

Desirable Government in the Political Views of Imām Khomeinī

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One of the important discussions of the realm of politics and government is the relationship between government and people as well as mutual rights of citizens and rulers. The reason why discussing such issues is important is that today with the immense wave of democracy and political-democratic management emerging in the world, there are very few political regimes, which disregards the factor of people and popular sovereignty. Historical experiences together with scientific information of social and political scholars have also emphasized the importance of the democracy of the political regimes and as a result their being backed up by the mass is regarded as one of the features of stable and democratic governments. Problems related to the people's sovereignty coming to be known as democracy has a long history, however, in most of the third world countries including the Islamic Republic of Iran, it is not age-old enough. This unfolds the hidden corners of democracy and the people's sovereignty in these societies. Lack of enough historical experience of democracy and political co-operation of the mass has caused serious objective difficulties on the one hand. On the other hand, formation of the Islamic Republic of Iran based on religious teaching and with an identity shaped by the divine sovereignty in all

aspects of personal and social life has theoretically affected serious and apparent challenges and contradictions by its claim of political sovereignty of people and combination of two religious and temporal phenomena.

If the divine sovereignty pervades all aspects of individuals' lives as the embodiment of religious thought of the Islamic society, then democracy would also be a right phenomenon emphasized and taken into account as a human ideal in the process of historical movements and political events of the societies.

Basing all social and political principles and criteria on the principle of divine sovereignty, the Islamic Republic of Iran has not ignored the principle of popular sovereignty as well. The system's republicanism puts emphasis on the popular sovereignty while its being Islamic on the sovereignty of God over the whole universe. The Islamic Republic of Iran's constitution, through religious and jurisdictional perspectives, has taken into account both these principles, allocating various principles to them.¹

Although in the constitution proper, as well as in opinions of the precursors and officials of Islamic Republic, a sort of harmony has appeared to exist between divine sovereignty and popular sovereignty, there are unclear and ambiguous problems the clear and acceptable answers of which should be given by committed Muslim thinkers and researchers. Theoretical vacuum and lack of serious and academic studies has caused a number of youths and intellectuals of our society to find some kind of inconsistency between these two. Reasonable and scholarly argumentations on these issues, together with having critical perspective and objective approach, can undoubtedly be a responsibility of the researchers of religions who should make effort in dealing with it. As for this, wise advices, speeches, and guidance of Imām Khomeinī as well as those of the great leader are precious treasures, which will pave the way for us in this important subject.

This paper investigates and examines position and responsibilities of government and people together with their relations in the light of political thought of Imām Khomeinī, while with the aid of his speeches, work, and words and through clarification and elucidation of the relation between government and people and their mutual rights, tries to propound such discussions.

¹ Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Chapter 1, Articles 2-3.

1. Islamic government's feature in the political views of Imām

Religious view of Imām in political and social problems has influenced his political thought, shaping it. These jurisdictional and religious ideas have affected his opinions on political categories as well. Accordingly what he says on people, government and their mutual relations as well as their roles in society, is the feature of religious government and society deduced from religious sources and political traditions of infallible leaders.

The criteria Imām applies in elucidating the features of the Islamic society and government can also be observed in religious texts and political sources of Islam. In political views of Imām, the most important characteristics showing the features of the Islamic government include:

- a. Serving government and not a ruling one
- b. Law-centric government
- c. Trustworthy government

A. Serving and not ruling government

Giving service, in the political views of Imām, is regarded among the most important characteristics of the Islamic government. Such an outlook has connections with philosophy of politics and government in the political thought of Shiite, and is merged, in religious texts, with it, defined as the aim of government and politics.¹ With such an approach toward government and politics and with regard to Imām's definitions of these categories, it is giving service, which is acclaimed and not ruling. In this view, how much the government is religious is estimated by its success in service giving and giving social services to the Islamic society. The Imām says on this:

"The government in an Islamic system should be a just one in which government should be for people and not people for government. An Islamic government is one which is and should be service-giving to people."²

This word of the Imām suggests a few points. Firstly, the Islamic government should be based on justice, secondly it should be governed by the people, and thirdly it should be for people and not people for government and finally it should be at the service of the people and society. The function of the

¹ In the different parts of *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Imām 'All states that the aim of politics and leadership in the Islamic and religious government is to carry out the religious duties and human responsibilities and not enforcing power.

² *Sahifah-ye Imām*, vol. 5, p. 241.

services of Islamic government is different significantly from that of non-Islamic governments, because giving service and the sense of responsibility of statesmen of Islamic government is not limited to material aspects, but is always accompanied by spiritual prosperity and perfection of the Islamic society. In the political views of the Imām, being in charge of superficial power is regarded as only a means, while service giving as the criterion of evaluating religious statesmen is emphasized:

“The individuals and those whose heart beat for Islam and for their country should bear in mind the fact that capacity, Presidency is not criterion, nor is premiership, nor being the head of the government or being parliament speaker. These are nothing at all, these capacities will come to an end. What remains is service. Wherever he is, the committed person is more encouraged seeing that his services are satisfactory.”¹

In Imām’s view, political power is not the end-aim of politics and government but is a means, which makes equal the relation between the ruler and the ruled in the possible form of religious brotherhood:

“One change which should be made and you gentlemen should endeavor to achieve, is that you do not become arrogant of being the governor. The word governor is used when there is ruler and the ruled and when there is no brotherhood. It is used when a class is rebellious while the other class is being ruled by them. There are not (should not be) such things in Islam. Those who have ruled the whole Islamic country have not dealt with their subjects in a way that the ruler treats the ruled.”²

As for this problem he says elsewhere:

“Being in charge of the government does not bring in itself position and dignity. The means of doing the responsibility is the application of the laws and establishment of a just Islamic system. If the available means is not used for good works and proving true the high goals, it will have no value.”³

¹ *Ibid.*, vol. 19, p. 217.

² “*Fundamentals of the Islamic Revolution*”, The Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imām Khomeini’s Works.

³ *Islamic Government: Governance of the Jurist*, pp. 69-71.

B. Law-centric government

Another important characteristic of the Islamic government, in the political views of Imām Khomeinī, is law-centrism and commitment to law, including both the divine and governmental laws. Trough religious perspective, the government and its officials are protectors and enforcers of the Islamic laws. Commitment to law is a religious duty and the Islamic government and its officials have more duties and responsibilities. The Imām has emphasized on this matter, saying:

“Rule of Islam is the rule of law. In this kind of government, sovereignty is exclusively particular to God while law is His Decree and Ordinance. Islamic law or God’s command has absolute sovereignty over all individuals and Islamic government. All individuals including the Holy Prophet, his Caliphs and the others are subject to law, the law, which is sent down by God and is expressed through the Holy Prophets and Qur’an’s language. If the Holy Prophet became responsible for the caliphate, it was only through God’s Command. He did not want to establish a government for himself in order to be the Muslims’ ruler.”¹

Law-centrism and commitment to governmental and religious laws, is not limited to the theoretical aspects in Imām’s views, but practically and objectively it is emphasized. Applying political sovereignty and religious power of the Islamic ruler can be legitimate and executable only in accordance with law and observance of religious regulations:

“No ruler in the Islamic government is allowed to be ego-centric and autocratic, and what happens in the domain of government should be in accordance with the divine law, even obeying the guardianship (leader) should accord with divine law. In different problems he acts with regard to the good of the Muslims and his subjects and this is not autocracy and totalitarianism. He should, in different problems, act according to the advisability, that is to say, his decision, like his acts, should be in accordance with such policies.”²

Therefore, the government and the Islamic governor, in the political views of the Imām, apply sovereignty with regard to law and the interests of the Islamic nation. When the Islamic ruler deals with the political

¹ *Fundamentals of the Islamic Revolution*, The Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imām Khomeinī’s Works, pp. 136-137.

² The Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imām Khomeinī’s Works, *Şahifeh-ye Imām*, vol. 2, p. 461.

management of society according to his own views and with regard to advisability, his views and acts are governed by a sort of law-centrism framed by the public good of Muslims. In the Imām's desirable government, therefore, real governor is the law and all are free to act under the protection of law and legal rules:

"The ruler is in fact the law. All are under the security provided by law, under the protection of law of Islam. People and Muslims are free as far as legal rules allow. That is to say, after they acted according to the legal rules, nobody is entitled to tell them what to do."¹

In the Imām's law-centric government, citizens' obedience from the commands and rules of the Islamic government means obeying the law and only law rules over society.

"Anyhow, in Islam, ruling means obeying the law and only law rules over society."²

C. Trustworthy government

In the political view of the Imām, the ruler of Islamic society and government is not considered the absolute governor. The statesmen are the people's trustees and their advocates.

Accordingly, the Islamic government is bound to apply the political power for the purpose of propagating religious beliefs and divine teachings as well as providing good and interests of the society. Applying its power through admission of the Muslim mass, the Islamic government in this perspective, receives political legitimacy and protection of people only by putting into action all its social, economic, and political programs through regarding and respecting cultural and religious beliefs of society, in accordance with religious rules and laws. Otherwise, the Islamic nation and people put end to the rulers' agency and dismiss them through their own monitoring and advisory roles. In the Imām's words: "When people do not want an official, he must step down."³

Honesty feature of the Islamic government in the Imām's view is emphasized in his different speeches. He says:

¹ *Islamic Government: Governance of the Jurist*, p. 81.

² *Ibid.*, p. 47.

³ *Şahifeh-ye Imām*, vol. 4, p. 73.

“Since the rule of Islam is the rule of law, the lawyers, and the highest religious experts, that is, the jurists should be in charge of it. They are the ones who observe all administrative, official and planning affairs of the country. The jurists are trustees in executing divine commandments.”¹

Elsewhere he says more clearly: “so, the meaning of trustworthy is that the jurists execute all the affairs Islam has ordained (prescribed) honestly and not issuing verdicts only.”²

1. The relation between government and people in the political view of Imām Khomeinī

In the Islamic system, the best possible form of relation exists between the government and people who feel responsible for each others' acts and decisions. Governmental statesmen are trustees who, like their Muslim brothers, are present among people, listening to people and dealing directly and far from usual political ceremonies with their problems. The relation between government and people in the political view of Imām is among most extended and serious discussions, which are apparently observed in his wise speeches and advices. Here, this relation is studied within some general topics:

a. Direct relation between government and people

In most political systems and regimes, the statesmen as the privileged class of society have special social positions, not having any relation with the downtrodden and low class of society. In such systems people cannot easily visit the statesmen while the fear and terror prevalent in the relation between the ruled and the ruling castes has changed the equal and human relations into an atmosphere of flattery and insincere praise. Propagation of flattery in the society is characteristic of despotic and autocratic regimes. Regarding this matter, Imām ‘Alī, always warned strongly his follower of this harmful and undesirable characteristic, inviting them to telling the truth, being righteous and guiding their statesmen.³ This political-religious model is also seen in the Imām's thought and deed:

¹ *Islamic Government: Governance of the Jurist*, p. 80.

² *Ibid.*, p. 81.

³ *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Sermon 216.

"The Islamic governor is not similar to other governors, kings or presidents. The Islamic governor is one who used to come to mosque of Medina among ordinary people and listened to them. Those in charge of the country like other stratum of society congregated in the mosque. The congregation was such that the governor and ordinary people could not be distinguished by a person coming from outside."¹

Emphasizing on following in the holy prophet's and the infallible Imāms' footsteps and by applying practical and governmental traditions of those magnanimous leaders, Imām Khomeinī holds being with people and abolition of class privilege of the statesmen of the Islamic government as the vital and essential characteristics of religious government:

"When the Holy Prophet was in a congregation, wanting, say, to tell something or to talk or to make judgments, the situation was in a way that the Prophet could not be distinguished by a person who did not know him. That person could not make out who the ruler was and who the ruled."²

b. The relation of mutual understanding and not dictatorship

In the religious government of Imām Khomeinī, in which the relation between government and people is based on religious brotherhood and public responsibility, the statesmen's despotism and dictatorship is strongly condemned, while people are regarded as the essential organ of the religious system. In this view, the role of political responsibility of the people in the life of Islamic society is regarded as duties of the Islamic governors and statesmen. The Islamic Ummah is obliged, according to the principle of public responsibility, to monitor the behavior and acts of the statesmen of the Islamic society. In the Imām's view, strength and depth of the agreement and cooperation between the government and people is indicative of the stability, and Islamicness of the government, always to be observed:

"If a country wants to be uncorrupt, there should be between the governing system and the nation, agreement. Islamic regime, perhaps, is at the top of the programmes of such an understanding between the government and the nation. That is to say, the government does not keep itself separate, it does not impose, threaten, frighten, or torture people. Nor do the people want to weaken the government, or violate the governmental regulations. This

¹ *Shāhfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 3, p. 84.

² "Fundamentals of the Islamic Revolution", The Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imām Khomeinī's Works, p. 361.

should be a model for the governments, the administrations, for all, not to keep them separate from people and to know that people are akin. People as well know that, the government is akin, and the governments deem them akin. If there appeared such an understanding between the government and the nation, then such a government would be dependent upon the nation and would not fall, that is, it would not collapse."¹

In the political system of Islam and desirable government model of the Imām, as a result, the relation between the governors and the people is based upon agreement, cooperation and respect for the character and thoughts of society. The ruler as the trustee of society tries to provide the satisfaction of people and the necessary grounds for their material and spiritual growth.

c. Mutual monitoring

Among other aspects of the bilateral relation between the government and people in Imām's view, is the mutual monitoring of government and people. Accordingly, on the one hand, the rulers are bound to monitor the Islamic society for the sake of propagating religious values and teachings and growth of thoughts. On the other hand, people have the duty of monitoring the government's policies and directions, giving their advisory views for the improvement and stability of the foundations of the Islamic system. In different parts of his words, Imām, in addition to restating the effects and graces of people's monitoring the behavior of the statesmen and the government's policies, emphasizes the advisory relation of government and nation, stating:

"If the nation wants to succeed and gain victory, it should be careful about the government, of the president and of the government. It should pay attention to all of these. Don't they reach affluent class from a middle class."²

"This problem is important, and the gentlemen should notice it, and the whole nation should supervise, they should monitor the affairs. If I put a foot wrong, the nation is responsible to tell me that I've made a mistake, and to tell me to keep restrain. The entire nation is responsible to supervise all the affairs related to Islam. If they notice that a committee, for example; is acting against Islamic regulations, the businessman should object, the

¹ Searching for the Way of the Imām through the Imām's Words, The Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imām Khomeinī's Works, vol. 9, pp. 275-276.

² *Shahfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 7, pp. 33-34.

farmer ought to object, so should the teacher, they should object to make right the foot that is put wrong."¹

Accordingly, in the Islamic government of the Imām, the people supervise the dismissals and appointments of the Islamic government's officials, as they play important roles in establishing the government of religious system and putting it into effect.

d. Brotherhood relation and not the relation of the ruler and the ruled

The governors of the Islamic government, in the government of Imām, have no special class privileges and are equal to people. In the political system of Imām, the relation between whom exercising power and submissive is not that of the ruler and the ruled, but it is in the form of religious brotherhood and equality. In this view, the governors and the statesmen are not absolute rulers of people, but they are equal to people before governmental and Islamic laws.

"The individual's society is a criticizing and evaluating one, in which all people take part in their affairs."²

The political system of Imām is the enforcer of the divine laws on the basis of which no difference is observed in social classes and all citizens are equal:

"This is a government in which all are equally present before law. Because Islamic laws are divine laws and every one is present before God; governor and the governed, the Prophet or Imāms or other people."³

Emphasizing on maintaining the spirit of religious brotherhood, the Imām condemns privilege-seeking and establishing difference between the lives of the statesmen and those of the ordinary people and believes that it has dangerous consequences:

"Thank God, all our statemen are not palace-dwellers. Our government is not a palace-dweller one. If our government becomes interested in palaces, we have to mourn the loss of the nation and government. When the president, puts aside the spirit of simplicity and palace-dwelling fascinates him, he, and those who have connections with him, will face decline. The

¹ "Fundamentals of the Islamic Revolution", The Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imām Khomeini's Works, p. 286.

² *Shabīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 3, p. 53.

³ *Ibid.*, vol.1, p. 169.

tyrant kings who were all palace-dwellers, could not think about people, they could not understand what the individual might mean?"¹

In the Imām's view, therefore, expansion and consolidation of the relation between government and nation, in the form of religious brotherhood, are based on the equality and unison of the statesmen and citizens. To deepen and maintain this relation, the statesmen should be aware of and in connection with people's problems and difficulties.

1. Mutual rights of government and people in the political view of Imām Khomeinī

Undoubtedly, politics and government in our religious sources and in the political view of Imām Khomeinī, is not the final end and the cause of man's superiority. The main goal, reflected in the governmental views of Imām as well, is providing man's prosperity, his growth and perfection in both material and spiritual aspects.

In non-religious governments, the aim of political cooperation of the individuals is the satiation of their power-seeking instincts, and political groups take part in the most intense rivalries, using different trickery for achieving power. In the Islamic government, however, this cooperation is a divine responsibility and the individuals are committed to do their duties only. They are not entitled, as a result, to apply whatever means they want to achieve power and victory over their rivals. As for man's responsibility and the fact that power and politics are used for carrying out divine duties, the government and people are obliged to observe and respect their mutual rights.

2. Mutual rights of government and people in Imām 'Alī's views

In addition to emphasizing on the mutual rights of the government and people and the necessity of its observance, Imām 'Alī expresses the effects and consequences of such rights within several subjects: "*Nahj al-Balāghah* Sermon 207"²

After this sermon, Imām states several examples of the most important rights of people and the Islamic rulers, and holds that teaching and monitoring, cooperation of the Islamic *ummah*, telling the truth, giving consultation justly, and keeping away from flattery are the most important duties people have before government. On the other hand, the Islamic

¹ *Ibid.*, vol. 17, p. 218.

² *Nahj al-Balāghah*, Sermon 207.

government should take steps in maintaining order in the society, establishing social justice and providing the grounds for growth and improvement of the Islamic society.

3. Mutual rights of government and people in Imām Khomeinī's views

In Imām Khomeinī's view, the government and the people have mutual rights, which if observed and implemented they can consolidate the foundations of the government and bring order to society. In this regard, his words can be summarized in several general subjects, as stated below.

A- Duties of government toward people

A-1 Respect for the people's views

Among the important rights of people, which the government and the statesmen of the religious system should observe, is regard and respect for the people's thoughts and views. This problem is, on different occasions, expressed and emphasized in the Imām's speeches and words:

"Our favored Islamic Republic government is inspired by the lives of the Holy Prophet and Imām 'Alī and is dependent upon the Public's opinion. The form of the government is also determined by the people's views."¹

Elsewhere, with regard for the people's capacity and respect for their rights, the Imām holds the obedience of people's views the responsibility of government stating:

"We follow the nation's views. We follow whatever is the nation's view. We are not entitled, God has not allowed us, and the Holy Prophet has not allowed us to impose anything upon our nation."²

A-2 Providing independence and freedom

Independence from alien forces, independent home government based on the people's religious beliefs and values, providing social and political freedoms, among other things, are essential rights of all societies and human beings for the achievement of which, all the nations of the world should endeavor and make effort. In the political views of the Imām, providing the independence of society and civil and political freedoms of people, are among important rights of people over government which the rulers and

¹ *Sahifeh-ye Imām*, vol. 3, p. 27.

² *Ibid.*, vol. 10, p. 181.

statesmen of the Islamic government should apply in all their plans. On this, the Imām says:

"It is people who tell the right thing and demand their own rights. Freedom is the right of people. Independence of a country is the right of the people of that country."¹

Other aspects of the right to independence and freedom of people, which the Islamic government should observe and guarantee, is the freedom of selecting governors and agents of the Islamic government: "Invite people to vote, and you are all always free to vote for anybody you want, we cannot oblige anybody to vote for a certain person."²

In the Imām's view, not only the right to free thought and expression is the right of the people committed to the school, it is also, with certain conditions, is the right of groups not committed to religion as well. The Imām says on this: "We have never deprived them of their rights, nor have we caused any injury to it, and every body is free to express ideas, but not free to intrigue."³

A-3 Administering the rights and establishing the social justice

As mentioned earlier, politics and government in Islam's view and political thought of Imām, is not an end but a means to performing the religious duties, giving the rights of the downtrodden and establishing social justice. While Imām 'Alī holds the lowest kind of government one in which the rights of the downtrodden are not administered, in the political thought of Imām as well, a desirable government is one, which provides the rights of the poor and the downtrodden, establishing social justice in the society:

"Being in charge of the government is not in itself position and capacity, but they are means of doing responsibility, administering the laws, and providing Islamic just system."⁴

¹ *Ibid.*, vol. 7, p. 216.

² *Ibid.*, vol. 17, p. 95.

³ "Fundamentals of the Islamic Revolution", The Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imām Khomeinī's Works, pp. 330-331.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 141.

The Imāms and the Just Jurists are obliged to apply the government in administering the divine laws, establishing a just Islamic system and giving service to people. Government has nothing for them except hard work and effort. "In explaining why he has become the governor and in charge of the government, Imām 'Alī says, for the purpose of sublime goals and for establishing the truth and devastating the false."¹

B. The rights of government over people

B-1 Protection and support

As brought in Imām 'Alī's word, the stability of the government is dependent upon comprehensive support of people, and the right of the Islamic governor over people is that people help him in executing programmes related to reform, education and service. In governmental views of Imām, government's protection by people is an important right of government which has important effects and blessings for the Islamic society. Explaining this right, Imām Khomeinī hints at the graces of commitment to it and harmful effects of not administered:

"The difference between the Islamic and non-Islamic revolution is that, whenever a revolution becomes Islamic, the mass are for it, and when the mass join an approach, it makes progress fast, and there will be little corruption, little corruption will be in it."²

"Our army, our military forces, our guards, and all these, have as their supporters the whole nation. Now you see that our whole country is in the war, in such a country that its army is united with its nation, its statesmen are brothers with others, they are all offering service to their nation, the nation support them. What is that such a great nation is afraid of? Be confident."³

The reason why the Imām in his speeches, emphasizes on trust on people, giving hope to them, and attracting their support⁴ is that he knows the people support the cause of the system's consolidation, and he regards it as the people's rights toward their government.

¹ *Islamic Government: Governance of the Jurist*, pp. 69-71.

² *Shāfiḥ-ye Imām*, vol. 9, p. 139.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. 13, p. 145.

⁴ *Fundamentals of the Islamic Revolution*, The Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imām Khomeinī's Works, pp. 333-439.

B-2 Consultation and supervision

Among other important rights of government over people, in political thought of Islam and Imām Khomeinī, is the advisory and supervisory responsibility. People should not be indifferent to political behaviour and policies of their statesmen in an Islamic society. They are bound to monitor the policies and acts of the officials of the Islamic society through invitation to good acts, giving counsel and advising the governor¹, and to cause the consolidation of the Islamic government and improvement of their statesmen through their own counseling and benevolent views. People should administer this right in all social, political and governmental affairs. This right is taken into consideration and put forth in political and governmental thought of the Imām:

“You should be careful not to put a foot wrong under the name of Islam and Muslim and the clergy not to show Islam’s countenance bad while it is not.”²

“All you gentlemen should bear in mind and the whole nation are responsible to monitor the issues of the country. All of the people are responsible to monitor all the things that are related to Islam.”³

Elsewhere the Imām, holds the factor of supervision more than just a right, and regards it as a religious duty and responsibility:

“All the classes of society should suppose they have some duties. They should say we are responsible. As every body deems himself responsible toward his child and controlling him, we should feel that this country is our home and our residence. The whole country belongs to all nation.”⁴

In this guiding cooperation, people can play essential roles in monitoring the government’s behaviour and safety of society. Therefore in mutual rights of government and people in Imām’s view, there are several important and elements which include: government supported by people, applying supervision and giving benevolently counseling views through invitation to good act and warning reprehensible deeds as well as advising the Islamic ruler and agent.

¹ *Political Science Periodical*, Bāqir al-‘Ulūm Higher Education Institute, Qum, no. 12, p. 108.

² *Sahifeh-ye Imām*, vol. 7, p. 33.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

B-3 Continual presence and the necessity of resistance

Among other important rights of government over people available in religious sources and political views of Imām, is the necessity of enduring the difficulties which the system faces both in and out of the country. Continual presence of the people helps the statesmen in executing sublime plans and stabilizes the Islamic government against the attacks of the enemy, in addition to consolidating the foundations of the government:

“What is important is that the revolution is Islamic, achieved by the people. It is the people who have caused the revolution, and people should accomplish it. The people have risen; they have dismissed the Shah and overthrown his regime and replaced it by an Islamic one, which is better for the downtrodden. So the people should continue what they have done. The greater the action, the more and the worse the enemy is.”¹

Accordingly, continual presence of the people in guarding the revolution and its achievements against the enemies is of great importance, which Imām holds as the only way of confronting the enemy and the basis of the system’s stability. Elsewhere, advising the statesmen and the parliament members, Imām holds respect and regards for the people’s views the government’s responsibility, and believes that the Islamic Revolution was a souvenir brought by people:

“I recommend the government and the agents, be grateful to this nation and do their best in order to give service to them, particularly to the downtrodden and the oppressed who are our dearest and the lords of our riches, the Islamic Republic is their souvenir. It has come true through their self-sacrifice and its maintenance is indebted to their services.”²

¹ *Ibid.*, vol. 19, pp. 58-59.

² A topical overview of the last message of the Imām, p. 98.

Summary

This paper can be summarized into a few points. It was mentioned within this paper that the Imām's theory of government is originated from the political thought of Islam and religious teachings, in particular those of Shiite, which is in the form of ideal model of government in Medina and short-lived government of the first Shiite leader. In this theory, the government and people are ruler and the ruled, but they are two institutions responsible for the fate of the Islamic society, having common duties. The Islamic government as the agent is the trustee and the chief of the Islamic nation and is bound to provide the grounds for spiritual growth and the prosperity of the hereafter, in addition to working in political, civil and economic categories.

The principle of responsibility of all Muslim citizens has established mutual relations and rights of government and nation, making both bound and obliged to observe and enforce the law. Enforcing these laws and being committed to them, provides the grounds of cooperation, unity, agreement and love between government and nation and effect the growth and perfection of the Islamic society, formation of political development, and manifestation of powerful and stable institutions.