

The Roots of Formation of Ayatollah Khomeini'S Political Thought

L'ORIGINE DE LA PENSÉE POLITIQUE D'AYATOLLAH KHOMEINI

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Abstract: Sudden emerge of Ayatollah Khomeini as a prominent jurist in Iran and Muslim world political sphere and presenting Islamic Government theory considered by both Muslim and western scholars and analysts as a surprise. The Islamic Government theory which have been recognized as a turning point in Shi'a juridical and political thought, never deliberated and emphasized as much as this by any other Shi'a jurists before him. By focus upon and examining the personal experiences and interests, social and political affairs and his intellectual pursuits and the thoughts that affected his theorizing researcher aim to provide a more propound understanding of preconditions and roots of formation of his approach as well as its underlying structure. The study reveals that formation and development of his thought in the course of time in general and after publishing of his first political book, "Kashf al Asrar", where he shows loyalty to theory of "Constitutional government with designation and permission of jurists" to "Islamic Government" book which he announced his major shift from old theory to theory of "Governance of the jurists" in particular was result of a series of social, political events and intellectual factors in Iran's contemporary history that affected directly or indirectly his thought and contributed to formation, development and formulation of his thought.

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Résumé: L'apparition soudaine d'Ayatollah Khomeini en tant qu'un juriste prééminent en Iran et dans la sphère politique du monde musulman, qui représente la théorie de gouvernement islamique est considérée par les savants musulmans, occidentaux et les analystes comme une surprise. La théorie de gouvernement islamique, reconnue comme un tournant dans la pensée juridique et politique chiite, n'est jamais délibérée et soulignée autant par d'autres juristes chiites avant lui. En examinant et en se concentrant sur les expériences et les intérêts personnels, les affaires sociales et politiques, sa poursuite intellectuelle et ses pensées qui ont affecté la théorisation, les chercheurs tentent d'offrir une compréhension plus claire sur les conditions préalables et les racines de la formation de son approche ainsi que sa structure élémentaire. L'étude révèle que la formation et le développement de sa pensée dans le temps en général, et après la publication de son premier livre politique, *Kashf al Asrar*, où il montre la fidélité à la théorie du "gouvernement constitutionnel avec la désignation et l'autorisation des juristes", il se tourne vers *Gouvernement islamique*, dans ce livre il a annoncé son changement majeur de la théorie ancienne à la théorie de la «Gouvernance des juristes» en particulier. C'est le résultat d'une série des événements socio-politiques et des facteurs intellectuels dans l'histoire contemporaine de l'Iran qui a touché directement ou indirectement sa pensée et contribué à la formation, au développement et à la formulation de sa pensée.

Mots-Clés: Ayatollah Khomeini; juristes chiites; gouvernement islamique; gouvernance des juristes; Iran; origine de l'approche

1. INTRODUCTION

It is not deniable that the thought of thinkers are developed and evolved gradually during the political and social evolutions in accordance with their intellectual pre-occupations. Therefore, the study of their thoughts and works cannot provide us a clear picture of different aspects of their thoughts, without having a good knowledge and understanding of their personal background (family background, social, cultural and political backgrounds, etc.) the impacts of their different experiences as well as their intellectual pursuits (activist life, intellectual life) on process of formation, development and formulation of their thought. The case of the thoughts of Ayatollah Khomeini is not an exception in this regard. His sudden emergence in the political sphere is considered to be one of the most interesting parts of Iran's contemporary history. This phenomenon was not predictable even by the cleverest political analysts. In the conditions that Shah was engaged in his extensive plans to make the country modern in its western style, Ayatollah emerged as the leader of the revolution and established the Islamic Republic of Iran. The influence and results of his thoughts and the revolution led by him, has not been merely confined to Islamic revivalism in Iran and other Islamic countries. This caused emergence of new international interactions between the Islamic world and western civilization.

For examining and analyzing the factors effective on formation and formulation of his political thoughts and formulizing it, it is necessary to study the personal, social and political affairs and the thoughts that affect him during his life until he published the Islamic Government book in which he presented his theory of Islamic government in a systematic way for the first time. By analyzing these factors and events, the researcher is after answering, even not completely, the question that what are the social, political and intellectual factors that were so effective on formation, development and formulation of Ayatollah's political thought, making him a revolutionary leader and an Islamic government theorist.

2. EARLY LIFE

The first 20 years of Ayatollah Khomeini's life are considered as one of the most critical years in the contemporary history of Iran. The Constitutional Revolution, First World War, occupation of Iran by Russia and England, spreading famine and contagious disease, chaos and lack of security due to weakness of the central government, overthrow of Qajars dynasty and establishment of Pahlavi dynasty by Reza Khan were among the events of those years. During those years, some of the events happened in his hometown, Khomein, and in a larger scale, all over the country, that influenced directly or indirectly on his personality and his social and political understanding of the surrounding world. The first and maybe the foremost important event of this 20 years period were assassination of his father, Seyyed Mustafa by two local feudal sooner than 6 months after his birth.

Seyyed Mustafa, the Mujtahed, studied in the seminaries of Isfahan and Najaf and received permission of independent judgment (Ijtihad) in the age of thirty eight and then returned to Khomein. He had authority and respect in the region. His family is Mussavi Seyyed which means they claim their descent from the holy prophet, Muhammad through his daughter's line and line of the Shi'a seventh Imam, Imam Musal Kazem. His position as a Mujtahed and also the assets inherited from his father, took him to the upper class in the society and this resulted in his special position in his region; the position described by Moin as the community leader. (Moin, 1999: 5) His relationships with the high ranking clergies and governmental authorities of Arak, Isfahan and Tehran made him the middleman between people and governors.

As custom demands during Qajar dynasty, administration of different province of the country was in the hands of the king's family, relatives and close friends. Province rulers often appointed their close relatives to administer cities and regions. So, the administration of the entire country was in the hands of Qajar family and relatives. In order to balance the money paid to the king, the governors imposed heavy taxes on the people and make more income possible through fines and confiscation of people properties and lands. The rural people which were oppressed and persecuted by the regional governors and local great land owners, and also exhausted of the plunder of their properties by insurgents and rivals tribes groups, often took sanctuary in the house of well known personalities of their region and asked for support. In such conditions the clergies and famous people played the role of the supporters of ordinary people in facing the governors and great land owners.

The special position of Ayatollah's father house, a castle with lookout towers, made it a secure shelter and a place for taking sanctuary, an old tradition among Iranians. This tradition continued even after assassination of Seyyed Mustafa. Because of the special position of young Ruhollah's family and their house in the region as well as the political and social context, since early age he was involved in a series of unintended and unavoidable crises and observations that obviously left deep and undeniable influence over formation of his social and political insight, granting him a clear notion of injustice, quality of mutual relationship of the people and rulers as well as corrupt political system of the country. Frequent mention of the methods of the running the country, holding parliamentary elections, manner of treatment of local and provincial rulers with ordinary people and personalities, the harsh oppression that people were subjected to every single day of their life, show how much he was affected by the events he had experienced or observed.

Ayatollah Khomeini's father was killed in early 1903, sooner than 6 months after Ruhollah's birth, as he was in the way of Arak, the center of the governor of the province, to claim against two local land owners that oppressed people and made their life difficult. The memories of him narrated by mother, aunt, and other members of the family, had a deep influence on the children. In their family, they called their father the martyr of fighting with oppression and it was severely believed by children. Choosing the family name of Mustafavi as the remembrance of his father by Ayatollah Khomeini is one evidence of this fact. When he was young, Ayatollah sometimes used to sign his letters as: Son of the Martyr Ruhollah Musavi Mustafavi. (Baqi, 2005: 6) After death of Seyyed Mustafa, his Widow rented a part of the house to the provincial governor deputy in Khomein, using as his office and his guard billet. So, family house and ruler office was in the same building. He then during and after the Islamic revolution was mentioned frequently to his childhood memories and observation:

You are informed about situation of the country in the past. You are informed that how was the manner of governors in province. When I was a teenager, I saw different governors of the Qajar dynasty time and after in Pahlavi time. Governor in every city was owner of people life and property. People had no right to object. When I was a child, I saw how a well known businessman of Khomein ... with a small excuse was tortured by governors in public. (Khomeini, 2006, Vol.16: 185) He states in another occasion:

When a governor came to a city, he treated people as if he is the king. I myself saw that the governor of Khomein ordered that the director of the businessmen should be hit in presence of the people who came to visit the governor. I was a child then and I saw that how the corrupt governor treated that poor businessman. When a clergy or a respected famous person went to visit them, they used to bastinado a poor man to tell that man indirectly that you should obey us. (Khomeini, 2006, Vol. 13: 484)

He later frequently remembered his bitter observations of the treatment of governors and the people. The quality of relationship between rulers and people was an issue that during the Islamic Revolution and after was used to indoctrinate his ideas and theory to his followers. After the victory of the Islamic Revolution, the country was threatened by United States government; he again mentioned to his childhood experiences and said:

Who do you threat? I was in war from my childhood. I did not say it till now. We were under invasion. We had gun and despite that, I was very young, I had presence on fortifications that were built in our city to resist invasion and plunder of insurgents. What do you want to frighten us about? We are not afraid of these kinds of threat. (Khomeini, 2006, Vol.11: 12-13)

During the Constitutional Revolution, Khomeini was a kid; but the position of his family helped him when he was a teenager to access valuable information related to the trend of this revolution. The most important sources of these information were the newspapers sent from Tehran for his family, the letters and oral descriptions by Seyyed Muhammad Kamarei, one of the famous Constitutionalist in Tehran and a close relatives of the family and what he heard from his uncle, Mirza Muhammad and his aunt's husband, Mullah Muhammad Javad, both of them anti- constitutionalist, and supporters of Shari'a seekers (Mashroue khahan). (Moradi Niya, 2005: 75) And as Martin says: "he spent a period of his youth studying in Arak under the patronage of Sheikh Muhsin Iraqi, who was closed associated with Sheikh Fazlollah Nouri and the fundamentalist position of during the Constitutional Revolution." (Martin: 1993: 39)

Ruhollah was a teenager when the World War I started. In 1916, Russians occupied Khomein. The first consequence of the war was famine and scarcity of food because of the low level of farm productions. The occupiers, because of their military and financial support, provided their food even with higher prices, or got it by force. One of the other reasons of famine and scarcity was the rebels and plunderers that attack to the villages and farms stealing crops and other farm products. During this period, people resorted to feed their families on everything called food. Ayatollah remembers this event like this: " I saw myself that there was a dead donkey that people cut it into pieces and took it as meat." (Khomeini, 2006, Vol. 12: 128) In Khomein, a disease that was allergic to horses affected the people. The numbers of dead bodies' were so high that they buried them without religious funerals in mass graves. Cholera was one of the diseases that spread over the country in 1918. Young Ruhollah was 16 years old when his mother and his aunt died as a result of Cholera and he lost his supervisors. He went under supervisory of his older brother that was 23 years old. He obviously observed that in a war neither his family nor his townsmen had any role in its start and continuation, how innocent people died in the worst form. These kinds of social and political experiences and observations in his first decades of life formed the roots of his political approach, which manifested later as a political theory aimed at the establishment of a just Islamic society. By remembering those days he says:

The weak societies and weak countries suffer during the war and peace. I remember both of the World Wars. During the First War I was a kid ... We were invaded by them... we were made for being invaded to let them succeeded. After they succeeded, during the peace time we were sacrificed again. This is the destiny of weak societies. Our condition during peace was worse than the war time. (Khomeini, 2006, Vol. 12: 374)

One other consequences of war in Iran was the reduction of the central government's power which resulted in limitation of their authority only to the capital city. Consequently chaos and disorder became dominant in other parts of the country. The plunderers robbed the properties of the passengers all over

the country. The farmers and rural people for the fear of being plundered escaped to Khomein and some of them took refuge to the house of Ayatollah's father. He remembers the suffering, the fear and miseries of people at that time, and also the other sad events of that era:

We have been armed and ready for any attack. When I was 16 or 17 I had a gun and I had shooting training. We were used to fight the plunderers who decided to rob our properties. The central government had no power to fight them. I remember one time that they occupied the city and we fought them. I was one of them. (Khomeini, 2006, Vol.11: 259)

The periods of Ayatollah's teenage and youth, are considered to be the sad period of Iran's history. All of these events and unpleasant social and family experiences had their fundamental influences on him. Maybe this thought that why we should be so weak to be oppressed by foreign powers and domestic corrupt plunderers have been formed in his mind during those days. The principles of the theory of "Nor West Neither East" and also his explicit rejection of the religious and intellectual legitimacy of the kingship political system also may be formed in that era.

When he was 19, Ayatollah Khomeini left his hometown to continue his studies in the religious sciences as an old tradition in his family. He went to Arak seminary that has been built by Ayatollah Haeri. It was one the most famous seminaries in the region. Three great Shi'a jurists, including Ayatollah Seyyed Muhammad Reza Golpaygani, Ahmad Khansari, and Ayatollah Khomeini have continued their studies in this seminary at the same time. In 1922, Ayatollah Haeri departed from Arak to Qum to rebuild the old seminary of this city that had a history over than 1000 years. Traditionally, the religious education centers were located in holy cities of Iraq. Almost all of the Shi'a great jurists migrated to these cities to continue and complete their religious educations and settled there. Although Qum was historically a religious educational center, it had less importance in comparison to other centers of Shi'a religious teaching. Ayatollah Haeri's migration to Qum encouraged other ulama to migrate there. Consequently the younger students of the seminaries also settled in Qum. Soon after Ayatollah Haeri's migration to Qum, the city turned to the most important center for teaching the Shi'a jurisprudence and the living city of many high ranked Scholars of Shi'a.

3. EDUCATIONAL YEARS IN QUM SEMINARY

This period of time, coincided with the collapse of the Qajar dynasty and took office by Reza Shah, the first king of Pahlavi dynasty. In 1920, the central government of Iran came to its maximum point of weakness and corruption. The British government tried to establish a powerful centralized government in Iran to save the integrity of the country and getting ride from rival countries, satisfying his own political and economical interests. With the political and financial support of England, Reza Khan, the leader of the Cassock Brigade of Qazvin, occupied Tehran on November 1920 and formed the coup cabinet. Ahmad Shah, the last king of Qajar who was aware of the support of England, surrendered very soon. In 1924 Ahmad Shah officially deposed from office and the Qajar dynasty came to an end. By making some changes in the constitutional law of the 1906, Reza Shah announced the start of the Pahlavi dynasty.

Clergies and jurists did not openly object Reza Shah when he was gaining the power. It had root a part in their dissatisfaction of the Qajar kings function and policies, their bitter experience from the Constitutional Revolution and also the image that Reza Shah provided of himself as a devoted Muslim before gaining the power; the image that not only disappeared very soon, but also reversed. After a short period of time, ulama found out that Reza Shah is one of the preachers of secularism and anti-religious thought in Iran and one of the main enemies of clergies. The 16 years of Reza Shah's kingship, is known as the period of sever enmity and hostility against the Islamic culture and clergies in Iran. In this era, Reza Shah applied a lot of efforts to confine the political and social power of ulama. He named those activities and efforts the modernism process. Very soon, it was revealed for ulama that this modernism means complete remove of ulama from their traditional position in the society as well as anti- Islamism.

Reza Shah had two main objectives during his kingship: 1- centralization and expanding dimension of authority of central government to all part of the country, and 2- modernization and industrialization

of Iran. In Reza Shah's opinion, modernization was equal to removing and fighting with all of the traditional things in the country including the cloths, educational system, legal system, and religious beliefs, etc. Like Ataturk, for Reza Shah, secularism was the way of saving the country from backwardness and the first step toward development of the country. One of the first activities of Reza Shah after stabilization of his kingship "was to remove the influence of religion from politics and above all to undermine the influence of religious clergies." (Martin, 2003: 13) Algar believes that what is named reforms by positive attitude by western researchers is considered by most not all of Iranians as a hostile attack to their culture and traditions. (Algar, 1991, Vol. 7: 739)

Establishment of modern educational centers and removing the traditional schools managed by clergies, establishment of administration of justice and new criminal code and commercial law, eventually expelled ulama from the position of judgment dominated by them for centuries. Undertaking the management of religious endowments by central government, practically deprived ulama from a great part of revenue they needed to save their financial independence. As stated by Algar, the goal of all these activities was development of a new culture under the control of the central government and based on modernism and radical nationalism that gradually damaged the cultural dominance of Islam in Iran. (Algar, 1991, Vol. 7: 741) In 1930, Reza Shah started a new phase of his policy of modernization that was executed by Ataturk in Turkey earlier on. The policy of changing the cloths of people from traditional ones to modern European styles, requirement of hat for men and unveiling the women's Hijab, were some parts of this new doctrine. Clergies were not exceptions of the law of changing the cloths and only great jurists were authorized to have their traditional cloths. Young clergies had to wear new cloths. The ulama how have any disagreement with the newly approved laws have to be punished by the government. The efforts of high ranking jurists to change the mind of the king were fruitless and they were treated by Shah in a disrespectful way and some of them like Seyyed Hassan Mudarres who persisted on their objections, was killed by the government agent.

Mudarres was not only the most famous clergies that challenged the king's policies, but also he was the leader of the opposition party. His political activities and personality overshadowed his scientific and religious personality. Mudarres entered the second parliament (1910-1912) as one of the first ranking ulama in order to supervise the accordance of the enacted laws with the Shari'a of Islam. In the sixth period of law making that coincided with the beginning of Reza Shah's government, he was present as the first representative of Tehran. He was well known for his bravery and frankness and was the leader of the opposition party in the parliament. He openly criticized the king and his policies and paid the price as he was banished into exile where he was murdered in 1936. Ayatollah Khomeini then admired him with these words:

Our great martyr Ayatollah Muddares, whose titles are unable to describe him, was a bright star in the gloomy sky of the country that was drowned in the darkness of Reza Shah's oppression and cruelty. Values of this high stature personality could not be realized by who are not aware and familiar of those horrified time. (Khomeini, 2006, Vol. 19: 73)

Ayatollah Qumi has been one of the prominent ulama of Mashhad that tried to hinder the process of executing anti-religious activities of the king especially the law for unveiling Hijab and forceful change of clergy's cloths. He went to Tehran to visit the king, but Shah did not accept him. Ayatollah Qumi went to Abdolazim Shrine near Tehran and took sanctuary there in reaction to the disdainful act of Shah but shortly later, arrested and exiled to Iraq. In July 1936, the disrespectful behavior of Shah resulted in demonstration of people at Goharshad Mosque in Mashhad and some of them were killed by the agents of the government. The second opposing demonstration of people occurred two days after the first one and caused the greatest massacre before June 1963 bloody uprising in the recent history of Iran.

One of the other famous jurists that openly struggled against Reza Shah's policies was Ayatollah Shahabadi from whom Ayatollah Khomeini learned philosophy and mysticism. He in contrary to other ulama did not believe to aloofness from politics and fought with anti-religion and anti-Shi'a activities of the government during the years that the Shah was preaching nationalism approaches. In the mid of 1930s, as Friday prayers leader at Tehran he criticized Reza Shah's anti Islamic policies, pursuing people and clergies to uprising for Islam, even it result to martyrdom. He for a short period of time went to Abdolazim Shrine and took sanctuary there to escape from wrath of the king. Ayatollah Shahabadi believed that the decline and weakness in Islamic countries is direct result of a huge and full-fledged

corruption that is dominant among both rulers and ordinary people, and as a consequence the nobility and respect of the Muslims has been demolished. It was the thought that was firstly preached by Seyyed Jamledin Asadabadi Afghani in the Islamic countries. (Martin, 2003: 32) He considers spread of the culture of "enjoining good and prohibition evil" as one of the primary tools for fighting against this corruption in the society. He encouraged his students to move systematically toward scientific and religious promotion of the Islamic countries and make the ground for reforming the affairs of the Muslims and Islamic countries.

Ayatollah Muhammad Taqi Bafqi Yazdi (d.1946) is another personality that rose objection against Shah's policy. Ayatollah Khomeini was benefited of his course in ethics for a limited time. But the influence he left on Khomeini personality, remained long after. In 1928, Bafqi because of his objection to anti Islamic polices and behaviors of Reza Shah and his family, inciting people against the central government in Qum was arrested and jailed in Tehran and then exiled to Ray in the south of capital city for 19 years.

After the massacre of people who gathered in Guharshad mosque in the holy city of Mashhad to object the government polices, Ayatollah Haeri put away his quietism, apparently attacked Reza Shah anti Islamic acts. But at the same time he was worried that in terms of continuation of outcry of clergies, Reza Shah will decide to destroy the newly rebuilt Qum seminary. Therefore, they found no other option, except to the return of their aloofness from political involvement. This set of events convinced the ulama that they cannot come to an agreement with the king. Therefore, by the advice of Ayatollah Haeri as the leader of the seminary of Qum, they hold the policy of silence in order to avoid any excuse for Reza Shah to complete destruction of the Shi'a seminaries all over the country. The most important reaction of ulama to the policies of Reza Shah was rebuilding and expanding of old seminaries under patronage of Ayatollah Haeri. Algar believes that although the importance of this movement was not realized first, but the consequences of establishment and development of the seminary of Qum made it possible for the city to be firstly, a main Islamic educational center in Islamic world and secondly turn to a center for struggle against the government and challenging the anti-religious policies of Pahlavi kingship. (Algar, 1991, Vol. 7: 743)

The other factor that contributed adopting aloofness policy by the great jurists and clergies was their bitter experience of the failure of constitutionalist ulama in leading the movement which lead to the isolation of majority of ulama and assassination of some prominent jurists. Therefore, main body of seminaries ulama adopted a negative attitude toward political activities and concentrated their endeavor to educate new groups of young clergies and through that serve the Shi'a school of thought. (Kadivar, 2001: 356) Ayatollah Haeri, as the most prominent religious leader of that era, avoided the open and direct struggle with Reza Shah in order to avoid him giving him any excuse to demolishing the newly-made seminary of Qum; a decision that at the time was really vital for the guarantee of existence of the seminaries in Iran. He believed that the first and foremost step in protection of Islam is promulgating of its teachings and ordinances, and this task has been appointed to ulama, and ulama are educated only in seminaries. Therefore, the policy of the seminaries should be in a way that Reza Shah found no opportunity to demolish main centers of promulgation of Islam. It should be noted that anti-religious and anti-jurist activities of Shah made a great spiritual sadness and pressure upon him and it is said that he passed away in the state of great sorrow. (Algar, 1983: 41) Algar believes that although Harei was an apolitical person, "but it can be said that his achievement indirectly contributed ultimately to the overthrow and destruction of the Pahlavi dynasty." (Algar, 1983: 41)

The young Khomeini was the witness of all these oppressions and humiliations against the institute of religion and the Shi'a clergies. He was still too young to access to the circle of high ranking decision makers of the seminary and make a change or establish a new method of political behavior. Therefore, in conformity to his great mentor order along with other ulama and clergies chose the policy of dissimulation and silence. No specific political activity is recorded for him in this era; but in the Kashf al Asrar book that was written in the first years of the overthrown of Reza Shah, his critical tone and criticizing people because of their silence and indifferent against the anti-religious behaviors of Shah, shows depth of his sorrow and suffering of what Reza Shah and his agents did with religion, country, and beliefs of the people, and also shows the deep influence that these events had on his thought and soul. In the second work remained of that time which is a statement recorded in 1944 in the visitor book of a mosque in Yazd Ayatollah Khomeini also show his great sorrow by these words: "hopeful to be read

and put in to practice"; then he continued that "it is our selfishness and avoidance of an uprising for God that culminated to these present dark days and subjugated our country to great powers. It is Muslims selfishness that undermined the Muslim world." (Khomeini, 2006, Vol. 1: 30) Martin believes that Ayatollah Khomeini "was widely read and interested in politics from his youth and would probe his teachers concerning their political memories." (Martin, 2003: 29)

He shows great respect for the personality and political methods of such jurists as Ayatollah Mudarres, Ayatollah Bafqi, and Ayatollah Shahabadi that during the years of oppression and dictatorship rose to struggle with the policies of the government and endured exile, prison, and murder for their goals. Ayatollah Khomeini in his lessons on ethics in Qum often had showed his great respect to his idol with this remark: "These days anyone wishing to visit a staunch believer who has subjugated the devils and reformed them, should travel to the city of Ray and after performing the pilgrimage to the shrine of Hazrat Abdol Azim, should meet Aqa Bafqi." (Ostadi, 2007) This respect shows that he watched the events of those years carefully and in comparison to the apolitical manner of Ayatollah Haeri, he preferred the method of the political jurists and ulama. In the years of Ayatollah Mudarres's presence in parliament, young Khomeini used to go frequent the parliament in order to listen to his speeches and sometimes, visits his home. Ayatollah Khomeini was interested in his strong and brave personality as well as the way of life and his religious devotion and considered it a model of life for himself. (Martin, 2003:30)

In 1935 a group of anti-religious and anti-jurists personalities like Ali Akbar Hakamizadeh the editor of Homayoun magazine and Ahmad Kasravi the ex-clergy that was in favor of fundamental reforms in religious concepts and jurisprudence published a series of articles entitled the "Secrets of Thousand Years". This series evaluated by jurists as a systematic attack to principles of Shi'a thought. These articles emphasized on the need to accept modern principles and remove traditional ones to ensure solution for the development of Iran. A major part of these articles were criticism of the fundamental principles of Islam and principles of Shi'a and popular beliefs. In 1943, Ayatollah Khomeini wrote in his book, *Kashf al Asrar* in relatively open political atmosphere. This book is a response to all of the criticisms posed by the writers to Islam and Shi'a. Ayatollah evaluates their criticism as unreasonable, childish, and just to weaken the religious beliefs of ordinary people. The study in this book reveals that despite his late appearance in political scene of Iran, he had a more radical attitude in comparison to others, even during the period of the reign of Reza Shah. His severe and stiff tone in blaming the method of Reza Shah in running the country is visible through *Kashf al Asrar*.

What is emphasized by Ayatollah in *Kashf al Asrar* is obedience to divine rules. In the chapters on "Government and Jurists", he argues that the only criterion for legitimacy of a government is its obedience to divine rules and implementation of Shari's decrees. In this book, Ayatollah is a jurist that is in favor of constitutional government with permission and supervision of jurists. Despite his strong critic of the Pahlavi's regime, but due to impossibility of establishment of jurist's government, he accepts the kingship by permission and designation of the jurists as an acceptable model and supports it. He suggests the formation of a committee composed of devote and just jurists that have the right to choose the king and also supervise the functions of the government. (Khomeini, N.D.a:185) It seems that due to Ayatollah's interest in personality and attitudes of Mudarres, concludes that it is possible to control the power by the establishment of a parliament composed of jurists. In *Kashf al Asrar* Ayatollah mentions four transmitting reasons for proving the jurist's guardianship based on what he considers as the guardianship of the jurists a proved matter, but he did not emphasized on it as severe as in his late book, "Islamic Government".

4. EFFECTS OF PHILOSOPHY AND MYSTICISM

Ayatollah Khomeini learned Jurisprudence and its principles as the main courses of the seminary but at the same time became interested in Philosophy, Mysticism, and Ethics, as non official courses of the seminary. He learned these courses from famous masters of these fields in the seminary of Qum. The main master of Ayatollah in Philosophy and Mysticism was the famous jurist and philosopher of the

seminary of Qum, Ayatollah Shahabadi (1950). Ayatollah Khomeini studied about seven years under the supervision of Ayatollah Shahabadi who taught the young Khomeini *Fusous al Hekam* (bezel of wisdom) masterpiece of Ibn Arabi, great philosopher of 12th century, and also the thoughts of Mulla Sadra. Khomeini studied the thoughts of Mulla Sadra under the supervision of his masters and reached to the position of teacher and exponent of the thoughts of Mulla Sadra.

As mentioned before, Ayatollah Shahabadi was a political figure among ulama of the seminary. Khomeini was extensively impressed by his thoughts, personality, and political approach. From Khomeini's point of view, Shahabadi was not only a significant master and thinker, but also a devoted fighter in divine way. He also repeatedly called Shahabadi as his spiritual father and master. The first books written and published by Khomeini were on mysticism (Irfan) like "The Light of Guidance" written in 1931 and "Interpretation of the Dawn Supplication" that shows his deep knowledge in mysticism. "Irfan is a kind of mystical philosophy which encompasses the possibility of unity with the divine one and universal self." (Martin, 2003: 31) According to Martin "the emphasis in Irfan is upon individual union with God without intermediaries and through continual starving to destroy the barrier of the senses or the carnal soul (nafs). So, the mystic may reach a state of union with the divine." (Martin, 2003: 35) Mystic convinced Khomeini that the creation of "perfect men" was possible and such perfect man could form a "good and just society". In his mystical famous essay, meeting God (Resale Leqa Allah), he discussed encountering human being with God is possible. Man has capacity to be close to God by faith and knowledge. (Khomeini, 1982: 10) Therefore, if human beings try to reach his position, the formation of a society of good and perfect man is possible.

It is a common belief among Muslim philosophers and mystics that the way of individual happiness passes through the society; a society in which ethical principles are respected and encouraged. In the thoughts of mystics, the manifestation of perfect man is dependant to existence of virtuous city, and the existence of virtuous city is dependent on the existence of a just government and a virtuous ruler; a thought that has been illustrated by Farabi in his "Good City". Ayatollah Khomeini emphasize on this principle in his argument on the need to establish Islamic government. He believes that one of the most important functions of an Islamic government is making a perfect ethical and religious ground for manifestation of a perfect man in the society; a ground that can be made by religion and implementation of divine rules. For Ayatollah, the way of individual happiness is the society and the perfect man is the product of a perfect society not a simple individual relationship between the creature and the creator. That is why Ayatollah views Islam as religion that a small portion of its teachings is related to individual rules and the relationships with God and more than 90 percent of the religion is related to politics, society, and human happiness. "Ayatollah Khomeini presented a religious-political philosophy in which he saw no distinction between spiritual and temporal world in general and no separation between religion and politics in particular." (Bazaei, 1993: 186) Although political aspect of Khomeini's personality affects his figure as a thinker, philosopher, and mystic, but: "He first gained fame as a writer and a teacher concerned with devotional and even mysticism matters." (Algar, 1998) As Algar indicates, for Ayatollah Khomeini spirituality and mysticism never result to aloofness from politics:

"But rather the building a fond of energy that finds its natural expression on the socio- political plane. The life of Imam Khomeini is a clear indication that the revolutionary wrought by Islam necessarily begins in the moral and spiritual realm. The classes he taught at Qum in the 1930s bore witness to this; topics of an ethical and spiritual nature were constantly and exhortations to his listeners to devote themselves to solving them as part of their religious duty." (Algar, 1998)

5. AYATOLLAH BURUJIRDI'S LEADERSHIP IN THE SEMINARIES OF IRAN

After Ayatollah Haeri passed away, three of his students came to the position of Marja' (Source of emulation) and pluralistic system again backed to Iran's seminaries. In 1940s those prominent jurists and founders of the seminary of Qum passed away one after the other, Ayatollah Khomeini and some other high ranking ulama of the seminary searched for a Mujtahed which is able to not only maintain and

develop the seminary established by Ayatollah Haeri, but also propose a new method for the relationships between the clergies and the government. "It was hoped that such a figure would not only bring together all the diverse views of Shiism...but also would unite the contribution of the faithful in his person." (Martin, 2003: 49) Ayatollah Khomeini played an important role in encouraging Ayatollah Burujirdi (d.1961) to settle in Qum and accept the leadership of the seminary of Qum. Martin believes that Ayatollah Khomeini probably wished " that Burujirdi would take a more activist role against the state and at least attempt to supervise or positively control the government and assembly, by implication reduce the influence of the west, especially the USA in Iran and increase that of Islam." (Martin, 2003: 54)

Ayatollah Burujirdi officially became the leader of the seminary of Qum in 1946. In a short period of time, he took the position of Marja' of the entire Shi'a world; the position that has been possessed only by Sheikh Murteza Ansari. Leadership of Burujirdi and his political, educational and social policies played a significant role in paving the ground ready for the emergence of Ayatollah Khomeini in the political sphere of Iran. Ayatollah Burujirdi took the position of leadership of Shi'a in Iran in the condition that the anti-religious activities came to its peak. Modernization policies of Reza Shah which was equal to removing religion from all aspects of culture, society and politics, undermined the religious beliefs of people and consequently the religious seminaries lose their values. Following the approach of Ayatollah Haeri, Burujirdi assigned two main responsibilities for himself in administration of Qum seminary: 1- Strengthening and developing the foundations of the seminary as the country greatest religious school; 2- Taking aloof from political activities.

Although Kadivar believes that he was in favor of Sahib Javaher juridical school of thought i.e. jurist's political guardianship (Kadivar, 2001: 20-21), in following the dominant tradition of the jurists that their political position is different and sometimes in contrary to their juridical position, he adopted the policy of aloofness and compromising, and no effort has been made by him in the establishment of the Islamic government. (Quchani, 2006: 85) His main effort was development of the seminaries of Iran, and providing the condition for financial independence of seminaries and jurists. This financial independence let the seminaries and the great jurists to absorb more students; a situation that resulted to improve ulama's social and political stature gradually, and in that time of Islamic Revolution is assessed as an effective tool in clergies hands to follow their goals. (Algar, 1983: 41) The young students absorbed during these years to the seminaries of Iran especially the powerful seminary of Qum, formed the main group of proponents and companions of Ayatollah Khomeini during the years of his struggle with Pahlavi's kingship (1961-1963) and in the time of the revolution in 1978.

With the aim to attain a vivid notion of the factors that directly or indirectly contributed to formulation of Ayatollah Burujirdi's political behavior, which effected directly the political life of Ayatollah Khomeini, it is necessary to focus over special context of the country before the emergence of universal religious authority. The first one was failure of Constitutional Revolution. The Revolution triumphed by the endeavor and unity of urban middle class, intellectuals, clergies and the mass of the peoples movement, but gradually removed of its main objectives due to lack of consensus among clergies as leaders of the revolution and about acceptable kinds of conditional Islamic government as well as dimension of Shah's power and authority. Despite that his great mentor, Akhund Khorasani was the leader of constitutionalist jurists, but the tragic end of Constitutional Revolution which he witnessed closely, could be one of the main reasons for his reluctance to participate in politics. The failure of other revolutionary movement such as Mirza Kuhak Khan uprising in the north and Kheyabani movement in Azarbiyjan was another bitter experience of the involvement of clergies in politics. Ramification of occupation of the country during the Second World War and the chaos that was experienced after the exile of Reza Shah created a kind of disappointment, stagnation and weakness in the process of political activities among the majority of the people. By take into consideration all above mentioned reason Ayatollah Burujirdi's abstention from political activity seems to be understandable. But Akhavi add another important reason that made Ayatollah's adopted position more strong. According to Akhavi:

...Political activism was another matter. A large conference convened to discuss this provocative issue was held in Qum in February, 1949. Ayatollah Burujirdi specifically invited some 2,000 or so members of the clergy to attend the session, held in the city's largest madrasa, the Fayziyah. The members adopted a firm non-interventionist position which prohibited all members of the clergy from joining parties and trafficking in politics. (Akhavi, 1980, 63)

Although Burujirdi did not interfere in political issues, but in the period of his leadership it is believed that he was the most influential factor in determining of the political behaviors of Shah's regime. He used his personal authority, privately to warn the king. (Quchani, 2006: 85) His objection to the land reforms and threatening Shah that if the political system of the country changes from feudalism to the directed socialism which Shah was interested, in the political system of the country will change from kingship to republic shows the political attitude of him.

Major political and social events during the 15 years period of his leadership in seminaries happened in the country; among them are formations of Communist Party of Tudeh, the Oil Industries Nationalization Movement, electing of Dr. Mussadeq as Prime Minister and his conflict with Shah and USA backed coup against him. In spite of extensive influence of these events in social and political arena of the country, Ayatollah Burujirdi took no public position toward them and continued his official relationship with the court of Shah. He even made no official statement during the movement of nationalizing the oil industry and involvement of high ranking Shi'a Jurist, Ayatollah Kashani (d.1962) in that.

Initially the relationship between Khomeini and Burujirdi was described beyond a relationship between pupil and mentor. Khomeini was in the inner circle of Burujirdi's proponents and they had closed relationship. Around 1940, Khomeini was an advisor and one of the members of committee authorized to introduce reform to seminary. (Rajabi, 1990: 227) The position of Ayatollah Khomeini was such great, that some called him as Burujirdi foreign minister. (Quchani, 2006: 106) Due to Ayatollah Khomeini's courageous and outspoken personality, twice as representatives of Burujirdi met Shah, and transferred ideas, suggestions and orders of the great religious authority and Qum seminaries eminent jurists to him.

During the years of Ayatollah Burujirdi's leadership, Ayatollah Khomeini in different occasions tried to encourage him to more powerful and directly interfere in political affairs. Khomeini hoped that under pressure of Ayatollah Burujirdi, the young king move toward more inclination to religious rules and implementation of them, restoration of religious values and respect the advices of ulama in administration of the country which was in line with nobility and glory of Islam and Iran. But all of his efforts were fruitless. In the middle years of Burujirdi's leadership, their relationship because of their different attitudes toward the manner of treatment with central government, gradually turned frozen. But, Ayatollah Khomeini as far as Ayatollah Burujirdi was alive, avoided any kind of public criticism against the great leader of Qum seminary and never involved in any political activity that may be interpreted as an independent political position. He was aware of the importance and value of maintaining the respect and glory of the ulama in the society. So, he devoted himself to educating a new generation of young clergies and creating new questions in regard to the political and religious tasks of them in facing the society and government. This group of young students later formed the main core of activist clergies who challenged Shah's regime policies and legitimacy in the years of struggle and victory of Islamic Revolution. It is quoted that his classes in Qum seminary even in 1940s and 1950s "had a radical even revolutionary component ... with some discussions of the duties of the *velayate faqih*." (Martin, 2003: 58)

Algar believes that Ayatollah Haeri and Ayatollah Burujirdi both left direct and significant influence on the thought and political emergence of Ayatollah Khomeini. (Algar, 1983: 40) The seminary established by them turned into the main center of ulama's struggle and resistance against Pahlavi's kingship and the main center of Islamic Revolution that resulted in establishment of a theological government in Iran. During the years of Ayatollah Burujirdi's leadership, there existed some other religious trends like "Fada'iyan Islam" formed by a group of young fundamentalist clergies and religious figures from middle class of the society in 1945. The main goal of this group was to establish Islamic government to hinder the access of foreign powers from Iran. They believed that Islam has ability to answer all question in the modern era, and in order to returning to the golden age of Islam and reviving the religious values, Muslims should implement the religious rules of Islam and use modern sciences and technologies. This group that performed some assassinations like that of the Prime Minister, Ali Razmara in 1951, has never been supported by high ranking jurists of the seminary like Ayatollah Burujirdi. Their area of activity remained limited to Tehran.

The other trend was intellectual Muslims by liberalistic attitudes including some famous figures like Ayatollah Taleqani and Muhammad Taqi Shariati. Ayatollah Khomeini had no explicit inclination to

these religious-political trends, because he was aware of the importance of integrity in the seminaries of Iran and permanently advised young clergies to obey the leader of the seminary. The events of nationalization of oil industry also occurred in the time of Ayatollah Burujirdi's leadership. Ayatollah Kashani, one of the high ranking Shi'a jurists, was one of the members of the small group of the ulama that had close relationship with Prime Minister, Mosadeq and was one of the leaders of Nationalization of Oil Industry Movement. Kashani with a long history of political struggle, exile and prison, was in favor of implementing the Islamic Shari'a in the Islamic countries as the fundamental principle in each kind of social, political, and economical planning. He with denunciation of belief to separation of power from politics strongly supported the idea of unity of religion and politics in the Islamic countries as a main tool for expelling the imperialists and colonialists powers from Islamic countries. For him, unity of politics and religion is: "Not only as the mere fulfillment of a religious obligation, but also as a strategic source to be utilized for further consolidation of the political strength of the Muslim states, particularly against the western Imperialism." (Bazaei, 1993: 18) He believed that the main responsibility in the process of the unity of religion and politics in Islamic countries is considered for the jurists and they should apply their power in this regard.

However, Ayatollah Khomeini did not make any public position about the Oil Industry Nationalization Movement and specially, about the person of Ayatollah Kashani, but he had a closer relationship with him in comparison to other ulama of Qum and Tehran. The reason that Khomeini did not publicly support Kashani, was firstly to express his conformity with the position of the great Marja' and also the fact that Kashani, instead of conforming politics with Islam, made the religion of Islam political. This was not in accordance with the viewpoint of Khomeini.

6. CONFRONTATION OF ULAMA WITH SHAH

After Ayatollah Burujirdi death in March 1961, Ayatollah Khomeini along with Ayatollah Muhammad Hadi Milani and Ayatollah Kazem Shari'atmadari, two other prominent religious jurists emerged as new religious authority, backing pluralist system to Shi'a's world. It coincided with the introduction of Shah's new reform that had begun before with a land reform. It seemed that with division of religious power, the position of clergies at least temporarily was undermined. So, the government expected to forward its reform without any noticeable objection. By opposing some local council's law, Khomeini manifested as a religious political leader. His movement at first was supported strongly by majority of Qum seminaries ulama and students as well as prominent jurist of Iraq such as Ayatollah Hakim and Ayatollah Khoei, but then he continued by a limited number of his students. The objection mostly focused over Article 2 and 41 of the Bill. According to State and Local Council Election Bill, passed by the Council of the Minister on October 6, 1962, adherence to Islam or other acceptable religion in Islam (Christianity, Judaism and Zoroastrian) was not required as a necessary qualification for either voters nor candidates, also women were franchised. The elected councilors permitted to take their oath of office not on the Quran but on their own divine book. The clergies and religious authorities interpreted the bill as an accounted attempt to undermine of Islam and Quranic orders in the country, marginalizing the religion. Furthermore, they considered the bill as a means to paving way for Baha'is, an apostate group on their belief to come to office. High ranking clergies and religious authorities include Ayatollah Khomeini, after a meeting sent a joint telegram to Shah, spoke out their objection to some articles of the bill, considering it "in contrary to precepts of Islam, Iran and stature of the kingship as well as contrary to the constitution and strong desire of absolute majority of the Muslims" (Davani, 1963: 31). Ayatollah Khomeini sent a separate telegram to Shah, requesting to revise disputed section of the bill: permission of woman to vote, adherence to Islam not as a necessary qualification for candidate. It is argued that clergies considered woman franchising as nothing more than propaganda for the regime which was interested to portray of a democratic figure of itself; when in essence it was dictatorial regime (Vojdani, 1992: 83). Under pressure of Ulama inside and outside of Iran and widespread support of people minister of court announced suspending of the bill. During the years 1961 and 1962 that Ayatollah Khomeini appeared firstly as the representative of ulama and the seminary of Qum and also as the leader of the opposition movement, the tone of his statements got more and more radical.

Due to his persistence on criticizing the performance of Shah and his government, in the condition that the majority of ulama were not in favor of these kinds of objections made him a prominent and distinguished political personality. His objections were not limited to the principles of White Revolution, but it comprises the anti-Islamic performance of Shah and the government. One of the instances of these performances was the relationships between Iranian government and Israel and western governments. Ayatollah considered the succumb of Shah in facing the foreign powers his main reason of objection and demanded some changes in the performance of Shah and the government in order to be more conform with the Rules of Islam and National interests of the country. It is noteworthy that in the years of confrontations, what is demanded by Ayatollah is not establishment of Islamic Republic, but implementation of the constitutional law and fidelity of Shah and its government to this law.

In 1963 government put to referendum land reform, which limited land ownership, include endowments properties that mostly belonged to religious schools and shrines and administration of those directly or indirectly was on the hand of clergies. On January, Shah submitted principle of White Revolution to a referendum. Khomeini prohibited his followers to take part and harshly attacked the government policy in forming close relationship with Israel and west, especially US, neglecting of the poor people. His speeches extended anti government sentiments in Qum and some other cities. In response, the government directed a commando attack to Faiziyyeh religious school in Qum, where most of Khomeini's speech was delivered in March 1963, killing one of the religious students and injuring and arresting some other. Ayatollah Khomeini blamed Shah and his administration for the bloody attack and theirs anti Islamic policies. On June 1963, which coincided with the holy month of Muharram, Khomeini was arrested after making some anti government speech, taken to prison to Tehran. Mass demonstration against Shah's policies and objection to arrest of a high rank jurist in Tehran, Qum and other big and religious cities, undermined Shah's administration power and legitimacy. Under pressure of other well know jurists and student of seminaries, finally he was released without any trial and returned to Qum.

Enacting of the bill of extension of diplomatic immunity to USA militaries and their families in Iran sparked a new wave of anti government objection that such two other last mass objection Khomeini appeared as the leader. He considered the bill as a great humility for the country, government and people.

On November 1964, he was arrested for the second time and immediately exiled to Bursa, Turkey. After his arrest the government in an official statement broadcasted from national radio, accused him of threat to the peoples interest as well as security the country. On October 1965, he was permitted to move to the Shrine city of Najaf, in Iraq.

7. EXILE TO NAJAF AND ITS EFFECT ON AYATOLLAH THEORIZING

After banishment of Ayatollah to Turkey and then to Iraq, another Khomeini was born that was different from the Khomeini in Qum. The start of the teaching "Jurists' guardianship" courses in Najaf is the end of Khomeini's belief in the theory of "government with permission and supervision of jurists". In his "Islamic Government", he for the first time rejects the legitimacy of the monarchy in Islam by invoking to a set of transmitting and juridical reason. He refers to four Hadith in order to prove the guardianship of ulama in political affairs which had referred to them, 37 years ago in Kashf al Arar.

The confrontations of Ayatollah and Shah and lack of helpful and sufficient support by other ulama, made him to come to the result that no reform in the framework of royal government in line with preservation of Islamic values and implementation of the rules of Shari'a is fruitful. In the thoughts of Ayatollah, the only thing that secures and maintains implementation of Shari'a and its rules is substituting the royal system with an Islamic government and appointing the power to the jurists. His personal experience of the Qajar kings, Reza Shah, and Muhammad Reza Shah and his historical experience of the approaches of the kings in governing the country led him to the conclusion that one of the reasons of political and economical failure of the Muslims in comparison to the western countries is existence of tyrannical system of monarchy.

His exile to Najaf was a new season of his activist life that culminated to present of his Islamic government theory on 1970 and then conducting of Islamic revolution in 1977-1979. At Najaf he devoted his time to teaching and writing of jurisprudence and principles. One of the main purpose of Shah's administration of transferring Ayatollah Khomeini from Bursa to Najaf, a city that most of prominent figures of Shi'a seminaries were settled was undermining his position, personality and anti government movement in the shadow of other jurists such as Ayatollah Seyyed Muhsen Hakim, Ayatollah Abulqasem Khoei that apparently because of bitter experience of their procedures during constitutional revolution were reluctant to stay aloof of political involvement.

Ayatollah Khomeini's scientific stature helped him very soon to stabilize his position in the city , forming his own cycle of teaching in Sheikh Ansari School that was well attended by not only religious students from Iran and Iraq but also from other Islamic countries such as Lebanon, Kuwait, Bahrain, Pakistan and Afghanistan. Since his exile to Turkey in 1965 till 1970 when he delivered his 13th speech, devoted to juridical principles of Islamic government and its foundation of legitimacy and function, compiled and published by his student as "Islamic Government" there was no element that indicate to his political activity. Within these thirteen lectures between January 21 and February 8, 1970, he presented his Islamic Government Theory "which may be summarized as the assumption by suitably qualified ulama of the political and juridical function of the Twelfth Imam during his occultation had already been put forwards, somewhat tentatively in his published book, *Kashf al Asrar*" (Algar, 1998).

He devoted most part of his book to enumerate of the necessity of the establishment of Islamic Government during the occultation era, to recite Quranic verses, Shi'a's doctrine of Imamate, *Hadith* and tradition of holy prophet and Shi'a's Imams. Then he dealt with factors that differentiate Islamic government from other kinds of political system. According to him, Islamic government as a conditional government that its scope of authority and act is limited to carrying out of Islamic rules, the only legitimate kind of the government in occultation era. It is noteworthy that he renounced the continuation of the lecture under pressure and opposition of other prestigious jurists. The book published for the first time in Arabic at Lebanon – not in Iraq, where he wrote the book and most of Shi'a seminaries were located- at 1971. The book first publication in Persian was in 1978, less than one year before the victory of Islamic revolution. A group of his followers and closed students in attempt to introduce his political thoughts published and distributed his "Islamic government" book secretly with another name (*A Letter from Imam Mussavi Kashef al Qeta*) without mentioning the name of author or publisher in Iran.

8. CONCLUSION

The Manifestation of Ayatollah Khomeini in 1978 in Iran was considered in most of the world even by scholars and political analysts as a surprising phenomenon and was the culmination of a gradual change in Shi'a political jurisprudence. These changes formed slowly during predomination of Safavied Shi'a dynasty and formulated in Qajar era, particularly during Constitutional Revolution. The process resulted in the emergence of the first generation of political jurist in the history of Shi'a school of thought. Despite this deniable reality that political involvement was a great part of the legacy of Ayatollah Khomeini's family, the profound and wide effect of Islamic philosophy and mysticism and the role of his mentors such as Shah Abadi, Khunsari and Bafqi Yazdi should be taken into consideration. In addition, the critical time he lived, his social and political observation and experience deeply affected the process of the formation, formulation and development of his political thought. Therefore, it could be concluded that the Islamic Revolution and the manifestation of Ayatollah Khomeini as a political jurist had deep roots in the country historical past. Khomeini was an embodiment of tradition among Shi'a clergies in Iran and Iraq, but due to his profound, wide and comprehensive effects in social and political affairs of new era, has made of him a unique and unparalleled figure.

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