taqrīrāt Durūs-e Imām*”, *Ḥudūr Magazine*, Khordād edition, 1373 AHS, special or eight anniversary of the Islamic Revolution, pp. 556.

<sup>2</sup> It should not go unsaid that some of the works of Imām Khomeinī consists of various subjects such as exposition of forty *ḥadīths*. Although it is a book on *ḥadīth* above all, it is

1. Philosophy such as *Risālah fī Ṭalab wa Irādah* or intonation on *asfār*;
2. exegesis and *ḥadīth* such as *Tafsīr Sūrah al-Ḥamd* or *Forty Ḥadīths* and ...
3. Mysticism and ethics such as serosalat or *Ādāb al-Ṣalāt*.
4. *Fiqh* or jurisprudence and verdicts or religious *fatwās* such as *Tahrīr al-Wasīlah* or *Kitāb al-Bay‘* or practical codes.
5. Politics and society such as *Kashf al-Asrār* or *wilāyat-e faqīh* and...
6. poetry and literature such as copulation of the verses left by Imām or *Sabū-ye ‘Ishq* (goblet of love) and ...
7. Words consisting of messages, speeches, interviews such as *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Nūr* or *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*.<sup>1</sup>

### **Political Works**

Here we plan to study that group of the works of Imām that consist political titles and subjects be they works generally relevant to politics and social and political issues or works pertinent to these subjects in brief and in the course of other subjects. By political subjects or political titles is meant all the questions connected to administration of public affairs of society or general guidance of people and management of their destiny in general arena such as government, *wilāyāh*, leadership, clerics, law, freedom, need for political system, political parties, duty in public arena, justice, *taqiyyah* and...

1. Works that generally deal with examination of political subjects such as *wilāyat-e faqīh* or Islamic government and politico-divinely last will and testament and ...
2. Works written with another goals such as jurisprudential and mystical aims and political subjects have been raised beside these goals such as

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an ethical, mystical and occasionally philosophical book with some writings, political and social as well; therefore the classifications cannot be considered precise.

<sup>1</sup> On bibliography of the works of Imām Khomeinī refer to:

- A. *Ḥamīd Anṣarī, the Narrative of Awakening*, pp. 241-214,
- B. Sayyid Riḍā Ḥusaynī, *ibid.*,
- C. Ṣadr al-Dīn ‘Imād Dashtī’s *Topical Bibliography of the Works of the Late Imām, Huḍūr Magazine*, pp. 40-50,
- D. Riḍā Ostādī, *Books and Scholarly Works of Imām Khomeinī*, 1369 AHS, no. 29.
- E. *Ibid.*, *Huḍūr Magazine*, year 5 and 6 winter 1371 AHS, pp. 103-111.
- F. A number of distinguished figures, *Smell of Flower, Brief Look at the Published Works of Imām Khomeinī*, Mashhad, Jihād-e Dāneshgāhī Publisher 1369 AHS.
- G. Mahdī Fahīmī, *Bibliography of Imām Khomeinī, Kayhān-e Farhangī*, year 3, pp. 12-15.

*Kitāb al-Bay‘*, exposition of *Forty ḥadīths*, *al-Makāsib al-Muḥarramah*, *al-Rasā’il*, *Tahrīr al-Wasīlah* and ...

3. Works that may have jurisprudential, mystical, philosophical and... aspects but are expressive of some political and social subjects or somehow allude to political and social attitudes such as *Forty ḥadīths* expedition, *Jihād-e Akbar*, *Risālah fī Ṭalab wa Irādah* and...
4. General works such as *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Nūr* or *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām* and...
5. Special political and social works of Imām consisting of *Kashf al-Asrār*, *wilāyat-e faqīh* and *Islamic Government*, *Last Will*, *Ijtihād wa Taqlīd*.
6. Among the other works, it can be said with *tasāhul* that the following works contain subjects and political issues in their general sense. From the Imām’s philosophical and mystical works, *Risālah fī Ṭalab wa Irādah*, *Miṣbāḥ al-Hidāyah ila’l-Khilāfah wa’l-Wilāyah* and *Sharḥ-e Du‘ā-ye Saḥar* contain some issues relevant to political thought area.
7. From jurisprudential books, *Kitāb al-Bay‘*, *Tahrīr al-Wasīlah*, *al-Makāsib al-Muḥarramah*, *Tawḍīḥ al-Masā’il*, *Zubdat al-Aḥkām* and *Istiftā’āt* contain some political issues.
8. In the area of ethics and *tafsīr* and *ḥadīth*, *Forty ḥadīths*, *Ta’līqāt ‘alā Sharḥ Ḥadīth Ra’s al-Jālūt*, *Sharḥ-e ḥadīth-e Junūd-e ‘Aql wa Jahl*, *Struggle with the Self or the Greatest Jihād*, *Tafsīr-e Sūrah-ye Ḥamd* contain subjects relevant to political thought and politics particularly political ethics and words.
9. In the area of *uṣūl al-fiqh* also *Risālah fī Qā’idat al-Aḍrār*, *Risālah fī Taqīyah* contain political issues.<sup>1</sup>
10. General works of Imām Khomeinī that usually contain his speeches, messages, letters and other issues also each in their turn contain political and social issues. These works consist of *Kawthar*, *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, *Tibyān*, and ...

Here, we will first examine some of the important works and then touch on some of the other works briefly:

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<sup>1</sup> These two works may be considered as two political works given the importance of the two important issues, particularly the second one on political issues.



## 1. *Kashf-e Asrār* (Discovery of Secrets)

### Introduction

Introduction of the book *Kashf-e Asrār* (Discovery of Secrets) authored in 1322 AHS is in principle a response to the book one thousand year secrets by ‘Alī Akbar Ḥakīmī-Zādeh son of the late Shaykh Mahdī Pā’in Shahrī who was one of the outstanding ‘*ulamā*’ of Qum. The book entitled ‘*Secrets of One Thousand Years*’ has attacked Shī‘ism and its principles with background of *Wahhābīsm* and considers the causes of backwardness of Iranian society to be Shī‘ah religion and the customs inspired from it.

Imām Khomeinī after study of the book was worried and unhappy with the deviant and misleading materials of the book that was remote from truth, feeling that in the face of such a measure one cannot be silent and felt it his duty to react to such an action. He closed his classes for two months in Qum Theological Seminary so that he could provide a suitable answer during this period of time to defend the harm the book brought to Shī‘ism and clerics. The result of his work in these two months was compilation of the book *Kashf-e Asrār*.

This book<sup>1</sup> is a live and telling document of his oppression fighting nature with foreign colonialism and domestic despotism of Pahlavī regime and deviations of crooked minded people. It was written at a time when most of the writers were at the service of foreigners and few people dared to stand against onslaught of foreign colonialism and their domestic agents. Impact of this living political document that for the first time turned hearts towards Imām Khomeinī was so great that could singly immortalize the name of the author in the political struggles history of Iran and Islam.

On the goal of this book and the cause of its writing, Imām Khomeinī writes:

Today, when the flaunting world forcefully has stretched its hands towards religion and clerics and will do so... some of our writers deem it necessary to attack religion and clerics without intending but sedition with their shameful pens blackening some pages and distributing among the masses of people ignorant of the fact that weakening the people today about religion and clerics is the biggest of crimes that nothing helps destroy Islamic countries better than this approach. We have to elaborate by force the wrong way they go and their injustices in brief so that the dear readers can see the source of corruption and adversity of the country and nation...<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Imām Khomeinī has written this book at the age of 44 in Persian.

<sup>2</sup> Imām Khomeinī, *Kashf al-Asrār*, p. 2, Āzādī Publications, Bītā, Qum.

By considering the text of the book one finds that it covers six talks four of whose major talks from second to five entirely cover titles and important and serious political subjects such as *Imāmat*, clerics, government and law. Although in the second two talks raise occasionally political subjects. For instance, Imām Khomeinī in this book on subject of ideas of westerners and lack of need Muslims and we to them writes:

Alas! We have been intimidated from Europeans in such a way that we have been altogether disillusioned and the sciences in which we are expert and Europeans will not reach by the next one thousand years regard with laxity. One who has *Mantiq al-Shifā'* and *Hikmat al-Ishrāq* and *Hikmat Muta'aliyah* of *Ṣadrā* from *Shīrāz* does not need the logic and philosophy of Europeans. They have imagined that if the country progressed on the natural course it is also pioneer in the course of divinely wisdom and this is one the big mistake of us and one of the felonies of the writers of Islamic east.<sup>1</sup>

This work that has been written with political and theological attitude with stress on verses, *ḥadīth* and history is not simply for combat against the pens affiliated to the court but in a way expressive of combat with the court of arrogance. For instance, in the introduction by referring to situation of suffocation in those days and lack of possibility to compensate the adversities and deviation created by the Pahlavī regime, the Imām writes:

This is the reward of a nation that considers unbridled freedom as proud and violation of religion and religious ceremonies as desirable. *Riḍā Khān* went away, the dark times of dictatorship is over and it was imagined that the people has understood his pain and take lesson from 20 years of pressure and encroachment of properties and principles of theirs but still they are in slumber and have forgotten their black days...<sup>2</sup>

Therefore, as it is understood from the text of the book, one of the major goals of writing this book is to enlighten people and prepare them for uprising in the cause of God and preservation of religion and the country. As such, Imām Khomeinī in his work considers the poor condition of the nation and domination of aliens and dictatorship to lie in people's unawareness and their refusal to fight tyranny and its manifestations:

... Since people did not rise up to restore its right, adventuresome people found the opportunity bypassed the clerics and directly dealt with religion trampling upon the *muḥkamāt* of the Qur'an subjecting

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

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 10.

them to their poisonous intentions so that with arm heart they can turn the country to a scene for implementation of their corrupt purposes and again restore those adversities and bitter days...<sup>1</sup>

### Parts and Chapters of the Book

*Kashf-e Asrār*<sup>2</sup> comprises an introduction and six talks as follows:

Introduction (pp. 2-10): deals with subjects such as purpose of writing the book, study of the causes of writing works such as one thousand year secrets and goal of their writers.

Chapter one (*Tawhīd* or monotheism (pp. 10-105)): consists of subjects such as monotheism and polytheism, ideas of philosophers in this respect and lack of relations of beliefs of shias with polytheism in cases such as humility, tavasol, visit of holy shrines, intercession (*shafā'at*), *istikhārah* and... each of which are treated with rational and narrative reasoning. In this chapter, Imām Khomeinī rejects the ideas of *wahhābīsts* with theological perspective about concept of polytheism, demanding concession from Prophet or Imām, seeking *shafā* from *turbat*, prostration on torbat, building domes and shrine and mausoleum on the tomb of Prophet and immaculate Imāms, respect and bowing before tombs, *ziyārat* and *istikhārah* defending the stands of shias in this respect.

Chapter two (*Imāmat* (pp. 105-179)): comprising subjects such as *imāmat* and its reasons, viewpoint of Shī'ah and Sunnī in this respect, *Qadīr ḥadīth*, *manzilat ḥadīth*, issue of *Imāmat* prior to safavide and...

In this chapter, Imām Khomeinī holding the idea of appointive *imāmat* of immaculate imams by Prophet and monopoly of *imāmat* originally in the family of 'Alī ('a) rejects the questions raised by author of one thousand year secrets inspired from viewpoint of *wahhābīs*, employing numerous rational and narrative reasons. One of the important points in this chapter is that the writer in expressing *aḥādīth* dealing with *imāmat* has used authentic books of Sunnī such as *ibn Ghazzālī*, *Ṭabarī*, *Bukhārī*, *Muslim*, *Tirmidhī*, *ibn Dāwūd*, *Aḥmad Hanbal*, *ibn Mājah*, *Nassā'ī* and...<sup>3</sup>

Imām Khomeinī (s) in this chapter citing 40 books written about *imamat*<sup>4</sup> has noted that all of them have been written in time of living imams or close

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> This book was published again, the first time in the same year it was published and the second time in the early days of victory of the Islamic Revolution by the Āzādī Publications in Qum.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 141-152.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 158-161.

to their time. Moreover, he argues that writing books related to *imāmat* has not spread after safavide period but on the contrary since safavide period onward this trend has gone down and most of the exclusive books dealing with this subject have been written in Islamic culture in early days of Islam. At the close of the talk, Imām Khomeinī writes:

Therefore, ascribing books about *imāmat* to policy of safavide arises from maximum ignorance and lack of information on books and status of dignitaries...<sup>1</sup>

Chapter three (clerics (pp. 179-221)): in this chapter raising rational and narrative reasons, the Imām has studied subjects such as government and *wilāyāh*, rational and canonical necessity of government, manner of implementing government in Islamic society, reasons for governance of *faqīh* in time of occultation, correction of clerics, budget of clerics and... Although title of the subject is clerics, the main discussion is government and *wilāyāh*. On this basis at the beginning, he treats necessity of government for human communities from viewpoint of reason and narration and then heeding the subject that governing human beings is the right of God and non other than Him has such a right. The right to legislate vests in Him; it has been realized in the frame of *sharī'ah* laws. Government of God is exercised through the Prophet and Immaculate Imāms but in time of occultation of Immaculate Imāms, just *faqīh* should establish government and perpetuate it and selection of sultan or ruler should be done by *faqīh* or an assembly of *faqīhs*:

When we say government and *wilāyah* at this time lies with *fuqahā*, we do not want to say that *faqīh* is both Shāh and minister and military and cleaner, but that we say in the same way that a Constituent Assembly is established, the people of the country and the same *majlis* form a government and alteration of a monarchy... If such an assembly of committed *mujtahidīn* who know the rules of God and are also just and free from carnal passion and not be polluted by the world and its leadership and have no other goal but interests of people and implementation of the rule of God is established and elect a just sultan who does not deflect from the laws of God and... where in the world will suffer.<sup>2</sup>

In continuation of the discussion the book takes up the reasons for governance of *faqīh* in time of occultation and in this respect quotes four

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 162.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 185.

narrations from the Imām of the Time, narration of *khulafā'* (caliphs from the Prophet (s)), Maqbūlah 'Umar ibn Ḥanzalah from Imām Ja'far Ṣādiq ('a) and narration of course of affairs from Imām Ḥusayn ('a). and in the end also presents a discussion in the field of correction of clerics, situation of clerical budget and connection of clerical correction with improvement of society.

Chapter four (government (pp. 221-228)): Imām Khomeinī in this part discusses subjects such as government, *zālimah* government, necessity of Islamic nature of government, duties of government, laws of Islam in this respect, compulsory military service, standing and role of people in dictatorial government of the time, budget of Islamic country, situation of the west and western governments, *zakāt* and... At the beginning, he brings subjects about tyrannical government (predominantly meaning Pahlavī regime). For example, he writes:

You all cursed the contract of Wuthūq al-Dawlah and you were right to cur him. However, after some days, they imposed the same plan on you with a worse condition as you all know and you described it as progress of Pahlavī period and advancements of the country.<sup>1</sup>

Imām Khomeinī in this chapter has described the Pahlavī regime officials as treacherous or ignorant rulers and considered the way of improvement of society to lie in change of these lecherous big and small parts of smuggling<sup>2</sup> and in continuation of the discussion has rejected the claims of those who consider religion to be factors responsible for backwardness of society. Then by raising the subject of *jihād* and rules of Islam underlined the need for supervision of *fuqahā* over government and the fact that *fuqahā* should constitute an assembly and by this assembly elect the sultan of the country.<sup>3</sup>

We do not say and did not say that the Shāh should be faqīh or necessary requisite; Shāh should be military-oriented but refusing to violate fiqh that is the official law of the country...<sup>4</sup>

Then the Imām has treated the subject that if government fulfills its duties, this is not oppression:

You bring a government that treats according to official law of the

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 224.

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

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 232-233.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 233.

country so that we call them more just than Anūshīravān.<sup>1</sup>

In this chapter also a discussion has been raised about situation of European countries.

Chapter five (law (pp. 288-305)): In this chapter subjects such as legislation of law, law of Islam, legislator of laws of that time in Iran, legal procedure in Islam, relation of law and people have been deduced. On religion, he writes:

Religion is the big law of God that has come down to us for administration of the world countries and the wheels of life.<sup>2</sup>

The result of acting according to law is that the one acting accordingly will reach happiness in both worlds. Moreover, laws of the country, objections to them, completeness of the laws of Islam and legal procedure in Islam have been researched and the following cases citing the following ways as way of laws spreading its roots in the hearts:

1. Legislator should be upright and thinks of nothing but interests of the country and the masses of people;
2. Wise law to the interests of the country and masses of people;
3. Legislator should be obedient to law and guide the masses of people towards the path of obeying law;
4. Masses of people should trust the manner of performance of legislator.<sup>3</sup>

Chapter six (*Ḥadīth* (pp. 305-334)): Necessity of Islamic laws, some of the arguments of Qur'an on *istinād* to *ahādīth* of immaculate leaders, material and spiritual laws of Islam, laws supervising law and life style of wise men, the book *Bihār al-Anwār* of 'Allāmah Muḥammad Bāqir Majlisī constitute the subjects of discussion in this chapter.

Generally speaking, Imām Khomeinī in this book raises 13 questions provided in the book one thousand years secrets and answers each of them using amply rational, mystical and narrative (Qur'an and *Ḥadīth*) reasoning as well as historical arguments.

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 240.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 291.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 300-301.

## **2. *Wilāyat-e Faqīh or Islamic Government***

### **Introduction of the Book**

The book *wilāyat-e faqīh* or Islamic Government is a collection of speeches of 13 sessions delivered by Imām Khomeinī during his stay in the Holy Najaf from<sup>1</sup> Dhu'l-Qa'dah 1389 to Dhu'l-Ḥijjah 1389 (1/11/1348 to 20/11/1348 AHS) on the important issue of government and *wilāyah* in Islamic society. Content of the cassette has been transpired. These lessons in those days were distributed sometimes in full or sometimes in the form of one or several lessons. Full text of the cassette was prepared for publication after editing and confirmation of the Imām in autumn 1349 AHS. At first, some friends of Imām Khomeinī in Beirut published the book and sent it to Iran. This book was also published prior to the victory of Islamic Revolution in 1356 AHS in Iran in the form of a letter by Imām Mūsawī *Kāshif al-Qiṭā'* along with the book *Jihād-e Akbar*.

The book *wilāyat-e faqīh* like other works of Imām Khomeinī in time of the Shāh's regime was added to the top of list of banned books. There were many who were sent to prison or tortured on charge of publishing and distributing this book and even for carrying or studying it. However, despite pressures of SAVAK and restrictions of the regime of the Shāh banning the idea of Islamic government, it was rapidly spread among Muslim and revolutionary forces in theological seminaries, universities and other centers. The jurisprudential foundations of the present book have been elaborated in this book. Thus the idea of establishing Islamic government was manifested on the basis of *wilāyat-e faqīh* as one of the most vital ideals of the revolution of Imām Khomeinī.

The Shī'ah *fuqahā* have dealt with different chapters of *fiqh* in brief and some in greater detail regarding *wilāyat-e faqīh* proportion to the case. At the same time, irrespective of the differences of views by Shī'ah *fuqahā* in the area of authorities and aspects of *wilāyat-e faqīh* in time of occultation, most of them share common views in demonstrating a type of *wilāyah* for the world or fully-qualified *faqīh* in brief.

Based on the existing resources, the late Mullā Aḥmad Narāqī of '*ulamā'*' of Qājār era in the book '*Awā'id al-Ayyām*' has treated the subject in integrated manner and by resort to numerous narrations has generally demonstrated that in the age of occultation of Imām of the Time, *faqīh* has

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<sup>1</sup> The book *Wilāyat-e Faqīh* was published after the victory of the Islamic Revolution and was published time and again; the Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imām Khomeinī Works, edition 12, summer 1381 AHS.

the right of *wilāyah* in two things:

1. In all affairs in which the Prophet (ﷺ) and imams (‘a) exercised authority and *wilāyah* but cases that are exceptional due to canon.
2. In all affairs relevant to the religion and world of the creatures of God and need to be implemented.<sup>1</sup>

In our time, Imām Khomeinī in addition to discussion on this case has fully examined like other *fuqahā* in proportion to different issues the question of *wilāyat-e faqīh* for exercising the administration of government in the same comprehensive sense for the first time with clarity, stress and stipulation. And as pointed out earlier, he has taught the subject of *wilāyat-e faqīh* once in oral form in 13 sessions in Holy Najaf and the present book is the written form of edited version of those lessons. Once again this subject was treated in the second volume of book of buy<sup>2</sup> and also prior to that in the treatise of *ijtihād* and *taqlīd* almost in the same style.

Imām Khomeinī in the book *wilāyat-e faqīh* greatly stresses *wilāyah* which according to narrations constitute the foundation of all other principles and issues from viewpoint of Islam and has a fundamental importance. In this relation, in addition to elaboration of political and social factors causing this very important issue to be disregarded presents argumentative discussions with jurisprudential approaches heeding practical programming for realization of *wilāyat-e faqīh* in government by raising clear and workable ways.

In these lessons, the Imām first alludes to plots implemented by enemies for destruction of Islam and then with an argumentative diction provides answer to the misgivings such as Islam in the age of civilization and industry is not able to administer society or legal standards of Islam is weak and unable to settle the problems of society. In this connection, he refers to inculcations of enemies in creation of necessary grounds for separation of religion from politics even affecting the theological seminaries in a way that if one wants to talk about Islamic government, one should observe *taqiyyah*.

By voicing this definite historical reality that the Holy Prophet of Islam

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<sup>1</sup> He has noted ten cases of *Shu'ūnāt-e Wilāyat-e Faqīh* consisting *istiftā'*, judgement, and arbitration, implementation of divinel *hudūd*, preservation of property of orphans, maintenance of property of lunatics and absentees, *wilāyah* in affairs dealing with marriage, appointment of orphans and mad people, occupation in property of Immaculate Imāms and all affairs of society directly accomplished by the Imām. In this respect refer to Aḥmad Narāqī, *'Awā'id al-Ayyām*, numerous editions and *Limits of Wilāyah of the Islamic Ruler*, translated by Ministry of Islamic Guidance, Tehran, General Department of Publication of Propaganda of Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance, pp. 27-99.

<sup>2</sup> Imām Khomeinī, *Kitāb al-Bay'*, vol. 2, pp. 459-501.



has appointed caliph raises the question as to whether determination of caliphs for expression of rules. Expression or communication of rules does not want a caliph. A caliph is for government and for implementation of rules and laws.

Also in the book he cites cases as reasons necessitating establishment of Islamic government as outline below:

1. Life-style of the Prophet in establishment of government,
2. necessity for continuation of implementation of divinely laws,
3. Nature and quality of laws of Islam that cannot be implemented minus government.

Imām Khomeinī after expressing necessity of Islamic government alludes to record of history of deviation from this principle returning to the age of Banī Umayyah and continues up to the time of Banī ‘Abbās. By this expression that their methods in government was an anti-Islamic method and in the form of monarchical system of Iran and Roman Empire and Egyptian pharaohs and in eras after also in the same non-Islamic carried out, stressing that reason and canon urges for uprising to change this situation. Then, political revolution is necessary.

An important section of the book *wilāyat-e faqīh* is devoted to expression of difference of Islamic government with other governments and touches on the point that Islamic government is a special type of constitutional government; that is, conditional on Islamic laws. As such, from viewpoint of Imām Khomeinī duty of legislative power and legislation Majlis in fact is planning for different ministries and organization of government in the limits of Islamic laws.

Of course, it should be known that precise understanding of the theory of Imām on *wilāyat-e faqīh* whose principles have been presented in this book. It will be complete when practical policy of the Imām in time of administration of society and views and theories expressed after victory of Islamic revolution in the area of *wilāyat-e faqīh* and limits of authorities and its aspects sufficient attention is accorded.<sup>1</sup> At the end of his book, he raises his heart desire in the form of prayer in the following words:

O God, foreshorten the arms of the oppressors that are stretched out against the lands of the Muslims and rot out all traitors to Islam and the Islamic

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<sup>1</sup> Collection of ideas and stands of Imām Khomeinī in his case in the book *Leadership and Wilāyah in the Words and Message of Imām Khomeinī* by the Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imām Khomeinī's Works is being drawn up.

countries. Awake the heads of the Muslim states from their deep sleep so that they may exert themselves on behalf of their people's interests and renounce divisiveness and the quest for personal gain. Grant that the younger generation studying in the religious colleges and the universities struggle to reach the sacred aims of Islam and strive together, with ranks united, first to deliver the Islamic countries from the clutches of materialism and its vile agents, and then defend them. Grant that the fuqahā and the scholars may strive to guide and enlighten the minds of the people...<sup>1</sup>

### **Parts of the Book**

The book *wilāyat-e faqīh* or *Islamic Government* comprises the following parts:

Introduction (pp. 3-16) on necessity of *wilāyāhe-faqīh* and establishment of government. In the introduction, subjects such as necessity and *bidāhat-e wilāyat-e faqīh*, role of colonialism in imperfect and incorrect introduction/presentation of Islam, self-alienation of individuals of society in the face material advancements of the west and belief in necessity of establishment of government as fundamental part of *wilāyāh*. On the evident and necessary nature of *Wilāyat-e Faqīh*, he writes:

The governance of faqīh is a subject that in itself elicits immediate assent and has little need of demonstration, for anyone who has some general awareness of the beliefs and ordinances of Islam will give his assent to the principle of the governance of the faqīh as soon as he encounters it; he will recognize it as necessary and self-evident...<sup>2</sup>

In continuation on the need for establishment of political power of and executive government machinery, he holds:

Believe in necessity of establishment of government and establishment of executive machinery and partial administration of wilāyāh, as struggle for it stems from belief in wilāyāh... pay heed that you are duty bound to establish Islamic government...<sup>3</sup>

He also takes up the negation of idea of separation of religion from politics and maintains that: This subject has been propagated by colonialists, this matter is raised by those not believing in religion that time of Prophet

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<sup>1</sup> Imām Khomeinī, *Wilāyat-e Faqīh*, p. 153, Tehran: the Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imām Khomeinī Works, 12<sup>th</sup> edition summer 1381 AHS.

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

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.

politics was separate from religion...<sup>1</sup>

The first discussion, reasons for establishment of government (17-32): In this part, he deals with reasons for necessity of executive institutes for administration of society, tradition and approach of Prophet of Islam, need for continuation of implementation of laws, method of commander of the faithful ‘Alī in Abī Ṭālib (‘a) ad nature and quality of laws of Islam and in this last part of discussion points out to two fundamental points as follows:

Laws or injunctions of canon or sharī‘ah containing numerous laws and regulations constituting a general social system. In this legal system whatever man needs is provided.<sup>2</sup>

By precision in nature and quality of laws of sharī‘ah we find that their implementation and acting according to them necessitates establishment of Islamic government...<sup>3</sup>

In continuation of the discussion, he examines samples of three financial laws, national defense, restoration of rights and criminal. In discussion of financial laws he refers to cases such as *khums*, *jaziyyah* and *kharāj* and in the end treats the necessity of revolution and transformation in society for establishment of Islam’s political system in order to implement the ordinances and says:

We have no choice but to destroy the corrupt government organizations and corruption-breeding organizations and overthrow the treacherous, corrupt, oppressive and tyrannical ruling bodies. This is a duty that all Muslims in each Islamic country should fulfill and bring the political revolution of Islam to victory.<sup>4</sup>

We have no choice but to destroy those systems of government that are corrupt and also entail the corruption of others, and to overthrow all treacherous, corrupt, oppressive and criminal regimes. This is a duty that all Muslims must fulfill, in every one of the Muslim countries in order to achieve the triumphant political revolution of Islam.<sup>5</sup>

And finally he deals with the subject on necessity of government from viewpoint of narrations by referring to narration from Imām Riḍā (‘a) and concludes that the prevailing situation of society is the result of absence of

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 32.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 29.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 30.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 36.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 41.

competent government:

These were all due to the fact that we did not have guardian and chief and leadership organization. We want a competent government organization...<sup>1</sup>

Second subject is the form of Islamic government. In this discussion subjects such as difference of Islamic government with other governments such as absolute dictatorial governments and... nature of Islamic government, obeying law, qualifications of ruler (awareness of law and justice), *Wilāyat-e Faqīh*, authorities of ruler, differences of *wilāyat-e faqīh* with *takwīnī wilāyāh*, government being a tool and lofty goals of government and some characteristics of ruler have been heeded. On the nature of Islamic government, he writes:

In Islam, then, government has the sense of adherence to law; it is law alone that rules over society. Even the limited powers given to the Most Noble Messenger(s) and those exercising rule after him have been conferred upon them by God. Whenever the Prophet expounded a certain matter or promulgated a certain injunction, he did so in obedience to divine law.<sup>2</sup>

On government being an instrument for realization of right and justice, he writes:

Holding a government is not by itself and essentially a position, but a tool for fulfillment of duty of implementation of laws and establishment of just order of Islam.<sup>3</sup>

At the end of discussion, he takes up some of the features of ruler from viewpoint of Imām ‘Alī (‘a) such as ignorance, jealousy, bribe, timidness and stopping the tradition, ascribing them all to two main and primary features; that is, knowledge and justice, because the former relies on knowledge and the rest of the features rest on justice.

The third discussion concerns support of *wilāyat-e faqīh* in narrations. In this discussion that is the longest one in the book, Imām Khomeinī (s) examines eight narrations as follow:

1. Narration of *arḥam khulafā’ī* or *Khulafā’* quoting the Prophet (ṣ).

At the end of his examination on this narration, the Imām writes:

Therefore, there is no room for doubt that narration of *allāhumma arḥam khulafā’ī*... by *khulafā’* is meant *fuqahā* of Islam... In any case,

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 41.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 44-45.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 54.

dissemination of knowledge of Islam and spread of instructions rests with the just fuqahā to discern between real commands from unreal ones... As for how the noble *ḥadīth* refers to *Wilāyat-e Faqīh*, there should not be any room for doubt because khilāfah is successorship in all aspects of prophethood and the sentence *allāhumma arḥam khulafā'ī* is not less than the sentence *'Aliyyun Khalīfatī...*<sup>1</sup>

2. Narration of Husn al-Islam (the beauty of Islam) from Imām Ja'far Ṣādiq ('a).

At the end of the detail discussion of this narration, Imām Khomeinī argues:

The fact that has been said that fuqahā are guardians of Islam means that they are bound to protect Islam and provide the ground for protecting Islam.<sup>2</sup>

3. Narration of *Umanā' al-Rasūl* from the Prophet (s).

Imām Khomeinī by referring to this *ḥadīth* or narration concludes that all the affairs accomplished by prophets must be done by just *fuqahā* who are commissioned to do them.<sup>3</sup>

4. & 5. Narration of O, Shurayḥ quoting Imām 'Alī ('a) and narration of *attaqullāh al-ḥukūmat* from Imām Ṣādiq ('a).

Imām Khomeinī by commenting on these narrations argues that the function of judge belongs exclusively to the just *faqīh*.

6. Imām Khomeinī referring to the “events occurred” (*ḥawādith al-wāqi'ah*) before appearance of the holy twelfth Imām of the Time (may God hasten his reappearance) believes the occurred events to be the political and social happening of people at any time and argues that today *fuqahā* of Islam are proof to the people as was the holy the Prophet (s) God's proof and all affairs had been entrusted to him.”<sup>4</sup>

7. *Maqbūlah 'Umar ibn Ḥanzalah* from Imām Ṣādiq ('a) by reference to this narration explains that ruling here includes government and judgment and concludes that Imāms ('a) have appointed *fuqahā* for government and judgment. It is incumbent upon all Muslims to obey this order of Imām ('a).<sup>5</sup>

8. Narration of *Abī Khadijah* from Imām Ṣādiq ('a).

9. *Ṣaḥīḥah Qaddāh* and narration of Abu'l-Bakhtārī from holy the Prophet (s) based on which he raises that '*ulamā'*' are inheritors of prophets.

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 63-65.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 67.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 72.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 82.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 92.

10. Narration of *Manzilat al-Faqīhah* from *Raḍawī Fiqh* based on which Imām Khomeinī argues that “What has been ordained for Ḥaḍrat Mūsā in the affairs of government and *wilāyah* over people is applicable to *fuqahā*.”<sup>1</sup>

11. Narration of ‘*ulamā*’ is people of the Prophet (s).

12. Narration of *al-‘ulamā*’ is rulers over people.

13. Narration of *Tuḥaf al-‘Uqūl*, channel of affairs and ordinances of the Doyen of Martyrs (s).

At the end of this discussion, Imām Khomeinī argues that subject of *wilāyat-e faqīh* is not a new thing to be brought by us but this issue has been raised from the outset.<sup>2</sup>

Final word: plan of establishing government deals with programs and methods of struggle for establishment of Islamic government. And in it cases such as duty of ‘*ulamā*’ of religion and *fuqahā* for establishment of government, use of gathering, correct presentation of Islam, creation of [another] ‘*Āshūrā* and long struggle, improvement of clerical theologies, destroying intellectual and moral impacts of colonialism, correction of sanctimonious people, purging theological seminaries, rejection of court *ākhūnds* (clerics) and overthrowing tyrannical government is alluded and in the end writes:

Muslims can live in peace and comfort when they preserve their faith and excellent ethics and come under just and law-abiding government... it is now out duty to implement the government idea of Islam.<sup>3</sup>

### **3. Kitāb al-Bay‘**

#### **Introduction of the Book**

One of the most important works of Imām Khomeinī in argumentative *fiqh* is the subject of transactions—*Kitāb al-Bay‘*. This book is in five volume and have been written in the years between 1380-1396 / 1340-1355 AHS; that is, in approximately 16 years in Arabic language in holy city of Najaf. For the first time it was gradually published in the same place.

Volume One: this volume was written in 1380 AH and published in 1381 AH in holy city of Najaf. It has 484 pages.<sup>4</sup> This volume begins with definition of “*bay‘*” and discusses subjects such as *bay‘* and transactions, right

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 105.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 124.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 153.

<sup>4</sup> By computing the list of the book.

and its nature, question of argument over *istiṣhāb* for demonstration of necessity of *mut'ah*..., ownership and definition... temptation and conditions of *bay'*, prices, employment, security and... ending by alluding to the issue of *ghaṣb* and some types of corrupt *bay'*.

Second volume: this volume was authored in the holy city of Najaf<sup>1</sup> in 1380 AH, published in 1381 AH and contains 575 pages<sup>2</sup> beginning with the subject of *al-kalām fī shurūṭ al-muta'āmilīn* and ends by subjects such as conditions of dealers, correctness and invalidation of transaction, *fuḍūlī bay'*, subject of permission for entry, guarantee and indemnity, usury, deduction of *musi'ah wilāyah* over infant and its terms, *wilāyat-e faqīh* and Islamic government, the Imām's Share, financial affairs, *wilāyah* of al-udul of believers, *taṣarruf* in the properties of orphans, narration of *mojhef* to *kāfar*, negation of *sabīl*, issue of absence of reason for prohibition (forbiddance of quoting sacred books to *kuffār* and ownership of them.<sup>3</sup>

Third volume: This volume was written in Jumādī al-Awwal of 1392 and printed in 1383 in 438 pages. This volume begins with a subject under the title of *al-Qawl fī Sharā'it* al Arazein and covers subjects such as purchase *maftūḥ anwah* lands, *mawāt* lands and their *iḥyā'* (renovation), endowments, types of endowment, *rahn*, *bay'*, weight, and ..., and some other types of *bay'*. The last subjects of this book deal with *ihtikār* or pricing.

Volume four: This volume has been authored in 25 Jumādī al-Awwal 1394 AH and completed for the first time in Najaf in 1943 in 478 pages with a list. The main subject of the book was *khiyārāt* and begins with *al-qawl fī al-khiyār* and definition of *khiyār* and covers the types of *khiyār* such as *khiyār majlis*, *khiyār* of animal, *khiyār shurūṭ*, *khiyār ghabn*, *khiyār Takheer* and *khiyār ru'yah*.

Volume five: Imām Khomeinī has cited that the book has been written on Saturday 14 Jumādī al-Awwal 1396 in the holy city of Najaf. This volume was for the first time published in 1379 in 418 pages.<sup>4</sup> The book continues with the subject of *khiyārāt* consisting of *khiyār 'iyb*, *mustaghallāt*, nature of *'iyb*, and conditions of its correction, corruption in *'aqd*, laws of *khiyār*, following up and subject such as *naqd* and *nisyah*, *qabd*, necessity of *taslīm*

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<sup>1</sup> History of completion of writing this volume of the book has been cited to be Jumādī al-Awwal 1380 lunar calendar.

<sup>2</sup> By computing the list of the book.

<sup>3</sup> It is worthy of note that important subject of *wilāyat-e faqīh* and Islamic Government has come in this volume, pp. 459-520 and in subsequent pages the later pages would be dealt with.

<sup>4</sup> By computing list of the book.

and laws of *qabd*—latest issues of the book—have also been studied.

Imām Khomeinī in this book examines a major part of *makāsib*; that is, *bayʿ* in analytical form and by adducing narrational arguments considers the subject from different aspects.

### **Subject of Wilāyat-e Faqīh in Kitāb al-Bayʿ**

Here, merely Imām Khomeinī (s) deals with subject of *wilāyat-e faqīh* as pointed out and in continuation of subject of *wilāyah* over *ṣafar* and... enter the subject of *wilāyat-e faqīh* in society and administration of public affairs and does it at the end of *Kitāb al-Bayʿ*.<sup>1</sup>

*Wa qa bayyināt nazzalat...*<sup>2</sup>

### **Introduction of subject**

Here simply a reference is made to subject of *wilāyat-e faqīh* raised in second volume.<sup>3</sup>

Imām Khomeinī (s) in this section touches on standing of *ḥaqq* and *taṣarruf* of Islamic ruler in transactions and then enters the subject of scope of authorities of *faqīh* and subject of Islamic government.<sup>4</sup> Also in continuation of this subject, he treats elements of politics in Islamic law, necessity of government in order to dispense justice, education and preservation of system of society and removal of oppression and protection of borders of the country and preventing aggression of foreigners. Of the important points of this subject is that necessity of government is event arguments of reasoning for survival of human community.<sup>5</sup>

Characteristics of ruler in Islam:<sup>6</sup> in this section, conditions and features of ruler from viewpoint of Islam has been examined and two fundamentalist features for ruler such as knowledge of laws of the divine and justice and competency have been considered necessary although as admitted by him

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<sup>1</sup> Second edition of the book was published in full by the Institute of Islamic Publication affiliated to the Qum Teachers' Society in Sha'bān 1415 AH.

<sup>2</sup> Imām Khomeinī, *Kitāb al-Bayʿ*, vol. 2, pp. 2-4.

<sup>3</sup> This part of the book enjoying special significance has been translated by the General Department of the Center for Cultural Relations of the Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance and published by the title of authorities and *walī-ye faqīh* in 14 volume, with the lists and preface.

<sup>4</sup> *Kitāb al-Bayʿ*, vol. 2, pp. 462-459; *Shu'ūn*, pp. 24-17.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 461, authorities of *walī-ye faqīh*, printed by Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance, fourth edition, pp. 241, 274.

<sup>6</sup> *Kitāb al-Bayʿ*, pp. 465-464; *Shu'ūn*, pp. 32-29.



this feature can be explained in conditions of knowledge, because he considers efficiency and competency as token of knowledge.

Necessity of establishing government by *fuqahā*:<sup>1</sup> In this part subject *wājib-e kafā'ī* nature of Islamic government establishment for *fuqahā* has been discussed. In general, Imām Khomeinī has considered dispensation of government and establishment of Islamic government for just *fuqahā* to be *wājib-e kafā'ī*.<sup>2</sup>

*Wilāyat-e faqīh* in narrations:<sup>3</sup> The writer in this part examines five important narrations in details:

- A) Narration by *khulafā'*,
- B) Narration of *hoson Islam* [‘Alī ibn Ḥamzah],
- C) *Tawqī' al-Mubārak* [referred to Imām of the Time—May God hasten his reappearance],
- D) *Ḥadīth* of ‘Umar ibn Ḥanzalah,
- E) *Ṣaḥīḥah Qadāḥ*: Also in the midst of discussion some other *aḥādīth* and narrations as well as a number of Qur’anic verses are also resorted to.

*Faqīh* and Imām’s Share:<sup>4</sup> Here issue of the role the *faqīh* has in *taṣarruf* and use of the Share of Imām is fully examined. Based on Imām Khomeinī’s viewpoint, *khums* is entirely allocated to *Imāmat* or Islamic government.<sup>5</sup> In this discussion, Imām Khomeinī after study of the Share of *Sādāt* and role of ruler of Islam in collecting and distributing it examines the Share of Imām and right of *taṣarruf* of *faqīh* in it. At the end of discussion he also refers to *anfāl* and its relation with the Islamic government.

*Wilāyat-e faqīh* and financial affairs:<sup>6</sup> In this part Imām Khomeinī first defines financial affairs and considers them affairs that.

The holy law maker is not ready to leave them by themselves and definitely should a responsible man take control (contingency) of it.

After defining financial affairs, he has raised the question that implementation of financial affairs is vested with just *faqīh* unless such *faqīh*

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<sup>1</sup> *Kitāb al-Bay'*, pp. 467-465; *shu'ūn*, pp. 35-33.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 465, 466, authorities of *walī-ye faqīh*, p. 33.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 469-467; *shu'ūn*, pp. 66-37.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 497-489; *shu'ūn*, pp. 78-67.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 490; *Authorities of Walī-ye Faqīh*, p. 69.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 501-497; *shu'ūn*, pp. 79-84.

does not exist in society or does not have the power of carrying out such works.

*Wilāyat* of *uṣūl* of believers:

*Wilāyat uṣūl* of believers in absence of just *faqīh*;<sup>1</sup> In this part Imām Khomeinī has paid heed to subject of *wilāyah faqīh*, *uṣūl* of believers in political affairs in society in conditions when just *faqīh* is not found in society and has raised the issue that if just *faqīh* is not found in society or access to him and seeking permission from him is not feasible for administration of social affairs, *taṣarruf* for just believers is permissible. It is of this example that right to exercise control over ownership (right of confiscation) in the property of orphans. In this section, also he has raised that in the subject of *wilāyah* of believers by Saqalein hadith that is narrated by the very just person.

Lack of *tanafī wilāyat-e faqīh* and *wilāyah Adl* and question of *tazāhum*;<sup>2</sup> In this section he has treated two subjects: 1) positive reasons of *wilāyat-e faqīh* does not contradict the positive reasons of *wilāyat-e faqīh* with *wilāyah* of *faqīh* with *wilāyah* of just person or license of confiscation of him without right of *wilāyah*, and 2) the subject that if the establishment of government and realization of *wilāyah* of two just persons will be each other's *muzāhim* or not and this subject have been studied and this subject is treated in two parts under the title of a) issue of *tazāhum fiqhī* for other *faqīh*, b) issue of *muzāhimah* of *faqīh* in affairs of unexpected person who undertakes contingency of affairs of Islamic society. In the second round also this question has been raised that in case of existence of *fiqh* there is no reason for continence of just person in time of absence over financial affairs.<sup>3</sup>

#### **4. Al-Ijtihād wa'l-Taqlīd (Ijtihād and Imitation)**

##### **Introduction of Parts of the Book**

One of the political-jurisprudential treatises of Imām Khomeinī is the treatise of *jihād* and *taqlīd* that was compiled in 1307 (lunar calendar) and in time of presentation of the first course of advanced lessons of *uṣūl* by Imām

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<sup>1</sup> *Kitāb al-Bay'*, pp. 102-85 / *shu'ūn*, pp. 512-501.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 520-512; *shu'ūn*, pp. 116.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 520; *Shu'ūn and Authorities of Walī-ye Faqīh*, p. 116. It is noteworthy that Imām Khomeinī has raised all the subject of *wilāyat-e faqīh* under the two general titles of "question" (from beginning of discussion, vol. 2, p. 459, *Kitāb al-Bay'*, p. 501 and from p. 501 to the late 520. The above titles have been used here according to our desire and based on the subject matter.

Khomeinī in Qum. This work was printed at the outset along with several other treatises under the title of *al-Rusūl* and then distributed independently by the Institute for Compilation and publication of the works of Imām Khomeinī<sup>1</sup> in a 217 pages text (comprising one 19 page introduction and the main text consisting 198 pages).

Although the book has been written as an *uṣūlī* work, it is predominantly dealing with *shu'ūn* of *fiqh* and position of leadership and political leadership and is expressive of political thoughts and ideas of Imām Khomeinī from *fiqhī* perspective.

**The book comprises five chapters as follows:**

Chapter One:<sup>2</sup> This chapter is the most detailed discussion of the book and consists of subjects such as *shu'ūn* of *fiqh*, preliminaries of *ijtihād*, discussion about post of judgment and government, *qaḍā* and government during occultation, narrative argument of rule of *faqīh*, identification of *marja'* of *taqlīd*, and *fatwā*, foundations of the wise and style of the wise... this chapter itself consist of several subjects with the title of:

Chapter Two:<sup>3</sup> This chapter consists of subjects such as *estehab iradat* of it and pillars of the wise in *taqlīd* from the dead.

Chapter Three:<sup>4</sup> In this discussion subjects such as the duty of *mujtahid* in changing verdict, state of documentary *fatwā* and *uṣūl* of obligation of *muqallid* in conditions of change of opinion of *mujtahid* have come.

The verdict of man law (*quwwah al-istinbāt*) is currently expressing preliminaries of *ijtihād*, *al-qaḍā wa'l-hukūmat* in which arbitration and government in its political concept in general and in time of occultation of the Immaculate (Imām) and in cases such as category of 'Umar ibn Ḥanzalah, narrations of Abā al-Qadāḥ and Abī Bakhtārī, *Mashhūrah* and *Ṣaḥīḥah* of Abu-Khadiue and... has been referred. In the fourth affair also the subject of identity of *marja' al-taqlīd* and *fatwā*, existence of *ijtihād* in time of Immaculate Imāms, arguments for license of reference to Mafzūl and his reasoning, preference of words of *afḍal* treating the most important equals with difference of *fatwā* and...

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<sup>1</sup> Imām Khomeinī, *al-Ijtihād wa Taqlīd*, Tehran: Research and Publication: the Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imām Khomeinī' Works, first edition, 1376 solar calendar / 1418 solar calendar, *al-Rasā'il*, Qum: Press Institute of Ismā'iliyān, third edition, 1410 lunar calendar / 1368 solar calendar, vol. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Shu'ūn of Fiqh*, pp. 117-5

<sup>3</sup> Condition of Life in *Muṣṭū*, pp. 134-119.

<sup>4</sup> In Change of *Ijtihād*, pp. 148-135.

Appendix consists of three lines, chapter fourth: In this chapter the issue of remaining on *taqlīd*, pp. 157-167.

Content of the book and positions of *faqīh*; Imām Khomeinī in this work discusses the status of *faqīh* and writes:

*Wa man takūna lahu'l-wilāyah wa'l-zi'āmah fī umūr al-siyāsah al-shar'īyah...*<sup>1</sup>

Then he alludes to comprehensive nature of Islam and raises that Islam suffices for all human needs including political and social affairs: *Wa lammā kānat...*<sup>2</sup>

He has treated this subject in pages 22-24 with greater detail. For instance, he writes: *Adam ihmalat jamī'a ma...*<sup>3</sup>

Then, he goes on to say: Therefore, if it is as it is, it is not possible for Islam to consider politics and arbitration futile or else the *sharī'ah* will be incomplete.<sup>4</sup>

In discussing the preliminaries of *ijtihād* he has also raised the important issue of necessity of *faqīh*'s acquaintance with and writes: *...al-nās al-muḥāwirat...*<sup>5</sup>

In the next discussion (revolving around the position of a judge and government), he regards these two positions to be of fictitious (*wasfī*) (jail) positions. Basically, he considers sovereignty and government to be originally a thing belonging to God and maintains that based on order of reason (*famā yaḥkam bi'l 'aql*) God is the owner and creator of creatures and therefore enjoys the right to exercise control over them. Therefore, God is the absolute ruler over them.

Then, he turns to appointment of the Prophet (ﷺ) for Caliphate and government—in absolute form—and brings references from the Book, *al-Aḥzāb*, verse 6 and *al-Nisā'* verses 59 and 60. He holds that after the Prophet (ﷺ), Immaculate Imāms one after the other are sultan and rulers over creatures and that this sovereignty is through divinely appointment and the Prophet's appointment.

*... thumma ba'da nabī kāna a'imma...*<sup>6</sup>

Then, he begins study of the issue of arbitration in time of occultation of the Immaculate Imām and by reference to verse 26 of chapter 5, *yā Dāwūd*

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<sup>1</sup> *Al-Ijtihād wa'l-Taqlīd*, p. 5.

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

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 22.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 19.

ana ja‘alnāka...<sup>1</sup> considers real government to be of subsidiaries of Caliphate: *Dāla ‘alā anna jawāz al-ḥukūmah ...*<sup>2</sup>

Then by relying on the principle of comprehensive nature of Islam and the fact that prophetic mission ends with the Prophet of Islam puts his finger on deciding the fate of *ummah* in time of occultation and regards failure to elaborate on this to be a grave imperfection in the sahat of *sharī‘ah*.

*Kāna naqṣa fāhisha ‘alā...<sup>3</sup>*

Specially, this matter is associated with boycott of referral to tyrant kings and their judgment, something that has been referred to as ‘referral to *tāqūt*.’

Accordingly, deciding the destiny of *ummah* after occultation he considers it to be a matter that is necessarily rational and some narrations also denote to it and concludes that absence of laxity signifies that *qadr mutqan* of politics and judgment in time of occultation is the *faqīh* versed in judgment of religious politics and being just in the face of people.

*Fadhā ‘ālam ‘adam ihmāl...<sup>4</sup>*

Then he refers to remarks made by leaders of Islam regarding the status of possessors of knowledge such as ‘hosen Islam’, ‘*umanā*’, ‘heirs to prophets’ and...<sup>5</sup> and then he rises that the totality of these arguments he considers just *faqīh* to be *qadr mutqan* for government and judgment. Then he refers to the *ḥadīth* argument such as that of Maqbūlah ‘*Umar ibn Ḥanzalah*<sup>6</sup> to which is referred the absolute governance for *faqīh*. *Bal muṭlaq al...<sup>7</sup> Ṣaḥīḥah Qaddāḥ* and *Ṣaḥīḥah Abī Bukhārī<sup>8</sup>* the famous *ḥadīth* of Khadījah<sup>9</sup> and... is discussed and finally concluded: *Inna al-qaḍā bal...<sup>10</sup>*

That is verily judgment and arbitration and in fact government in absolute form is the post of *fuqahā*.

Then, he begins explaining verse 58 of *Sūrah al-Nisā*’ and concludes that mentioning this verse and corresponding verses aim to highlight the status of forbid of verdict of (rulership or arbitration) for other than God<sup>11</sup> and that

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<sup>1</sup> Whether in the sense of judgment and arbitration or leadership of society or in the both senses, these cases seem to be correcter.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 20.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 23.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 24.

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

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 26-32.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 20.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 32-24.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 34-39.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 38-39.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 41.

position of judgment and arbitration is exclusive to *fuqahā*.<sup>1</sup> Imām Khomeinī also in a discussion entitled ‘*ta’aruf al-ijtihād sābiqan...*’ reviews the history of *ijtihād* in time of immaculate Imāms and quality of style of the wise men on discussion of *ijtihād* and the relevant issues.<sup>2</sup>

## 5. Politico-Religious Testament

One of the most important works in the area of political thought of Imām Khomeinī is his valuable last will and testament that can be regarded as abstraction and gist of his viewpoints. This text has been presented as guide for perpetuation of Islamic revolution and preservation of Islamic Republic. Moreover, it is counted as political-moral instruction for each and every Muslim individual. The Imām’s last will and testament was written in 26 Bahman 1361 AHS and one copy of it in a message issued on the occasion of inauguration of the first term of Experts Assembly in 22/4/1362 AHS was entrusted to the assembly of experts.<sup>3</sup> then by making some changes<sup>4</sup> the corrected text was drawn up in two copies and presented to Āstān-e Quds-e Raḍawī, *ibid* (p. 3) and in 15/3/1368 AHS one day after death of Imām Khomeinī it was opened and read.

The Last Will comprises one preamble in six pages, two substantial notes and 18 notes.

### Introduction

Imām Khomeinī in this part refers to the famous *thaqalayn ḥadīth*<sup>5</sup> and elaborates on the verity of Islam and as put by him by the *thaqalayn* or greater *thiql*—Book of God—and *kabīr* (great *thiql*—Household of the Prophet (‘a) —negates *tāqūt* and introduces genuine Islam and considers the

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 50.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 70-117.

<sup>3</sup> Topical look at the Politico-Religious Testament of Imām Khomeinī, Tehran: Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imām Khomeinī’s Works, second edition, 1373 AHS, p. 3. In this message we read: I entrust a copy of materials in 30 pages as my last will and testament to the Experts Assembly to be released after my death. Imām’s message in 22/4/1362 AHS solar calendar, *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 18. p. 7.

<sup>4</sup> At the end of clause N of the handwritten copy, the Imām has written thus: The amount cut has been done by myself; *ibid.*, p. 52. And Imām Khomeinī, *Last Message, Politico-religious Testament*, Tehran: the Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imām Khomeinī’s Works, ‘Urūj, second edition, 1376 AHS, p. 71 and ... also at the end of it four materials have been added. Refer to the Last Message, p. 59 and ... *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 21, p. 443.

<sup>5</sup> From the Holy Messenger of Allah (ṣ): *innī taraka...*

establishment of just government to be one of the aspects of implementation of the Holy Qur'an.

'We are proud that our Infallible Imāms (pbut) who suffered in prison and exiles, finally became martyrs as a result of attempting to eradicate oppressive governments and *tāghūt* of their own time in order to rise the status of Islam and to implement the teachings of the holy Qur'an one of whose aspects is to establish a just government.<sup>1</sup>

Also, in this preamble, Imām Khomeinī stresses absence of separation of religion from politics by citing historical examples embarks on explaining its verity and considers damnation of and cry against tyranny of Banī Umayyah to be outcry against tyrants of the world.<sup>2</sup>

Notes: beginning of the main text of the last testament after expressing the significance of glorious Islamic Revolution which considers beyond the ability of the pen and the tongue to evaluate<sup>3</sup> comprises two major notes on need for attention to emergence and quality of struggle and incentive of revolution and power and capability of Islam and Islamic government in bringing happiness to human communities and administration of affairs and destinies of it and realization of social justice and negation of manifestations of oppression and injustice that bar perfection of human beings.<sup>4</sup>

18 notes: Imām Khomeinī in 18 notes<sup>5</sup> raises that based on religious duty to whatever extent it has role in preservation and survival of this divinely trust (Islamic Revolution) and barriers and threats threatening it<sup>6</sup>, providing practical and constructive guidelines for perpetuation of the Islamic Revolution and dignity and pride of the Islamic Republic and Muslim nations for different layers of society, organizations, officials of the system, rulers of Muslim societies, Muslims across the country and oppressed people of the world.

### **Main axes of Imām Khomeinī's Testament**

The subjects raised based on notes of the Last Will<sup>7</sup> may be classified in three fundamental axes:

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<sup>1</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 21, p. 397.

<sup>2</sup> *Topical Look at Politico-religious Testament of...* pp. 16-17, *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 21, p. 400.

<sup>3</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 21, p. 401.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 402-403.

<sup>5</sup> Imām Khomeinī has drawn up the 18 notes based on *abjad* letters.

<sup>6</sup> *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 21, p. 403.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 404-451.

**Islamic Revolution, Foundations, Barriers and Threats**

- A) The secret of victory and perpetuation of the revolution and the need for unity of people for preservation and perpetuation of it.
- B) Presentation of the conspiracies of enemies to the effect that Islam is unable to administer society and is separate from society and presenting arguments in rejection of these arguments.

Disclosure of plots of enemies to the effect that Islamic Republic has done nothing for people and providing suitable answers to the reject the questions. Imām Khomeinī in this part make a comparison of Islamic Revolution and Islamic Republic with other revolutions and governments and the people of Iran with other people and countries, Iranian officials with officials in time of ṭāghūt, providing advices to opponents and the prejudiced and deceived ones and calls on people to ennoble the revolution and appreciate its blessings.

- C) Presentation of the machinations of enemies to isolate the clerics and restate differences between clerics and university and highlights the need for resistance of clerics in the face of these plots.
- D) Disclosure of plots of enemies on encouragement of self-alienation in colonized countries and inculcating the spirit of westernization and easternization among nations and consequently self-alienation in the face of colonialists, providing valuable advices on ways to confront these plots to reach cultural, political and economic independence and taking case of manner of establishing relations with international plunderers.
- E) Expressing plots of enemies in creating deviation in centers of education particularly universities and presenting ways how to confront these conspiracies.

**Fundamental Affairs of Society**

- F) Commitment of representatives and presentation of guidelines to them, advice to president and leader and people to participate in elections and selection of individuals committed to Islam.
- G) Significance of judgment and presentation of necessary advances to judicial officials and judges on their performance.
- H) Importance of theological seminaries and advance on manner of their administration and providing them with necessary training.



- I) Improvement and purge of executive power and presenting advices for their guidance towards elimination of paper work and serving the deprived people and advising and stressing attention to fundamental issues in the foreign ministry and advising the nation and Islamic countries in curtailing the roots of dependence and advising toe the ministry of Islamic Guidance and their manner of performance in propagating the truth in the face of wrong and struggling to present the real picture of Islamic Republic to the world.
- J) Importance of centers of education from kindergarten to universities and attention to education and edification and training children and young adults with Islamic programs.
- K) Importance of armed forces and their role in preservation of revolution and presentation of advices to the armed forces regarding preservation of Islam and refusing to enter political parties and groups and need for struggle to reach industrial and military self-sufficiency.

**Special Advices**

- L) Presentation of advices to guide radio and television, print media, cinema... for preventing destruction and stupefaction of people's thought particularly younger generation and need for care of officials and people in manner of using these important tools in line with interests of Islam.
- M) Presentation of advices to groups and opponents opposed Islamic Republic of Iran and those cheated in colonialist countries and encouraging advances to them for return from their past mistakes and serving the deprived and oppressed people also advising devious writers and speakers and intellectuals to return from their wrong past and serve the people and Islamic Republic.
- N) Presenting enlightening explanations on moderate policy of Islamic economy, limits and conditions of ownership and capital and advances on how to exploit them.
- O) Advice to pseudo-clerics who are opposed to Islamic Republic system with different incentive and advising them to correct their thought and judgment and warning to wrong interpretation on conditions of the reemergence of Imām of the Time (may God hasten his reappearance).

- P) Advice to nations, Muslims and oppressed people of the world for uprising with confidence in one's self and lack of reliance to rulers and leaders of countries or foreign powers and advice for global movement towards establishment of an Islamic government through creation of free and independent republics.
- Q) Advice to people to resist and endure hardships and sufferings for reaching great goals.

At the end too by insight into the dear nation about awakening and vigilance, commitment, sacrifice, spirit of resistance, stability in the path of right and hope in continuation of it in future generations, written:

With a peaceful mind, a certain heart, a happy soul and a conscience hopeful for Allah's Mercy, I take my leave of all brothers and sisters to journey to the eternal abode.<sup>1</sup>

Also at the end of the last will, Imām Khomeinī reminds a few points as follows:

1. Rejection of attributions given him and sets the criteria for the attributions to be his handwritings and voice.
2. Rejecting claims made by those who argue that they have written my statements.
3. Rejection of claims made by those who say Imām's visit to Paris was due to consultation with them.
4. Noting that the criterion for everyone is his current conduct.

## **6. Al-Ṭalab wa'l-Irādah**

This book has been written in the holy month of Ramaḍān 1371 (1331 AHS) in Arabic in the city of Hamadān.<sup>2</sup> Subject of *ṭalab* and *irādah* in principle is one of the subject matters of philosophy that also enters the discipline of *uṣūl* and turned to important subjects of principles of *fiqh*. The subject of *ṭalab* and *irādah* in view of its relation to issues such as determinism and *tafwīd* and prosperity and adversity and also with a view to its full relation with man's will finds political and social significance and has

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<sup>1</sup> *Ṣahīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 21, p. 540.

<sup>2</sup> Imām Khomeinī has cited the date of ending its compilation to be on Thursday 25 Ramaḍān 1371 lunar calendar (11/2/1331 AHS).

complete connection of political philosophy. In fact, these issues are among important subjects of political philosophy.

Among Muslims too such theological issues caused the emergence of coteries and groups such as *mu'tazalites* and *ash'arites* and... On this basis, they played an important role in political direction of Islamic *ummah*. Viewpoint of the Shī'ahs on such issues is distinct from those of other Islamic sects and coteries. By following their immaculate Imāms, they believe in the principle of *lā jabr wa lā tafwīd*

One of the distinct privileges of Imām Khomeinī is that in most of his books, particularly those related with *uṣūl* he has shown attentiveness, depth of thought and need for revival of Islamic political thought, looking at *uṣūlī* issues with a new perspective; that is, with a socio-political outlook and attitude. Moreover, it should be known that although the book is an *uṣūlī* work, its diction and style of writing is philosophical and theological oriented. The book under discussion is one of the glaring examples of such an outlook. This book has been comprised of an introduction and three chapters.<sup>1</sup>

### **Introduction of the Book (pp. 12-19)<sup>2</sup>**

In this part, Imām Khomeinī sings the praises of God and then underlines the significance of determinism and *tafwīd*, examining the roots of viewpoints and differences of scholars on the subject of *ṭalab* and will power and resorts to viewpoints of Mullā Ṣadrā has raised his opinions.

### **Parts and Contents of the Book**

First chapter: *fi allāhumma mamā...*<sup>3</sup> In this chapter he notes that the most important argument adduced by Ash'arite for demonstration of their point on will and *ṭalab* and *jabr* and *tafwīd* and then dealt with the answers provided by the leaders and theoreticians of this school in the face of each of the cited arguments. This chapter is composed of several parts and sections.

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<sup>1</sup> Imām Khomeinī *al-Ṭalab wa'l-Irādah*, Tehran: the Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imām Khomeinī's Works, *al-Ṭalab wa'l-Irādah*, 1379/1421, *Ṭalab wa Irādah*, translation of Aḥmad Fahrī, Tehran: Center of Scientific and Cultural Publication House, 1362, Refer to *al-Rasā'il*, Published in Qum, Bītā, *al-Ijtihād wa'l-Taqlīd*, Research on the Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imām Khomeinī's Works, Tehran: the Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imām Khomeinī's Works, first edition, 1376 solar calendar, 1418 lunar calendar.

<sup>2</sup> *Ṭalab wa Irādah* (with Persian Translation), pp. 10-37.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 37-53.

The chapter entitled *al-mas'alat*, pp. 3-29:<sup>1</sup> In this chapter the real standing of *jabr* and *tafwīd* have been raised with a view to confirmations from the Qur'an and *ḥadīth* and review of the issue from perspective of the Ash'arite and Mafuzah. In addition to *tafwīd*, some reference has been made to the view of people of *tafwīd*.

The chapter entitled *fī ibtāl...*, pp. 31-35:<sup>2</sup> In this chapter by reliance on arguments such as causality, possible intrinsic, debate on creation and existence and... the Imām has rejected the claims of the proponents of *tafwīd* and advocates of determinism and reached the conclusion that:

*Fatūl nās bemaṇa...*<sup>3</sup>

Translation: *tafwīd* in the sense that it is possible for one to be independent in one's action is impossible and requires a revolution that is also impossible. In this respect, there is no difference between abstract and matter and actor who are free in one's action and the actor who is not free in one's action and creation, action and effect and property of being consigned to a creature is irrational...

Then, he cites a number of introductions in negation of attitude of fatalists.

The chapter entitled *fī bayān al-madhhab al-ḥaqq*, pp. 35-47:<sup>4</sup> In this chapter, Imām Khomeinī first discusses religion and viewpoint of right in discussion on will and destiny that is *amr bayn al-amrayn* and *manzilat bayn al-manzilatayn* and in continuation touches on a number of points on *jabr* and *tafwīd*.

Then, he enters the discussion of absolute divine decree and its relation with man's freedom and for demonstration of the subject adduces numerous narrative confirmations from the Qur'an and *Ḥadīth*, proving that there is no incompatibility in such narrated things.

The chapter entitled *fī dhikr baza al-shubahāt...*, pp. 47-65:<sup>5</sup> In this chapter, question of man's will, its standing, external causes and means of will and existing misgivings on these questions and answer to such misgivings, relation of knowledge and God's will with action of man along with some philosophical discussions have come(have been treated). In this chapter Imām Khomeinī deals with human will and its definition and its relation with divine will and knowledge with a view to viewpoints of

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 53-61.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 62-72.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 67, *al-Ṭalab wa'l-Irādah*, pp. 32. 33.

<sup>4</sup> *Al-Ṭalab wa'l-Irādah* (with Persian translation), pp. 72-91.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 53-61.

Mīrdāmād, Mullā Ṣadrā Shīrāzī, Muḥaqqiq Khorāsānī and Shaykh ‘Abd al-Karīm Ḥā’irī Yazdī and says:

From the perspective that will is one of the real characteristics and a property of additional nature (*dhāt al-idāfah*); that is, it should belong to something makes no difference with other such features as knowledge and hob (love)... and *mukhtār* is one whose action emanates from one’s will and freedom, not one whose will and freedom is accomplished by will and freedom...<sup>1</sup>

In continuation, he treats man’s volitional action and regards them as being of two types:

1. Actions that are done through material means such as writing.
2. Actions that are issues either without intermediary from one’s soul or with some incorporeal means such as perception.

Therefore, he considers will something bodily and among the physical actions of man and raises in the following words:

Resolution and will and decision and intention are among the actions of soul and are not like enthusiasm and love that are among passive actions; hence, source of will and decision lies in soul...

Then, he embarks on examining difference between *mukhtār* and non-*mukhtār* actor and after treating the principle of *al-shay‘ mā lam yajib lam yūjid* deals with relation of knowledge and will of God with man’s actions and concludes that:

Although will of God Almighty has been applied to order of atom, this application has no incompatibility with the fact that man is a *mukhtār* actor in the same way that knowledge of God Almighty that is the source of *kiyānī* order is not incompatible with man being independent. In fact, this confirms man’s freedom.

The second matter deals with truth of happiness and adversity, pp. 67-75:<sup>2</sup> In this discussion Imām Khomeinī highlights four fundamental matters as follows:

1. In explaining the truth of happiness and adversity and explanation of some of the mistakes committed by researchers.
2. In discussion of existence and its accidents and means and their accessories that are not intrinsic for possible natures. After study of possible existences and natures he concludes that:

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 62-72.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 130.

The need for effect for cause is exactly the same effect and its being *malūl*.<sup>1</sup>

3. In discussion about the question as to since possible natures are conventional affairs and lack reality, then, this nature is empty from any perfection, beauty, good and happiness.<sup>2</sup>
4. Definition of prosperity, adversity, freedom and considering these two to be volitional, Imām defines prosperity and adversity, writing:

Prosperity and adversity are not intrinsic matters that need cause because they are neither part of man's nature nor necessary for man's nature, but all the two are affairs of existential nature that need cause to come to existence, but are volitional affairs of creatures and each of them they want to create they can do so either of the two and achieve them.

Therefore, he considers rightful beliefs, good ethics and competent behavior and provenance of adversity in invalid beliefs, in favorable ethics and incompatible behavior.

Third chapter, pp. 77-89., deals with synopsis of differences of dispositions in this discussion of subject of decree in correctness of chastisements of to belong to objection voiced by volition and conditions for *taklīf* and its preparations have also been achieved.

Since one acts against law by volition, whether the *sharī'ah* law or political and civil law wise '*ulamā*' or scholars rule that punishing such a person is correct.<sup>3</sup>

Also diffusion of grace by self-existent has been regarded to be necessary believing that this matter is not incompatible man benign *murīd* and independent, but views it based on difference of talents.

Moreover, one of the factors of difference in inclination to do good or bad he has said to be nobility and lack of nobility of backs and purity and impurity of wombs<sup>4</sup> believing that factors such as selection of spouse, observing rules of wedding, instructions of expectation period and milking time, factors such as environment and instructors and... has a role in difference of inclination of individuals to good and bad acts and therefore he writes:

Difference of dispositions does not disrupt any pillar of the pillars of

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 134-135.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 135-136.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 141-142, *al-Ṭalab wa'l-Irādah*, pp. 78-79.

<sup>4</sup> *Al-Ṭalab wa'l-Irādah*, pp. 80-81, *Ṭalab wa Irādah*, p. 146.

correctness of chastisement (*'uqūbat*) and news of disposition (*tīnat*) being many and varied all revolve around the very verities cited or examples of them and does not harm what is subject of clear decree of reason and wise men.<sup>1</sup>

He goes on to say relate some of the narrations in this respect and for instance he refers to a narration from Imām Mūsā Kāzīm ibn Ja'far ('a), quoting him as saying that on adversity and propensity and their relation with man's disposition, saying that: *Fayasar kulla lamā khalqa lahū...*<sup>2</sup>

Translation: Therefore, any individuals be they men or jinn has been provided with the necessary tools and instruments at his/her disposal for that of his purpose (worship of Allah) for which he/she has been created. Therefore, woe upon one whose blindness and deviation are what he likes more than guidance and finding the straight path and selects the former.

In conclusion, in a discussion entitled research he has treated the question of human nature and raised that man's primordial nature loves absolute perfection and subsequent to love to perfection, another primordial nature existing in man that: consists of nature of detestation with imperfection of any defects conceivable.<sup>3</sup>

Therefore, from viewpoint of Imām Khomeinī God implanted the nature of monotheism and knowledge in man but again did not leave man alone but sent them divine prophets according to exigencies of nature and based on principle:

Inviting to moral virtues and spiritual perfection [for his guidance and therefore commands and] ...divine obligations are all divinely graces and are like divinely medications for treatment of ailing souls and ill hears...<sup>4</sup>

## **7. Disposition of Ḥadīth of Army of Reason and Ignorance**

This work<sup>5</sup> is one of most valuable works of Imām Khomeinī that has

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<sup>1</sup> *Al-Ṭalab wa'l-Irādah*, p. 83, *Ṭalab wa Irādah* (with Farsi translation), pp. 148-140.

<sup>2</sup> *Al-Ṭalab wa'l-Irādah*, p. 85, *Ṭalab wa Irādah* (with Farsi translation) p. 150, quoting Shaykh Ṣadūq, *Tawḥīd*.

<sup>3</sup> *Al-Ṭalab wa'l-Irādah*, p. 86, *Ṭalab wa Irādah* (with Farsi translation), p. 152-153.

<sup>4</sup> *Al-Ṭalab wa'l-Irādah*, p. 88, *Ṭalab wa Irādah*, p. 155.

<sup>5</sup> Imām Khomeinī, *Exposition of the Ḥadīth of the Army of Reason and Ignorance*, Tehran: the Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imām Khomeinī's Works, first edition, 1377 AHS. This book was for the first time published in spring 1377 AHS by the Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imām Khomeinī's Works. In the end of the book, Imām has promised that rest of the materials will be presented in a different volume. Date of end of compilation of this section is second day of Ramaḍān 1463 lunar calendar, *ibid.*, p. 429. In this book, the Imām with philosophical and theological outlook attempts to express some of

been written in philosophical, theological, moral and mystical attitude and comprises philosophical issues, theoretical mystical and political philosophy. The main subject of the book is explanation of the famous *ḥadīth* of Army of Reason and Ignorance from Imām Ja‘far Ṣādiq (‘a). in this book, Imām Khomeinī has tried with philosophical and theological attitude by expression of some important moral issues from the book of reason and primordial nature that is from Imām’s perspective a pivotal issue and crucial.

The book consists of a preface, preamble, five categories and 25 chapters. In the preface (3-5) after saying the praise of God and supplication he cites the cause of writing of this book and considers hem to be existence of clerics and brilliance in the words of infallible leaders particularly this *ḥadīth* that are not found in other words and remarks. For instance, he writes:

And then since holy aḥādīth of he immaculate purified Imāms (‘a) that are the merciful caliphs and gist of son of man displays brilliance and spirituality that are not found in other words and aḥādīth because it has been sent down from source of celestial knowledge and grace and remote from confiscation of carnal desires and passions and evil Satan and improbable of treason to it is interdicted... As such, from the words of immaculate Imāms (‘a) one can describe it as prolonged (mamdūd) rope between heaven and earth.<sup>1</sup>

### **Introduction**

In the introduction, pp. 7-14, he studies the discussion that purpose of Qur’an and *ḥadīth* is to purge the intellect and purify souls for achieving the lofty goal of *tawḥīd* and the fact that this subject has been less heeded by authors. Moreover, what is important is that what is written should be medication, not prescription and therefore should enjoy the aspect of granting lesson and informing. Generally speaking, from the viewpoint of Imām Khomeinī sciences are prelude to action, and their end is to make souls light from tyranny and edify them.

O, Dear! The entire disciplines of *sharī‘ah* is prelude to knowledge of God and attainment of truth of monotheism in the heart that is *sibqata lah*. *Wa man aḥsana min allāh sibqata*. The end of the matter is that some are prelude to *qarībah* and some *ba‘īdah* and some without intermediary and some with intermediary.<sup>2</sup>

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the important moral issues the most important of which is justice and primordial nature in which the Imām’s view is pivotal.

<sup>1</sup> *Exposition of the Ḥadīth of the Army of Reason and Ignorance*, pp. 4-5.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.



### **Parts and Contents of the Book**

The five articles, pp. 15-71, in the first article he deals with narration of the text of *ḥadīth* and its translation. This *ḥadīth* after a discussion on reason and ignorance explains the army of reason and ignorance. In the second article he touches on truth of reason and ignorance and purpose and intention of *ḥadīth* and considers reasons in this *ḥadīth* as general reason and intellect of the greater world. That is the nature and secret of the truth of minor intellects:

It is a brilliant substance separate from physical likes and is the first creature of clerics<sup>1</sup> and the first aim of sacred fayḍ and absolute divine decree and 'azabiyeh kinonat' of the moon.<sup>2</sup>

It stands against it and also against the entire that is the truth of the big Satan.

In the third article he deals briefly with features of reason and ignorance. The fourth article is a discussion about truth of prosperity and adversity of reason and the general and particular world. In the fifth article he briefly touches on some of the terms of *ḥadīth*. He also refers to 75 forces of the forces of reason and ignorance and considers this *tadiyah* to be restricted to generalities and important affairs. And argues that in this mid cases such as good and bad or justice are regarded as existing in the form of most important things under whom man of the forces stand.

The sixth issue is the main subject of the book and consists of 25 purposes, pp. 73-429, in which he treats 25 cases of the armies of reason and ignorance such as good and evil, faith and disbelief, acknowledgement and denial, hope and worship, justice and generosity.

In this book, some of the subjects that are worthy of consideration in terms of political thought consist of:

First purpose: explains good and evil, pp. 75-86. Issue of good and evil and its relations with nature and question of human nature and his existential structure and issue of guidance and education and edification of soul are of most important discussions of this purpose. In explaining good and evil linked to nature, he writes:

Good means languishing (*makhmūrah*) nature and evil signifies veiled nature.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Reference to *ḥadīth* of Imām Bāqir (a), *Exposition of the Ḥadīth of the Army of Reason and Ignorance*, p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> *Exposition of the Ḥadīth of the Army of Reason and Ignorance*, p. 22.

<sup>3</sup> *Exposition of the Ḥadīth of the Army of Reason and Ignorance*, p. 9.

On this basis, Imām Khomeinī considers man to have two natures: one is the main (lover for absolute perfection, good and absolute happiness) and the other secondary (hate from imperfection, detestation from evil and adversity). Good is the languishing nature and directed at spirituality and its main position while in evil nature is doomed to nature and veiled in its commands. In the same way that languishing nature is responsible for happiness of man, totality of evils from veils of nature or veiled nature.

The second purpose, faith and disbelief, pp. 87-111, from the view of the Imām, faith is the pillar of it such as knowledge and *tawhīd* and *wilāyat* is according to nature while disbelief means withdrawal from the way of nature. Therefore, he raises:

*Wilāyat* is a branch of *tawhīd*, because truth of *wilāyat* is absolute *ḥaq* and absolute *ḥaq* is under the aegis of absolute unity...

Accordingly, he considers man's freedom something natural and writes on it:

And also man according to nature loves freedom and likes to do whatever one wishes. He loves even his will to be influential in a way that there is no defendant or barrier in the way of his rule and power.

Fifth purpose under the title of justice and its opposite is oppression. On justice, he writes:

Know that justice consists of middle way between the two extremes... in fact, absolute justice is the entire inner and apparent and spiritual and heart and physical virtues because absolute justice directly leads to the concept...

In this look, justice is direct path and resistance on the course of nature and truth or straight course of humanity. As such, in continuation by referring to some of the verses of Qur'an such as verse 56 of Chapter *Hūd* writes:

It should be known that since justice is the middle way between the two extremes, if we feel from the point of servitude to the entire proximity of *rubūbiyāt* of *tamhīl* is connected to the straight path, then path of perfect man's course starts from the point of imperfection of servitude to the perfection of *rubūbiyāt* of justice that is the straight path and course of moderation.

In continuation of this purpose, he deals with ways of achieving virtue of justice and quality of adjustment of carnal (*nafsāniyyah*) forces in individual. In this discussion the advices the youth as such:

Therefore, it is necessary upon the youth to purify their self as long as the opportunity of young days and cleanness of inner side and primordial nature is untouched and remove the roots of corrupt ethics and dark oppressive features from their hearts as with them one of the evil ethics of man's happiness is at stake.

In purpose eight (greed and disappointment), he writes:

What has come in holy verses that all good things are collected in separation of greed from people is because cutting greed from people is the way of curtailing to right and connecting to the door of God that it opens and that is assembly in good things and center of all blessings to which man's nature is *makhmūr* and on it *maftor*.

In purpose 10 and 11 on mercy (*ra'fat*) towards human beings, he writes:

Briefly, one whose heart is empty of mercy towards creatures of God, he should be removed from of this society and deprived of the right to enter human being.

In this discussion, Imām Khomeinī raises that God has created man from the truth of mercy and man is the form of His mercy and by referring to verses first to third of Chapter *al-Raḥmān*, he writes:

Creation of man is attributed to the name of mercy. And that is why that oppressive and hard-hearted man naturally hates oppression and tyranny and if he neglects oppression and injustice, he rejects oppression and tyranny of others in his primordial nature.

In the same discussion on power of anger, he considers it to be great divinely blessing that is responsible for survival of individuals and group and says in this connection:

Defense and affront to family and obstruction of borders and limits of country and preservation of system and nation and survival of nationality and guarding against aggression of rebels against Utopia and *jihād* with a number of human beings and religion cannot find expression unless in light of this power of God and...

In the Chapter 16 on discussion about *rifq* and *khirq* on significance of toleration in advancement of material and religious purposes, he stresses and points out that minus them these purposes would not become operational.

Imām Khomeinī in discussion of *istislām* and colonization considers *istikbār* as rebellion and disobedience and being rebel and proud that is the result of injury of health and cause of pride and arrogance. From the viewpoint of Imām, *istikbār* is from the army of Satan and requirements of

veiled nature and stands against *istislām* that is the requirement of *makhmūrah fiṭrat* and is among the army of reason and signifies formal *inqiyād* and is out of inner submission.

In purpose 25, he negates undue revenge and anger and admires purity and meaning forgiveness.

### 8. Disposition of Forty Ḥadīths<sup>1</sup>

This book is one of the most valuable works of Imām Khomeinī on *ḥadīth* and ethics. In this book, he deals with 40 selected *ḥadīths* handed down from Immaculate Imāms in Farsi language in 1358 (1318 solar calendar).<sup>2</sup>

This work is in principle the result of writing of lessons of Imām Khomeinī in theology seminaries of Fayḍiyyah and Mullā Ṣādiq and then he collected those materials into the form of a book.

Of these forty *ḥadīths*, 33 first *ḥadīths* deals with ethical, vocational, political and social issues. Imām Khomeinī in this section attempts to reveal the defects and justifications of soul and highlights corruptions, and evil ethical features such as pride, arrogance, *istikbār*, *riyā*, anger, wrath, jealousy and... the seven later *ḥadīth* treats ideological matters.

Among the *aḥādīth* raised in this book, although their general *sibqah* and attitude is ethical and ideological, issues raised on the *aḥādīth* below or exposition and interpretation of them is linked with mentality and political thought of Imām Khomeinī.

*Ḥadīth* no. 3 (*‘Ujb*): Imām Khomeinī in this discussion quotes the late Shāhābādī not to address individual disbeliever in your heart, perhaps light of their nature would guide them and your interpretation results in bad

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<sup>1</sup> Title of the book *Forty Ḥadīths* is the titles usually containing forty major *ḥadīths* or comprising 40 chapters or topical subjects in the *ḥadīth*. Apparently, compilation of the books of Arba‘īn has become common since fourth century, tradition of arbain writing based on one of the famous *aḥādīth* of the Prophet prevailed were he said: “Man ḥafaza aka.”

In this respect, noted figures such as Abū Bakr Kalabazi (death 380 lunar calendar), Abū al-Raḥmān Salmī, Abū Nā‘īn Iṣfahānī, Shahīd Awwal., Shaykh Bahā‘ī, Majlisī the second and... books have been compiled. On this *ḥadīth* refer to Muḥammad Bāqir Majlisī, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, Tehran: Publicaion of *‘Ilmiyyah Islāmiyyah*, new edition, 120 volumes, vol. 2, pp. 153-157, Muḥammad Bin Muḥammad Bin Namad Mufīd, *al-Ikhtiṣās, Taṣṣīḥ and Ta‘līq ‘Alī Akbar Ghaffārī*, Qum Institute of Islamic Publication, Bītā, p. 2, Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī Bin Bābūyah Qummī, *al-Khiṣāl*, Qum: Chartres of Islamic Society, vol. 2, 1362 lunar calendar, *Aḥādīth* 15 to 19, *ibid.*, *‘Uyūn al-Akḥbār al-Riḍā, Dār al-‘Ilm*, vol. 12, 1377 lunar calendar, p. 127, Imām Khomeinī, *Forty Ḥadīths*, Tehran, the Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imām Khomeinī’s Works, vol. 16, p. 137.

consequence for you. Enjoining to good and forbidding evil acts is different from heart interpretation. Rather, he observed that do not damn the disbelievers who are not clear as to weather leave this world with a state of disbelief; perhaps in time of leaving this world they have been guided and their spirituality bars your promotions.<sup>1</sup>

Also in exposing *mafassed* i.e corruption of 'ujb, he speaks of the contempt of creatures of God and observes:

And among his other corruption against the creatures of God looks with contempt and belittles the acts of people although better than their deeds and this is also one of the ways of destruction of man and obstacles on his way...<sup>2</sup>

*Ḥadīth* no. 4 (envy): In this discussion while examining the *ḥadīth* left of Imām Ja'far Ṣādiq ('a) on *kibr*, he writes: Jealousy means a state of the soul causing man to have been given special gift and is indignant (is a psychic state) and considers or imagines to be above other persons and presenting oneself as great...<sup>3</sup>

In study of difference of envy, he speaks of envy to God. According to him, this envy with the men of knowledge returns to envy to God and means envy in the face of God. In examination of this *ḥadīth*, Imām Khomeinī raises that degree of arrogant persons and those imagine them to be higher than others and are envious to them and are arrogant is contempt and despair.

*Ḥadīth* number 6 (Love of the World): In examining this *ḥadīth* he raises an interesting point about man's primordial nature. At the same time that man has been born according to one primordial nature and is the son of nature, he/she loves the world. Naturally, man loves the world and hates annihilation, at the same time, according to one's original nature and noble loves absolute perfection and his/her of the heart is directed towards absolute beauty and absolute perfection.<sup>4</sup>

In fact, here premise of this disposition is seeking perfection and soqra of it requirements of individuals and society and consequently type of discerning and special imagination of individual adolescent of perfection. For example, he writes:

... essence of seeking chairmanship if it brings under the center banner of sovereignty and is directed towards another center and if exercises control over all the earth, one will be interested in flying to other centers and

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<sup>1</sup> *Exposition of Forthy ḥadīths*, p. 67.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 69.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 79.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 127.

exercises control over them, but the poor man does not know that nature seeks something else.<sup>1</sup>

*Ḥadīth* no. 7 (Anger and Wrath): In this chapter power of anger is raised as one of the blessings of the divine by means of which teaching of the world is after world is accomplished and by which preservation of survival of persons and type and higher order is done and has enormous intervention in formation of Utopia and order of society.<sup>2</sup>

While doing written implementation, realization of the enjoining to good deeds and forbidding the evil and realization of religious and rational politics depends of this power and its correct application.

*Ḥadīth* no. 8 (Anger): Imām Khomeinī in exposition of this *ḥadīth* considers criteria of badness in oppression and tyranny and the outset of its discussion raises that angry is one who backs his relatives in oppression.<sup>3</sup>

Therefore, from his viewpoint by itself anger is not an evil act nor is it regarded as incompetent unless by it one is not seeking right. This is the continuation of the discussion:

However, expression of right and propagation of truth and demonstration of rightful material support for it is not either anger or evil anger.<sup>4</sup>

The author considers such anger to be praiseworthy and of the best qualities of human perfection and disposition of prophets and immaculate Imāms although they may be those taught by them even though being their enemy.<sup>5</sup>

*Ḥadīth* no. 9 (Hypocrisy): Imām Khomeinī examines the concept of hypocrisy, corruption, types and ways to resolve them in this discussion and studies that for instance. For example, he takes up a discussion of the type of hypocrisy of 'ulamā' and *fuqahā*.<sup>6</sup>

*Ḥadīth* no. 9 (Hypocrisy): Imām Khomeinī in exposition of this *ḥadīth* considers criteria in badness in injustice and oppression and the outset of his discussion raises a discussion about types of hypocrisy in 'ulamā' and *fuqahā*.<sup>7</sup>

*Ḥadīth* no. 12 (Contemplation).

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 134.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 145.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 146.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 161.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

*Ḥadīth* no. 13 (Trust, Contempt, and Entrust).

*Ḥadīth* no. 15 (Test and Examination).

*Ḥadīth* no. 16 (Patience and Different Types of It).

*Ḥadīth* no. 17 (Repentance): one of the interesting subjects in this section is the attention engaged in this section in which he deals with the concept and truth of repentance.

### Exploration of the concept of soul and nature

Imām Khomeinī considers repentance to be return to nature of soul to spirituality of soul<sup>1</sup> after *kudūrat* or disobedience to light of nature and... and then raises that soul in the outset of nature is a page empty of any form neither perfection or *aḍḍād*, but what is important is that light of talent and aptitude have been implanted in it for reaching and position as trust and this is an interesting point that considers nature tone aptitude and efficiency and to reach positions and states and... considers soul to be empty of any special role:

*Ḥadīth* no. 19 (Backbiting): One of the important issues is the subject of expressing evils of social and political losses of backbiting. From the viewpoint of Imām Khomeinī one of the cases of these corrupt things is to prevent monotheism and unity of belief that is itself constituent of formation of Utopia.<sup>2</sup>

One of the big corruptions of Grand Prophets, (p) is the means for big progress and absolute intervention in formation of a *madīnah fāḍilah*? Monotheism of word and monotheism of belief and assembly in important affairs and preventing against tyrannical oppression of *arbāb* is a tyranny that calls for corruption, so children of man and loves *madīnah fāḍilah*.

Imām Khomeinī in this exposition alludes to one of the fundamental instruments and tools requisite to construction of healthy Utopian society; that is friendly and unity; that is unification of all purposes revolving around the axis of collective expediency. Then he points to amity conclusion between all Muslim tribes and nations and accounts for the result of such amity and friendship among Muslims in the early days of Islam that is pronounced by Prophet of Islam (s) by reading the verse *innamā al-mu'minūna ikhwah*<sup>3</sup>. When occultation is the main barrier on the way of this brotherhood and amity.

*Ḥadīth* no. 23 (Seekers of Knowledge): In explaining this *ḥadīth* Imām

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 272.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 309.

<sup>3</sup> *Sūrah al-Hujurat*: 49:10.

Khomeinī classifies seekers of knowledge based on a general classification into two types: 1) those whose purpose of seeking knowledge to be trained in divinely sciences and elevation; and 2) those whose goal in training in the sciences were carnal desires that was the final end of this group. Actually, the main purpose of this latter group is ignorance.

*Hadīth* no. 24 (Types of Sciences and Exposition of the Branches of Sciences): In this discussion, Imām Khomeinī takes up the famous *hadīth* of Prophet Muḥammad (ṣ) who observed:

*innama al-‘ālima salāsat al-ayāt al-muḥkamāt...*<sup>1</sup>

He has discussed the verse thoroughly and considers some of the disciplines dealing with education of apparent aspects of upbringing. Discipline of *fiqh* and its entry is that of etiquettes and association and administration of the house and politics among this group of sciences and its custodians is primarily prophets and immaculate Imāms and after then apparent ‘*ulamā*’, traditionalists and *fuqahā*. As such, in the sight of Imām Khomeinī these sciences are of beneficial nature since the rational perfection and modeling acts and other duties of the soul. Moreover, three beneficial sciences (rational perfections; and disposition, states and actions of heart and model actions) are associated with each other in a way that effects of each of them permeate.

Imām Khomeinī in his interpretation of the above *hadīth*, considers the *muḥkamāt* verse, rational verse, rightful ideas, divinely knowledge, ‘*ādilah*’ hypothesis to be expressions of science of ethics and edification of hearts and *qā’imah* tradition to be consisting of apparent knowledge and dominant rites sciences.<sup>2</sup> He also writes on ethics to be hypothesis of being justice:

As for reason for hypothesis of just regarding the science of ethics is description of hypothesis to just because creation of good things as is provided in that discipline is to withdraw from the limit of both extremes and each of the two extremes are evil and justice; that is, the middle way is good.<sup>3</sup>

*Hadīth* no. 29 (Advices of the Prophet (ṣ) to the Commander of the Faithful (‘a) and Discussion of Trust and Divinely Trust (*Wilāyah* of the Household of Immaculate Imāms and...): In exposition of this detailed *hadīth*, Imām Khomeinī has a discussion about disposition and its change in human beings. From his viewpoint intrinsic disposition is not unalterable but all psychic accidents (‘*awāriḍ*’) in this world are exposed to a state of flux

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<sup>1</sup> *Exposition of Forty Hadīths, ibid.*, p. 389.

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

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*



and change and on this basis human beings can change all their moral features to their opposites.

It should be known that by dispositional being natural is meant that it is immutable essence, but rather the entire psychic *malakat* and moralities to the soul in this world is movement and change and exposed to conquest to time and reform and enjoys and power, is mutable...<sup>1</sup>

In this discussion a reference has been made to the four virtues of the view point of philosophers and scholars of ethics that is wisdom, *'iffat*, courage and justice and considers justice moderate extent of the three virtues and other moral virtues are attributed to these four virtues. On this basis in his viewpoint justice is the basis and foundation of all other virtues.

*Hadīth* no. 31 (Subject of Determinism, *Tafwīd*, Stations and Immaculate Imāms ('a)): Imām Khomeinī in exposing this *hadīth* explains the concept of *tafwīd* as opposed to determinism and negates it.<sup>2</sup> In continuation by explaining determinism refers to its negation. In defining determinism he has said:

In contrast to it (determinism) that consists of negation of special impacts of the stages of existence and negation of means, causes and inculcation of immediate means.<sup>3</sup>

In addition, discussion of exposition in this chapter has come in detail. In examining this *hadīth*, he explains the concept and truth of immaculate Imāms as well and considers immaculate state as a psychic state and inner light that perfect light of certitude and absolute confidence is obtained and certitude of prophets and absolute confidence of them that is obtained by observation at close range has made them infallible of all flaws.<sup>4</sup>

*Hadīth* no. 33 (Discussion of *Wilāyah* and Actions of Human Beings): Imām Khomeinī based on this *hadīth* considers *wilāyah* and knowledge of infallible Imāms as condition for acceptance of actions and this counts this as essentials of Shī'ah school.

*Hadīth* no. 35 (Knowledge of Names of the Truth and Question of *Jabr* and *Tafwīd* and *Amr bayn Amrayn*).

*Hadīth* no. 37 (Knowledge of God, the Prophet of God and Possessors of Command): Imām Khomeinī based on this *hadīth* considers enjoining to good, justice and benevolence as benchmarks and indicators of knowledge of

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 510.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 548.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 552.

possessor of command in society.

*Ḥadīth* no. 38 (Creation of Man on the Face of God Almighty): In this section Imām Khomeinī examines the standing and significance of man in the world of existence and thus in the Imām's viewpoint, man is the absolute symbol of the divine and grand name of the divine and concludes from his discussions that perfect man is the symbol of comprehensive name of God Almighty and manifestation of the grand name.

He also refers to verse trust *anā arḍanā...*<sup>1</sup> and says:

And trust in the parlance of people of mysticism is absolute wilāyah no one is entitled to it excluding man and this absolute wilāyah is the position of sacred grace.<sup>2</sup>

And he defines trust as responsibility.

*Ḥadīth* no. 39 (Subject of Good and Evil and Invalidation of Determinism).

### 9. Religious Enquiries<sup>3</sup>

Introduction of inquiries is the plural of inquiry and inquiry means *fatwā* or religious decree or demanding *fatwā* that is the very application of giving the religious view of *mujtahid* or *marja'-e taqlīd* on the intended law or command. Although by inquiry is meant demanding *fatwā* or issuance of *fatwā* by the applicant and what is expressed by *marja'-e taqlīd* is called *fatwā*, not inquiry, but the term *istiftā* on answers given to *istiftā'āt* is also applied. Then *istiftā* is a *fatwā* that *marja'-e taqlīd* gives in answer to *istiftā* of his followers.

Difference of *fatwā* and *istiftā* in terms of jurisprudence is that *fatwā* is expressed in general and common conditions and contains verdict that is in general form and without considering distinct examples and cases. For instance, the following example is *fatwā*:

Mad is one who spends his property on useless things. If he/she is safīh in time of puberty or religious judge has prevented him/her from ṭaşarruf in his/her properties, one cannot exercise ownership in one's property.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Sūrah al-Aḥzāb*, verse 72.

<sup>2</sup> *Exposition of Forty Ḥadīths*, *ibid.* p. 635.

<sup>3</sup> Subsidiary title of application of view of source of Shī'ah imitation and noble 'ulamā' of theological seminaries such as Ḥaḍrat Āyatullāh Imām Khomeinī.

<sup>4</sup> Imām Khomeinī, *Dissertation on Practical Laws of Islam*, Tehran: The Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imām Khomeinī's Works.

However, enquiry is raised in special conditions and in reply to special question; therefore, it enjoys greater clarity.

Moreover, *fatwā* is presented in time of investigation and examination and writing of the dissertation, while *istiftā* is in answer to current questions of society and individual and from this perspective too *istiftā* carries greater importance and has greater conformity and coordination with daily life. For this reason, attention to enquiries of Imām Khomeinī and finding political issues or political enquiries among his other *istiftā'āt* is of special value.

### Introduction

The author in introduction to the book writes:

This office deems it necessary to collect the *istiftā'āt* made on religious issues from the grand Āyatullāh Imām Khomeinī and His Eminence has provided the answer in orderly and published it and put it at the disposal of the Muslim nation...<sup>1</sup>

### Political *Istiftā'āt*

Some of the *Istiftā'āt* in the area of political issues being worthy of examination consist of:

1. Rules of *Taqīd*: questions 26, 40, 46 in definition of good appearance, significance of *'urf* in determining subjects and scope of influence of verdict of *Walī-ye Amr*.<sup>2</sup>
2. *Fatwā* dealing with Friday prayer for instance saying:  
Position of Friday prayer imāmat cannot be demonstrated without appointment of walī-ye amr of Muslism.<sup>3</sup>
3. Some of the *fatwās* dealing with Friday prayer, examples of p. 482 through 484 and *fatwās* dealing with conditions of Friday prayer Imām including justice of Friday prayer Imām<sup>4</sup> for example writes:

Insistence on minor causes negation of justice.<sup>5</sup> And or... if it is clear that the

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, *Enquiries*, Qum, Office of Islamic Publications affiliated to the Instrutors Society of Qum Theological Seminary.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 1. pp. 13, 18-19.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 267-265.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 286-287.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 287, question 514.

absentee is absent minus permission one is deprived of justice...<sup>1</sup> And or in sovereignty it is conditional on acquiring justice of Imām.<sup>2</sup>

4. *Fatwā* dealing with *zakāt* and *khums*.<sup>3</sup> For instance, in discussion about permission on manner of consumption of *khums* which Imām Khomeinī stresses and repeatedly raises the previous<sup>4</sup> permission in special cases in which an individual has sent the sum of Imām's Share to Muslims prisoners, writing that: *Inna ṣarfa al-mablagh*...<sup>5</sup>
5. *Fatwā* dealing with good deeds and forbidding the evil acts.<sup>6</sup>
6. *Fatwā* dealing with defense,<sup>7</sup> for instance he writes:  
Defense of Islam and Islamic Republic if any possible for is incumbent upon Muslims and is not conditional on obtaining permission.<sup>8</sup>  
Or on martyrs, he writes:  
In this regard there is no difference between martyrs prior to the revolution and martyrs after the revolution and martyrs in the imposed war.<sup>9</sup>
7. The *Fatwā* dealing with *Makāsib al-Muḥarramah*<sup>10</sup> such as issues in which stresses non-violation of government rules of society.<sup>11</sup> For instance he writes:  
Any action that is against Islamic government rule or causes corruption in society is not permissible.<sup>12</sup>
8. 8- Some *fatwās* deal with dealings such as issues dealing with *ribā*, banking interest, etc.
9. Some *fatwās* deal with *waqf*.

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 287, question 515.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 290. question 523.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 339-431.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 421-430.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 425, question 246.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 482-490.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 492, s. 1.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 493, s. 1.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 519, s. 91.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 64-62.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 46-62.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 54, s. 147.

10. Some *fatwās* deal with eatables and drinkables such as issues relevant to edibles in lands of disbelievers.<sup>1</sup>
11. Some *fatwās* deal with wrath.
12. *fatwās* dealing with revival of dead lands and common lands, for instance on the principle of obeying depth of land and air on the country writes:  
... Nationality of country is of high quantity and the government has the right to prevent the excessive occupation of the person/s conventional right... Since these mines<sup>2</sup> are national and belongs to present and future nations coming into existence in the course of time is beyond the personal ownership of individuals...<sup>3</sup>
13. Some *fatwās* deal with *luqṭah* and *majhūl al-malik*.

## **10. Taḥrīr al-Wasīlah**

### **Introduction of the Book**

This work is in principle a compilation annotated on the book *Wasīlah al-Nijāh* Sayyid Abu'l-Ḥasan Iṣfahānī by Imām Khomeinī.<sup>4</sup> During his exile time in Istanbul<sup>5</sup> by annotation in the margin of the book and addition of several new chapters to it.<sup>6</sup> This book due to variety of subjects raised and the completion of many of them has been selected in some scholarly centers and theological seminaries as textbook.

### **Some Discussions on Political *Fiqh***

The most important discussions of the book *Taḥrīr al-Wasīlah* in political *fiqh* area are outlined as follows:

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 507-509.

<sup>2</sup> Like oil and gas.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 588-589, s. 44.

<sup>4</sup> Imām Khomeinī also has a work called *Ta'liqāt 'alā Wasīlat al-Najāt* that contains his *fatwās* as annotation on the book *Wasīlat al-Najāt*.

<sup>5</sup> In 1384 lunar calendar.

<sup>6</sup> This work by entry of Imām Khomeinī to Najaf was published in two volumes and thereafter published time and again.

1. *Fī Furūgh Taqlīd*: In this discussion he has treated issues such as credit of justice in *fatwā* and judgment, their definitions and signs as example in question 27 he writes: *yatabar fī lak...*<sup>1</sup>
2. *Kitāb al-Ṣalāt*: Discussions of *ṣalāt* or prayer in congregation and on Friday prayer as example in conditions required of the Friday prayer Imām, he writes: *Flā tajuza al- ṣalāt khalaf al-fāsiq...*<sup>2</sup>
3. *Kitāb al-Zakāt*
4. *Kitāb al-Khums* (Discussion of *Khums* and *Anfāl*)
5. *Kitāb al-Amr bi'l-Ma'rūf wa Nahy 'an al-Munkar* is one of the most outstanding titles of book about political thought of Imām Khomeinī who treats two fundamental issues of society that is enjoining to good and forbidding evil.<sup>3</sup> Some of the *fatwās* of Imām Khomeinī in these discussions are new and of significance in their own type. For this reason, some people consider writing of these discussions as the first step taken by Imām Khomeinī in theoretical dimension in direction of struggle against despotism of Pahlavī regime, foreign colonization and effort to establish Islamic government. Particularly, Imām Khomeinī while stressing the need for enjoining to good and forbidding evil acts has placed the question of impact in the second rank and regards necessity of expressing right without impact as obligatory. For instance he writes:

*La kāna fī sukūt 'ulamā'...*<sup>4</sup>

Or

*La kāna sukūt 'ulamā' al-dīn...*<sup>5</sup>

At the end of the discussion on enjoining to good and forbidding evil deeds, Imām Khomeinī deals with the question of guardianship and

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<sup>1</sup> *Tahrīr al-Wasīlah, ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 11, question 27, translation *Tahrīr al-Wasīlah*, vol. 1, pp. 12-13.

<sup>2</sup> *Tahrīr al-Wasīlah*, vol. 1, p. 258, translation of *Tahrīr al-Wasīlah*, pp. 498-499.

<sup>3</sup> *Tahrīr al-Wasīlah*, vol. 1, pp. 439-486, translation of *Tahrīr al-Wasīlah*, vol. 2, pp. 284-241, *Risālah Nuwīn*, compiler, explanation and translation 'Abd al- Karīm Bīzār Shīrāzī, vol. 4, *Political and Legal Questions*, Tehran: Office of Islamic Culture Publication, seventh edition, 1374 AHS, pp. 205-225.

<sup>4</sup> *Tahrīr al-Wasīlah*, vol. 1, p. 450, question 9, translation of *Tahrīr al-Wasīlah*, vol. 2, pp. 304-305, question 9.

<sup>5</sup> *Tahrīr al-Wasīlah*, vol. 1, p. 450, question 10, translation of *Tahrīr al-Wasīlah*, vol. 2, pp. 304-305, question 10, *Risālah Nuwīn*, vol. 4, pp. 210-211.

administration of political affairs of society.<sup>1</sup> As example, on the first issue, he writes:

No one has the right to take charge of political affairs such as implementation of *ḥudūd* and judicial and financial affairs such as collecting *kharāj* and religious tax unless one is Imām of Muslims ('a) and one whom Imām has appointed for this task.<sup>2</sup>

He raises discussion about *wilāyah* and government of *fuqahā* and 'ulamā' of *ummah* in the frame of common successors of the Imām of the Time ('a) in questions second to fourth and seventh to ninth in brief. In the second question implementation of policies and all authorities of immaculate Imāms excluding aggressive *jihād* is upon qualified *faqīh*. He considers the important issue of uprising for administration of affairs by *fuqahā* to be *wājib kafā'ī* or obligation,<sup>3</sup> in the same way that helping people is considered by him as *wājib kafā'ī* and taking charge of these affairs is upon absolute *mujtahid* and not *mutijazī mujtahid*.<sup>4</sup> And<sup>5</sup>

*Mujibat lā sadla alā...*

6. *Kitāb al-Makāsib wa'l-Muti'ajir*, discussion about *Makāsib al-Muḥarramah*,
7. *Kitāb al-Waqf wa Akhwat*,
8. *Kitāb Ihya' al-Mawāt wa'l-Mushtarikāt*,
9. *Kitāb al-Qadā*,
10. *Kitāb al-Ḥudūd*, particularly commands of people of *dhimmah*,<sup>6</sup>
11. *Kitāb al-Qiṣāṣ*,
12. *Kitāb al-Diyāt*,
13. *Al-Baḥth Ḥawl al-Masā'il al-Mustaḥdathah* in this discussion he deals with issues such as insurance, promissory note, lottery, radio and television and the like of it.

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<sup>1</sup> *Tahrīr al-Wasīlah*, vol. 1, pp. 459-461, Translation of *Tahrīr al-Wasīlah*, vol. 2, pp. 325-322.

<sup>2</sup> *Tahrīr al-Wasīlah*, vol. 1, p. 459, question 1, translation of *Tahrīr al-Wasīlah*, pp. 322-323.

<sup>3</sup> *Tahrīr al-Wasīlah*, vol. 1, p. 459.

<sup>4</sup> *Mutijazī Mujtahid* is an individual that is vested in part of the *sharī'ah* laws.

<sup>5</sup> *Tahrīr al-Wasīlah*, vol. 1, p. 460, question 9, translation of *Tahrīr al-Wasīlah*, pp. 324-325

<sup>6</sup> *Tahrīr al-Wasīlah*, vol. 1, p. 462, question 5, translation of *Tahrīr al-Wasīlah*, pp. 38-329, question 16, *Risālah Nuwīn, ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 244.

### Other *fiqhī* works of Imām Khomeinī

It is noteworthy that some other of *rasā'il-e fiqhī* of Imām Khomeinī consisting of some issues of area of political *fiqh* that comprise the following:

#### 11. Zubdah al-Aḥkām

This work is a summary of laws and *fatwās* inserted in *Tahrīr al-Wasīlah* in Arabic in which issues such as conditions of *mufī* and *qāḍī* or judge and the way of demonstrating it through *ijtihād* and *taqlīd* (question no. 14), justice (question 15) he deals with them.

#### 12. Dissertation of Tawḍīḥ al-Masā'il

Practical laws of Imām Khomeinī in Farsi language is available and in it issues of importance such as consumption of *khums* and appendixes of it to the subjects, enjoining to good and forbidding evil acts (issues no. 2825-2738), bank (issues 28372826), insurance and others are treated in brief.

*Ta'līqāt 'alā al-'Urwat al-Wuthqā*: This work is annotation of Imām Khomeinī on all questions of the book *'Urwat al-Wwuthqā*.

Annotation on *Tawḍīḥ al-Masā'il* Āyatullāh Burūjerdī, *Risālah Nijāt al-'Ibād* consisting of *fiqhī* laws in three volumes.

Some writings on *fiqh* such as *bay'* (purchase), *taqrīr* of Muḥammad Hasan Qādirī, and also *taqrīr* purchase of Muḥammad 'Alī Gerāmī.

#### 13. Al-Makāsib al-Muḥarramah

##### Introduction

It is a work of *fiqh* on jobs and illegal and illegitimate jobs. Language of the book is beautiful and exhilarant. Complex issues and supreme subjects or discussions of prophethood and *wilāyah* have been written in relatively short phrases but with dexterity.<sup>1</sup>

Of other features of the book is expression of some innovative subjects. This matter is also confirmed by writer of the introduction of the book.<sup>2</sup>

##### Parts and Chapters of the Book

In addition to the sermon of the author (consisting of the contents of the book), the book comprises two *mushkāt* and one conclusion:

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. 10.

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



First *mushkāt* (*fī baza asrār*): that is itself comprising 56 *miṣbāḥ*<sup>1</sup> and issues such as hidden truth, monotheism, necessity of existence of caliphate for emergence in names and aspects of divinely caliphate,<sup>2</sup> divinely names, majesty of status of divinely caliphate, truth of Muḥammadan caliphate, truth of *qaḍā* and *qadar*, origine of *badā*, perfect man, unity of 'alawī *wilāyah* with Muḥammadan caliphate, relationship of prophethood and *wilāyāh*, manifestation of two names or titles of verdict or decree and justice and peak of prophethood. For instance, in *miṣbāḥ* 54, we read:

Therefore, Prophet is one who has emerged with two names (*al ḥukm al-'aql*) and prevents *iḥlāq* of nature and invites to justice in the story and caliphate of this Prophet should be manifestation of him and features of him and one *ḥadīth* related meaning as given in *Kāfī* and *tawḥīd* in the sense that in *tawḥīd* hr writes he writes: *ūlu'l-amr* is known by *ma'rūf* and justice and *ihsān* good or benevolence...<sup>3</sup>

Second *mushkāt* (*fī baza asrār*): that consists of three *miṣbāḥ*.<sup>4</sup> The first *miṣbāḥ* deals with some secrets of the world of *amr* or command, contents of issues such as secret of caliphate and *wilāyah* in the world of *amr* or command, stages of existence, position of caliphate and its relation with all verities of the divine, truth of prophethood in objective ecstasy, meaning of width of *wilāyah* over creatures is trust. *Miṣbāḥ* second treats the secret of caliphate and prophethood and *wilāyah* in unseen ecstasy and rational divinely light consisting of subjects such as absolute Providence, the first rational determination, the first issuance, unity in diversity and diversity in unity, abstract reason, *iqbāl* and *adbār* of 'aql or reason at the beginning of creation, exposition of *raḍawī ḥadīth* in *wilāyāh*, meaning of superiority, secret of superiority of messenger of God to all creatures, secret of superiority of Imāms and Shī'ahs to angels, four pillars of monotheism. The third *miṣbāḥ* takes up the secrets of caliphate, propethood, *wilāyah* in superficial ecstasy of *khalafī* and secret of appointment of prophethood and their standing that covers issues such as in *maṭla'* eleven of *miṣbāḥ* second on meaning of caliphate of general reason, writing:

Caliphate consists of caliphate in emergence in verities of kunyah and its prophethood comprises expression of inclinations of almighty source and revelation of names and features or attributes of God and His *wilāyah* consists

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 13-43 and 21-88.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 29, 30, *Miṣbāḥ al-Hidāyah* (Āshtiyānī), pp. 16-17.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 41.

<sup>4</sup> *Miṣbāḥ al-Hidāyah* (Fahrī), pp. 88-212, *Miṣbāḥ al-Hidāyah* (Āshtiyānī), pp. 43-90.

of absolute taşarruf of all hidden and overt and evidence of the same type man's soul exercises...<sup>1</sup>

#### **14. Struggle with the Self or the Greatest *Jihād*<sup>2</sup>**

This work covers Imām Khomeinī's debates on necessity of self-edification presented in the holy city of Najaf during which he gave advices to theology students for self-purification and struggle against the self and dealing with correct education, particularly self-edification and its correction, also highlighting the plots of foreign colonialists in Islamic societies. In it, he has stressed the need for resistance in the face of plots of enemies of Islam.<sup>3</sup>

#### **Philosophical Writings of Imām Khomeinī**

The following books are the most important philosophical works of Imām Khomeinī written by the collection of his lessons on philosophy consisting of his last lessons on *manzūmah* and discussions of self from *Asfār* by one of his outstanding students Āyatullāh Ardabīlī and comprises three volumes as outlined below:

- 1) Volume one: *Manzūmah* consisting of:
  - A) general affairs 345-351, covering the following subjects:<sup>4</sup>
    - Part One: Existence and Non-existence (pp. 3-24)
    - Part Two: Existence and Possibility (pp. 25-46)
    - Part Three: eternity and Contingency (pp. 65-148)
    - Part Four: Power and Actuality (pp. 139-156)
    - Part Five: Humidity and Its Accessories (pp. 157-286)
    - Part Six: Unity and Multiplicity (pp. 269-280)
    - Part Seven: Cause and Effect (pp. 281-354)
  - B) Chapter on Essence and Accident that comprises the following subjects:
    - Part One: Description of Essence and its Types (pp. 357-359).

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<sup>1</sup> *Mişbāḥ al-Hidāyah* (Fahrī) p. 163, *Mişbāḥ al-Hidāyah* (Āshtiyānī), p. 72.

<sup>2</sup> *Mişbāḥ al-Hidāyah* (Fahrī), p. 163; *Mişbāḥ al-Hidāyah* (Āshtiyānī), p. 72.

<sup>3</sup> This book has been published time and again. At the outset, *wilāyat-e faqīh* had been attached to the book. Then in 1361 AHS in 59 pages it was published independently by *Bi'that* Foundation in 1361 by the Message of freedom, in 68 pages. The last print was in 1375 AHS by the Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imām Khomeinī's Works under *Struggle with the Self and or the Greatest Jihād*, Tehran Hidā Publications, Bītā, *Jihād Akbar* or the *Greatest Jihād*, Tehran, the Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imām Khomeinī's Works, 1374 AHS.

<sup>4</sup> Āyatullāh Ardabīlī, *Writings of Philosophy of Imām Khomeinī*, Tehran, the Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imām Khomeinī's Works, 1381 AHS.

- Part Two: Description of Accident and its Types (pp. 361-363)
  - Part Three: Types of Accident (pp. 265-399)
- 2) Volume Two: On Continuation of Description of *Manzūmah*:
- A) Third Purpose: Theology consisting (volume 2, pp. 410-1)
    - Part One: Laws of Essence (pp. 106-7)
    - Part Two: Laws of Essential Attribute (pp. 360-107)
    - Part Three: Actions of Almighty God (pp. 410-361)
  - B) Fourth Purpose: Physics (vol. 2, pp. 411)
    - Part One: Truth of Natural Body (pp. 477-413)
    - Part Two: *Lawāhiq* of Natural Body (pp. 510-478)
    - Part Three Other Laws of Natural Body (pp. 510-477)
    - Part Four: Celestial Bodies (pp. 566-634)
    - Part Five: Elements (pp. 592-567)
    - Part Six: States of Self (pp. 614-593)

One of the important issues that can be taken as foundation of political philosophy and political ideas of Imām Khomeinī is the subject of *nafs-e nāṭiqah* and its features and in this volume Imām deals with inner senses of *nafs-e nāṭiqah* such as death.

- 3) Volume Three: Exposition of *Asfār* (part six to eleven of *Asfār* and consisting of the following subjects:
- Chapter Six: Separation of Man's *Nafs-e Nāṭiqah* (pp. 57-5)
  - Chapter Seven: States of *Nafs-e Nāṭiqah* and its Proportion with Natural World (pp. 159-59)
  - Chapter Eight: Rejection of Reincarnation of Self and Arguments of Those Believing in this Idea (pp. 29-161)
  - Chapter Nine: Exposition of Stages of Human Self (pp. 445-331)

In this chapter important and fundamental issues of philosophy of politics and ethics such as (causes of differences in bodies) are treated.

(Wisdom and freedom are to principles in human perfection), (theoretical and practical reasons), reasoning power has heeded the stages and stations of man and... For instance, on the role of two principles of wisdom and freedom, it has the following the say:

“Human perfection that constitutes nature of man’s existence has been so refine as to keep away from grudge and this finds expression with the principle of wisdom and freedom”<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 328.

On man's inherent freedom, it says as well: and inherent freedom signifies to rid oneself of servitude of passion and greed. To whatever extent man is enslaved by greed, carnal desire, darkness, greed, etc., one will not reach perfection; when one is rid of the chain of servitude and obedience to greed and passions, one will be relieved of the shackles of these.<sup>1</sup>

- Chapter 10: On Spiritual Resurrection and Truth of Adversity and Prosperity (pp. 449-549)

One of the most important subjects of political philosophies is the subject of adversity and prosperity and how to reach them. This chapter gives five chapters (first to five). On the the chapter have been devoted to the subject matter and the real nature of real happiness.

On explaining happiness, he writes:

“And happiness signifies receiving where perceptive power of delicious object and what is mild with one's disposition.”<sup>2</sup>

A criterion for happiness and adversity is the benchmarks of happiness that consist of:

- 1- One who receives the happiness,
- 2- One who .....
- 3- Reception<sup>3</sup>

He carries on writing:

“And whatever these three factors are supreme, the happiness will be supreme and whatever it is strong, happiness will be strong and greater.... Of all happiness higher is that modarek (conceiving sense) is full in the complete sense of the term like right that is so complete that there is no end and perfection for its perfection and completion. Also, its perception is a positive one and it is complete; it modarek is all truth of existence that consist of creatures in the cosmos that are its manifestations and it is divinely essence.”<sup>4</sup>

In chapter he treats the quality of receiving happiness (pp. 473-461) and considers purification of the self and spiritual journey to be the way to achieve it.

In achieving grand happiness, it is necessary for the reason to be theoretical so that with intrinsic purity it can see and perceive the objects

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 449.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 451.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 452.

which are called as *mostanzelat* and if... it is impossible to achieve grand happiness.<sup>1</sup>

In chapter three, he also takes up the question of adversity (pp. 388-475) and in chapter five he deals with quality of active reason in the self (pp. 499-489).

- Chapter Eleven: Physical Resurrection (pp. 610-551).

### **15. Interpretation of Chapter al-Ḥamd**

This work is a mystical comment of the holy chapter of opening chapter of the Book consisting five sessions of classes. His interpretation was screened from Islamic Republic television in 1358 AHS and published time and again under this title. Moreover, Imām Khomeinī has discussions on exegesis of Chapter *al-Ḥamd* in two books of *Sirr al-Ṣalāt* and *Ādāb al-Ṣalāt*. Also, dispersed *farḍ* on *bismillāh* and some items of this chapter are observed in some of his works.<sup>2</sup> In addition, he has a talk about Chapter *al-'Alaq*.<sup>3</sup> In this work, Imām Khomeinī deals with issues such as uprising in the cause of God and awakening, dispensation of justice, making real human being, perfection and *fiṭrat* (primordial nature. For instance, on uprising he says:

*The first step is to rise up after leaving this house; uprising for God.*

Or on justice, he said:

Dispensation of justice is the very correction of human beings. Justice is not something but something issued by man; injustice also signifies that a thing issued by man. Dispensation of justice means transforming oppressor to a just man and polytheists to believer.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 468.

<sup>2</sup> Imām Khomeinī, *Interpretation of Chapter al-Ḥamd*; *ibid.*, this work consists of four parts: first part: *Interpretation of Chapter al-Ḥamd* from the book *Sirr al-Ṣalāt*, pp. 3-12, Part two: *Interpretation of Chapter al-Ḥamd* from the book *Ādāb al-Ṣalāt*, pp. 15-89, part three: lessons of exegesis of Chapter *al-Ḥamd*, five sessions, pp. 93-113, Part four: references *Interpretation of Chapter al-Ḥamd* of other works, pp. 197-256, *Ādāb al-Ṣalāt*, Tehran, the Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imām Khomeinī' Works, 1372 AHS, *Sirr al-Ṣalāt*, *Ṣalāt al-'Arifīn wa Mi'rāj al-Sālikīn*, Tehran: the Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imām Khomeinī' Works, 1369 AHS, with Qur'an on the scene, *Interpretation of Chapter al-Ḥamd and al-'Alaq*, Tehran, Alburz Publisher, edition 1, 1359 AHS.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 83-102.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 129.

## 16. Exposition of the *Sahar* Supplication

### Introduction of the Book

This work is an exposition to supplication of *mubāhilah* known as the *Sahar* Supplication and was authored in 1347 AHS.<sup>1</sup>

### Important Questions

Imām Khomeinī during *mazjī* exposition of different parts of the supplication deals with subjects such as perfect man, '*alawī wilāyāh*, will, *jabr* and freedom, divine power, providence, grand name and... The rampant look to the book is mystical, philosophical and theological. Although the book in principle is regarded a mystical work, with a view to the fact that issue of leadership and caliphate has considered also perfect man due to political thought is of significance. For instance, he writes on perfect man: *fahuwa khalīfatullāh...*<sup>2</sup>

Or on '*alawī wilāyah* he writes:

*Makal al-shay' mā bi... 'alaykum ni'matī fasā'ir al-'ibādah...*

A brief reference to other works—Dissertation on *Taqiyyah*:

## 17. *Risālah Fī Taqiyyah*

### Introduction of the Book

It is a *fiqh* and *ijtihād* dissertation on the important subject of *taqiyyah* written in 1373 (1332 AHS).

That is, perfection of everything lies in the thing by means of which it is completed and its shortcomings are provided. For this reason '*alawī wilāyah* (leadership of Imām 'Alī and his successors) complete the religion and the blessing and God Almighty make us document for us, saying God Almighty in this respect has observed: Today, I complete religion for you and completed my blessing for you. Therefore, other acts of worship even beliefs are tantamount to *hayūlā* and *wilāyah* is their form and other its appearance and *wilāyah* their core. And that is why that is somebody dies and there are like appearance and *wilāyah* their inner thing. Therefore, if one dies and does

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<sup>1</sup> Imām Khomeinī, Exposition of the *Sahar* Supplication, Tehran, the Institute for Compilation and Publication of the Imām Khomeinī's Works, first edition, 1374 lunar calendar (1416 solar calendar).

<sup>2</sup> Chapter *al-Mā'idah*, verse 3.

not have an Imām dies the death of Time of Ignorance and death of disbelief and hypocrisy and deviation. As put in *al-Kāfī* narration:

### **Important issues**

Some of the important issues in relation to political insight and thought in this book consists of comprehensiveness of man and his enjoyment of all the world; meaning of oppression of man divine power; merciful and *raḥimīyyat* of Almighty God, divine province; perfections of Allah; perfect man; divine book; significance of knowledge of book and tradition; *wilāyat* and '*alawī wilāyāh*'; truth of grand name; will, *jabr* and freedom Arabic language has been written<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Zahrā has investigated list of this book and translated<sup>2</sup> and has been published in the title of research and translation of dissertation of Imām Khomeinī by institute for research center of Imām Khomeinī.<sup>3</sup> subject of is the political and ideological issue of Islam; therefore, spirit of struggle and oppression fighting of Imām Khomeinī is a strong incentive for formulation of it in independent form. Issue of *taqiyyah* was more applied in connection with the posterior in relation to Islamic schools particularly in connection with Shī'ah and Sunnī schools but Imām in this work has extended the scope of discussion to enemies of religion and aggressors to its realm. In his work he has demonstrated that necessity of *taqiyyah* is for preservation of religion not its obliteration. Therefore, from Imām Khomeinī one cannot in excuse of one life and prestige and the like from the harm of tyrants and enemies stop struggle.

### **18. *Bidāyah al-Dar fī Qā'idah Nafy al-Ḍarār***

#### **Introduction of the Book**

This book that focuses on *fiqh* indicates contents of votes of Imām Khomeinī regarding the law of *lā ḍarar* whose writing was accomplished in

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<sup>1</sup> This treatise has been published in 1385 in collection of *Rasā'IL*. Refer to Imām Khomeinī's *Rasā'il, Mama al-Tazbilat*, Mujtabā Tahrānī, Qum, the Institute of Ismā'īliyyān 1385 AH, *al-Juz 'Thānī*, last treatise of the *Rasā'IL* of 35 pages.

<sup>2</sup> Zahrā Fehrestī, Research and Translation of Treatise of *Taqiyyah* of Imām Khomeinī, Tehran, Publications of Imām Khomeinī and the Islamic Revolution, first edition, 1385 AH.

<sup>3</sup> The same part, first, treatise *al-Ḍarār, Bidāyah al-Dar fī Qā'idah Nafy al-Ḍarār*, Qum, the Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imām Khomeinī's Works, third edition, 1415 lunar calendar.

1368 AHS and at the age of 48.<sup>1</sup> The book comprises an introduction (pp. 25-40) in quoting relevant *ḥadīth* and several chapters on rule and issue of affection by it and punishments. In this dissertation, he considers the main reason of *ḥadīth* prevention of people from harming and receiving harm and rites: *Fana dalīla nafī...*<sup>2</sup>

In his work Imām Khomeinī attempts in scholarly manner and out of expertise in the aspect of differentiating between narrations and survey of issue of *taqiyyah* in that is valuable in it is kind. For example, Imām Khomeinī has used some of the recommended narrations or some narrations based on primary law, but what is important is that in the sight of Imām Khomeinī (*taqiyyah* is a scientific and applied questions that has direct relation with exigencies of time and place and two feature efficiency and confrontation with people should be there.)<sup>3</sup>

In this treatise, Imām Khomeinī raises the following issues:

1. various types of *taqiyyah* in which case he treats different types and classifications made on *taqiyyah* such as classification in intrindical term (*taqiyyah* out of fear in relation to one with regard to whom one observes *taqiyyah* and decides to observe *taqiyyah*).
2. Generality of and applicability of *taqiyyah wilāyah*: in this discussion he has raised that in applicability and generality of news about *taqiyyah* there is no doubt that sample of which is the following narration: Imām Muḥammad Bāqir (‘a) said God Almighty has authorized *taqiyyah* in cases when children of Adam are forced to preserve it.
3. Exceptional cases of *taqiyyah* argument: as outlined bellow:
  - A. Some obligations and forbidden things of very importance in the sight of the law-maker such as ruination of the House of God;
  - B. Enjoyment of one observing *taqiyyah* of a social standing whose practice of *taqiyyah* causes debility in one’s dignity and destroying one’s dignity;
  - C. Threat of disintegration or change of principle of religion and or generally harming essentials of religion;
  - D. Cases of mas of leg on show, covr) in drinking water...
  - E. Shedding of book without any doubt;
  - F. Disavowal from Imām ‘Alī and other Imāms;
4. Different types of *taqiyyah* based on news;

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<sup>1</sup> The same first part, *al-Ḍarār, Bidāyah al-Dar fī Qā'idah Nafy al-Ḍarār*: the Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imām Khomeinī’s Works, third edition, 1415 AH.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, p. 129.

<sup>3</sup> Zahrā Fehrestī, *ibid.*, p. 8.



5. Will abandonment of *taqiyyah* trigger corruption or not?
6. Reasons denoting that according to *taqiyyah* one can do (it is permissible for him);
7. Discussion of reasons for emergency *taqiyyah*;
8. Expression of causes denoting an action requiring *taqiyyah* done in contrast to right;
9. Reasons denoting the parts in toleration *taqiyyah*;
10. Narrations that denote efforts to say prayer that he held in Sunnī people;
11. Discussion of credit of lack of *mamzūjah*;<sup>1</sup>
12. Order of impact of keeping mum or do a practice issues by way of *taqiyyah*.

This book has comprised the following subjects (subjects of the book consist of introduction, 8 chapters and notes in the following way):

### Introduction

In explanation of *ḥadīth* on issues of *lā ḍarar* and *lā ḍirār* (pp. 27-40)<sup>2</sup>, Imām Khomeinī in this discussion stresses that *ḥadīth* negation of *ḍarar* and *ḍirār* should be motavater (narrated intermittently).<sup>3</sup>

1. Chapter: during entry (subject of and *aḥādīth* of *lā ḍarar*) in the course of other issues or in independent form (pp. 41-44)
2. Chapter: Questions raised on the entry of *ḥadīth* on *lā ḍarar* below the discussion about *shafā'ah* and source of *fuḍūl* (pp. 45-48);
3. Chapter: In confirming absence of its entry below two subjects (pp. 49-54);
4. Chapter: In study of two [phrases (in Islam) and (on believer) in *ḥadīth* (pp. 55-59);
5. Chapter: In citing the need for meaning of *mufradāt* (terms) *ḥadīth* (pp. 61-72)  
In this chapter he has dealt with study of the meaning of terms such as *ḍarar*, *ḍirār*, *lā ḍarar* and treated the difference between *ḍarar*, *ḍirār* and *lā ḍarar*...
6. Chapter: In contents of compound sentence comprising chapter: In content of the compound sentence (survey of phrase of *ḥadīth* in

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<sup>1</sup> By *mamzūjah* is meant ability to perform in plenipotentiary and in conditions and absence of obstacles.

<sup>2</sup> Pages of the book have come below: Imām Khomeinī, *Bidāyah al-Wurūd fi Qā'idah Nafy al-Ḍarar*, *ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4.

compound form) (pp. 73-86).

7. Chapter: Discussion of possibility of survey of words of Shaykh Murtaḍā Anṣārī (pp. 87-95).
8. Chapter: Survey of this possibility of subject of study in words of Shaykh Anṣārī (pp. 97-104).
9. Chapter: Regarding the religious viewpoints of Mukhtār on meaning of narration of *lā ʿadārat* (pp. 105-211).

In this discussion, Imām in study of the viewpoint of his view on meaning and concept of limit of *lā ʿadārat* has dealt with them. At the outset, he has divided aspects of the Prophet in *Imāmat* in three chapters consisting of:

- A) *Nabuwwat* (in mission in the sense of propagation of *al-hkak al-ilāhiyyah al...*)<sup>1</sup>
- B) Monarchy, chairmanship and politics;

Imām Khomeinī in this respect writes:<sup>2</sup>

Because his holiness has been appointed by God Almighty on people and ummah of people and his servant and politicians and lands and celebrated leaders.

Then, he argues that his political standing of the Prophet is different from the standing of mission, Imām Khomeinī considers the following order of negation of the Messenger of God as tantamount of that of sultan and politician to be obligator. As such, he has ordered to deny something and from these viewpoints, orders of the Prophet like those of the Prophet of God is obligatory to obey and is not mandatory but it is obligatory to obey them.<sup>3</sup> In this discussion, the Imām uses the verse 59 of Chapter *al-Nisā* and the verse 36 of the Chapter *al-Aḥzāb*.

- C) Position of arbitration and religious judgment (arbitration) that comes when a dispute occurs between people and one refers to him. From this viewpoint, he is judge and religious ruler. In this respect, the Imām refers to verse 65 of Chapter *al-Nisā* to which people should refer to. After that also by expressing preparations highlights his view and provides his own view<sup>4</sup> and then turns to views of celebrated people and makes collision with his view.

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 107-105.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 106.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 117-11.

Then, by providing introductions presents his views and the results he obtains.<sup>1</sup>

### Notes

This chapter of the book consists of several punitive (*tanbīhī*) rules as follows:

- Note 1: In forms of to *lā ḍarar* rule (pp. 129-132)
- Note 2: In government of rule over '*adilah* (reasons of primary laws (pp. 132-134)
- Note 3: In toleration of loss and reluctance of losses or *ḍarar* (pp. 132-134).
- Note 4: In confiscation in one's property causing loss to others (pp. 134-140).

### Collections

By collections is meant the total works covering speeches, messages, permissions, orders, letters, interviews etc. Such works cover the main section of Imām Khomeinī's<sup>2</sup> political viewpoints and votes the most important of which consists of:

1- *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām* comprising 22 volumes containing speeches, messages, interviews, decrees, permissions and letters.<sup>3</sup>

2- *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Nūr*: comprising 22 volumes containing speeches, sermons, messages, decrees and letters.<sup>4</sup>

3- *Kawthar*: comprises letters, messages, speeches, decrees and commands along with exposition of them of which five volumes have so far been published.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 117-113.

<sup>2</sup> Variety of Imām Khomeinī's questions and views in this work that contains a collection of messages and statements particularly during the revolution and after the victory of the Islamic Revolution.

<sup>3</sup> Volume 22 contains indexes.

<sup>4</sup> First publication of the book contains twenty two volumes as follows: *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Nūr* with a set of guidelines of Imām Khomeinī, Center of Documents, Cultural Certificates of the Islamic Revolution, Tehran, Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance.

<sup>5</sup> *Kawthar*, summary of statements of Imām in two volumes, *Kawthar* is exposition of events of the Islamic revolution from outset to Isfand of 1357 AHS in three volumes.

4- *Tibyān*: This work presents the speeches and votes of Imām in typical form and so far 54 volumes have been printed.

Some magazines contain Imām Khomeinī's viewpoints and ideas, the most important of which being in brief:

1. Principles of the Islamic Revolution,
2. Pure Islam in the Words and Message of Imām Khomeinī (five volumes),
3. 'Adl-e Ilāhī from Viewpoint of Imām Khomeinī (volume 18),
4. Revolt of Ashura (volume 3),
5. Immaculate Imāms in the Thought of Imām Khomeinī (13<sup>th</sup> Volume),
6. Export of the Revolution from Imām Khomeinī's Viewpoint (sixth volume),
7. Unity from the Viewpoint of Imām Khomeinī (volume 15),
8. Position of Women from the Viewpoint of Imām Khomeinī (volume 8),
9. *Ruḥāniyyat* and Theological Seminary from Imām Khomeinī's Viewpoint (volume 10),
10. Revolution and Majlis from the Viewpoint of Imām Khomeinī (volume 1),
11. History of Contemporary Iran from the Viewpoint of Imām Khomeinī (volume 20),
12. Youth from the Viewpoint of Imām Khomeinī (volume 16),
13. Enjoining to Good and Forbidding the Evil,
14. World of Islam from the Viewpoint of Imām Khomeinī (volume 19),
15. War and Defense from the Viewpoint of Imām Khomeinī,
16. *Basīj* in the Idea of Imām Khomeinī (volume 29),
17. Freedom in the Thought of Imām Khomeinī (volume 29),
18. Judge and Judgment from Imām Khomeinī Viewpoint (volume 22),
19. Foreign Policy in International Relations from Imām Khomeinī's Viewpoint (volume 28),
20. Nationality, Tribalism and Trans-national Thought from Imām Khomeinī's Viewpoint,
21. Self-reliance and Self-sufficiency from the Viewpoint of Imām Khomeinī (volume 26),
22. Imām Khomeinī and Organizations of the Revolution (office of 38),
23. *Imāmat* and Perfect Man from the Viewpoint of Imām Khomeinī (volume 42),

24. In Quest of the Line of the Imām through His Words: This work also covers the speeches of the Imām in topical form and has been published in several editions.