



## **A Comparative Study of the Relationship between Religion and Government in the Political Thought of Imam Khomeini and Contemporary Thinkers**

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Received: 17 Nov 2021

; Accepted: 25 Dec 2021

### **Abstract:**

Since the immemorial time, the concept of freedom is one of the fundamental concepts which have had numerous effects on human lives. Many people suffered countless tortures or were jailed and sent to exile or even lost their lives due to freedom. Nevertheless, freedom can be considered to imply having volition and autonomy in practice and doing things; in a way that no one would force anyone to do anything which is not his desired action. Thus, freedom implies having the ability to do or refuse to do something. Generally speaking, freedom can be regarded as a general law which dominates the whole domain of life. Thomas Hobbes and John Locke are two main theoreticians of social contract who offered different views of the notion of freedom. The study of the view of these two theoreticians of freedom is necessary because one of them is the father of the idea of totalitarianism while the other is the founding father of liberalism. The current research is conducted using descriptive and analytic method and assays the ideas of these two philosophers concerning the notion of freedom within the context of their works.

**Keywords:** Hobbes, Locke, Freedom, State of Nature, Lex Naturalis or Natural Law

### **Introduction**

The attitude of the world today towards religion and attention to spirituality as one of the lost foundations of modern life cannot be ignored. But religions, due to some of their readings of the components of the relationship between religion and government, have

caused Western nations to turn away from the original religion. Islamic fundamentalism, however, has laid the foundation of its ideas with the original slogan of the inherent connection between religion and the state; But the products and results that groups such as

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al-Qaeda and ISIS have expressed from these ideas are hurting the original religious foundations. Of course, not all Islamic ideas based on the coexistence of state and religion are summarized in extremist groups. Meanwhile, Imam Khomeini believes that Islam is a plan of life and that efforts should be made to form a government.

Imam's thoughts have led to the formation of the Islamic Republic. Imam Khomeini called for the implementation of the political aspects of Islam in Iran, the main components of which were the fight against Taghut and the formation of a government based on Islamic law. But with the difference that Imam Khomeini in this government has emphasized the government and the role of the people in it; And has organized the struggle against Taghut (Pahlavi regime and then East and West) in non-jihadi ways based on the way they were treated and their thoughts. It is very important to study the kind of tendency of Imam Khomeini towards the relationship between religion and government or Islam and politics in the fight against Taghut. The importance of this research is due to the emphasis on some aspects of Imam Khomeini's thought that can be seen in the Islamic Revolution and his views in order to show some extremism from Islamist groups such as al-Qaeda.

The necessity of research is due to the different readings of Islamic thinkers about the relationship between religion and government, which have led to the formation of fundamentalist ideological and jihadist groups; First of all, the essence of their movements is in a direction that will not even lead to the formation of an Islamic state. And secondly, it will cause pessimism about the formation of an Islamic state, both among Muslims and in the international community. readings of Shiite fundamental jurisprudence

The importance of research is due to the in taking the foundations of the state from religion and paying attention to human social life and Islamic programs in this field for spiritual progress and the hereafter.

### Research goals and questions

Important goals that are innovative in this research include the following:

- Recognition and study of Imam Khomeini's ideological foundations and strategy for the return of Islam and invitation to indigenous identity and culture in the theoretical and practical fields effective in the Islamic world.

- Investigating the impact of these two on the societies affected by them in the political, social and cultural arenas and how political movements are formed in other societies.

- Paying attention to some of Imam Khomeini's teachings about religion and government, which is paying attention to the relations between Muslims in order to write their hearts; As well as the kind of attitude that exists in their thoughts about different ideas in monotheism and the fight against Taghut.

Research questions include:

- What is Imam Khomeini's opinion about the relationship between religion and government?

- What is the difference between Imam's thought and some Muslim extremist thinkers regarding religion and government?

### Research background

Based on a search among book and research sources, no research has been conducted based on the approach and type of attitude of this article to compare the views of Imam Khomeini and Muslim thinkers in the field of religion and government.

### Concepts

**Religion:** Religion is composed of a set of theoretical and ideological knowledge, practical rules and regulations and moral instruc-

tions, in various individual and social dimensions, compatible with human intellect and nature; Which was sent by God Almighty by the prophets for the all-round material and spiritual guidance of mankind. And if it is fully implemented, it will provide human happiness in this world and in the hereafter. The true, comprehensive and complete religion is a religion that meets all the physical and spiritual, worldly and otherworldly, material and spiritual needs of human beings; And it has legislated all the necessary laws and programs to achieve this sublime goal and put it in the way of humanity. And this comprehensive and complete religion is the progressive religion of Islam, which is the last and most complete religion in the series of divine and heavenly religions.

**Government:** The common use of government in its new sense is synonymous with political society, which consists of several elements, one of which is the government. (Ebrahimzadeh Amoli, 2004: pp. 37-38)

**Democracy:** It is a method of government to manage low-error right-oriented people in which a particular person or group does not rule but the people rule. In fact, democracy is the rule of the people. (Arbalester, 2006: p. 29).

**Velayat-e-Faqih:** Velayat-e-Faqih means the government of a just and theological jurist. Velayat-e-Faqih in the leadership of the Islamic society and the administration of the social affairs of the Islamic nation in every age and time is one of the pillars of the Twelver religion, which is rooted in the principle of Imamate. (Javadi Amoli, 1999: pp. 123-125).

**Dictatorship:** A dictatorship is a government in which all power is concentrated in the

hands of one person, group, or party. (Austin, 1995: p. 36)

**Secular state:** It is a state that neither supports nor opposes religious beliefs, and in fact religion does not interfere in politics and law. (Wathiq, 2012: pp. 16-17).

**Colonialism:** means the migration of civilized countries to uninhabited lands in order to develop that land. But today, colonialism means the influence and intervention of powerful countries in weak countries under the pretext of development and construction. (Momsen, 1997: pp. 7-12)

**Socialism:** It is a political, economic and social idea that is based on public cohesion to create social order. A society in which all sections of society have an equal share in the public good. (Fesharakizadeh, 2007: p. 10)

**Liberalism:** means freedom. This school attaches great importance to the freedom and privacy of every human being and believes that nothing can limit it. "Liberalism can be accurately described as a view of life and its issues that emphasizes values such as freedom for individuals, minorities and nations." (Shapiro, 2001: pp. 9-10).

**Al-Qaeda:** An international military and Islamic fundamentalist organization founded by Osama bin Laden in Peshawar during the Soviet war in Afghanistan. Most members of the al-Qaeda network were Salafists. "The terrorist organization is led by Osama bin Laden and has been responsible for major attacks on American targets. The organization was formed in 1989. Many terrorist attacks have been carried out by this organization, the most severe of which took place in September 2001." (McLean, 2008: p. 30).

**Jihad:** Jihad is one of the Islamic teachings which means striving with sacrifice in the way of God with life, property and other human resources. The most important idiomatic meaning of the word in religious texts, as well as its general use, is a special kind of effort; That is, fighting for the Gods parous with one's soul, property and other possessions in the fight against the infidels and the rebels, with the aim of spreading and exalting Islam and establishing rituals or defending it. (Najafi, 2017, vol. 21: p. 3)

**Ijtihad:** The highest scientific degree in the knowledge of Islamic jurisprudence and means the ability to deduce religious rules from the sources of religion. A person who has reached the rank of ijtihad is called a mujtahid or faqih. Others consider ijtihad as a scientific and methodical attempt to deduce and extract evidence on religious duties related to sub-topics and phenomena from religious and intellectual principles, rules and sources. (Motahari, 1995, vol. 3: p. 18)

**Justice:** Anti-oppression justice means observing equality between two things and putting everything in its place. Justice is anything that the majority of people consider fair. Or it is a system that minimizes what the public acknowledges as grounds for popular discontent. (Hakimi, 1997: p. 44).

### Research method

The research method is a combination of the following methods:

Historical analytical method: Because the intellectual and ideological backgrounds of Imam Khomeini and Muslim thinkers should be examined. Comparative method: Due to the intellectual analogy of Imam Khomeini with Muslim thinkers such as Seyed Qutb. Method of content analysis of texts: accord-

ing to the review of the works and books of each thinker and books and articles that have been written about them.

### Research Findings

- What is Imam Khomeini's opinion about the relationship between religion and government?

- What is the difference between Imam's thought and some Muslim extremist thinkers regarding religion and government?

#### A. The relationship between the religious state and Islam from the point of view of contemporary thinkers in the Islamic world

Contemporary Shiite political thinking towards government in Islam mainly has three types of principles, which are: Repetition and imitation of tradition, ideological interpretation of tradition or traditionalism, and finally the illusion of the end of tradition and the seeming passage of Western civilization or ideological modernism. At the same time, according to Tabatabaei, some Shiite thinkers were outside this framework: Allameh Naeini was a thinker who, unlike most of his contemporary writers, was not an ideologue.

However, the path he had paved did not find the path of etiquette and pathology. (Tabatabaei, 1995: p. 366) Contemporary Shiite political thinking towards government in Islam mainly has three types of principles, which are: Repetition and imitation of tradition, ideological interpretation of tradition or traditionalism, and finally the illusion of the end of tradition and the seeming passage of Western civilization or ideological modernism. At the same time, according to Tabatabaei, some Shiite thinkers were outside this framework: "Allameh Naeini was a thinker who, unlike most of his contemporary writers, was not an ideologue.

However, the path he had opened did not find an etiquette and knowledgeable seeker. (Tabatabaei, 1995: p. 366)

In this view, one can find no illusions between tradition and modernity in Naeini because he has non-ideological arguments about government in Islam. In this view, he looks at tradition as a set of concepts and semantic systems belonging to our predecessors. With this attitude, modernity or modernism can also be considered as *ijtihad* as it is done from the texts of the past. Accordingly, Naeini is one of the new thinkers by standing up to the claim of the ancients that the monarchy is active, and therefore obtains a theory from the heart of tradition about the new political life. (Tabatabaei, 1999: p. 210) Naeini considered most of the rulings of political life to have no specific rules and regulations and considered them subject to the requirements of time and interests. (Naeini, 1999: p. 134).

According to Naeini in the contemporary world, because societies such as Muslim communities have no access to the center of Western thought or to their ethnic memory, so our thinking is unbearable. The thought can be considered as deviating from its original context, which is towards and in search of a new context, and therefore does not adhere to anything. (Shayegan, 1976: p. 101).

This situation is in terms of the idea of an inter-epistemic situation; A situation in which the thinker is caught between two different kinds of knowledge, one in decline and the other in formation. In such a state, the thinker experiences epistemological conflict or fragmentation, and individually experiences cultural schizophrenia. This is a kind of cultural disease for the intellectuals of traditional societies in transition. (Shayegan, 1976: p. 231).

In this sense, rational principles such as freedom and equality can be found in the Naeini view. That is why he introduces and writes that freedom and equality are the two fundamental pillars of the constitution; As the basis of the first oath is based on the enslavement and usurpation of the nation's rival under arbitrary will and non-participation, it is based on their equality with the sultan and lack of responsibility. The basis of the second type is based on the freedom from this servitude and the participation and equality of the individuals of the nation, even with the person but the type in all types, and responsibility is one of its branches. (Naeini, 1999: p. 41).

The adaptation of freedom to the concept of freedom, which in Islamic concepts is in the opposite sense to the slave, shows the individual relationship of man with another and does not in any way show the relationship between the individual and the state. But for Naeini, it depicts the relationship between the state and the individual. (Rosenthal, 1997: pp. 30-31). Naeini therefore considered freedom to mean liberation from captivity and the ruling elite; Hence, he not only emphasizes its compatibility with the Islamic view, but also considers its denial from the level of polytheism to the essence of oneness. (Naeini, 1999: p. 49) In order to strengthen this principle, Naeini has referred to texts in which the denial of servitude to other than God is raised. Naeini has not limited the principle of freedom only to this extent, and has also included religious freedom in the scope of this principle, which means refusing to submit to the arbitrary dictatorships of the heads of religions and nations who present it as a religion. (Naeini, 1999: pp. 41-50).

Because understanding the Shari'a is a specialized matter and can only be done by official commentators who are the jurists;

And accepting this would open the door to another intervention and domination in people's lives. This interference is not such that people can remain indifferent to it and not act in that way. And that if believers in religion voluntarily and willingly submit to these restrictions, followers of other religions and non-believers will not. Therefore, it is not possible to believe like Naeini that the destination of any nation, whether religious or devoted to Sharia, or that they do not believe in the creator of the world at all; The nickname of this diligence and the exclusion of their competition from this captivity is not the departure from the cult of divine worship of the Almighty and the removal of the obligation to the rules of the Sharia's to which it is religious. (Naeini, 1999: p. 94). Because this thinking is neither theoretically nor practically correct.

There were two things that led Enayat to a positive and constructive attitude between the products of Shiite political thought and the relationship between the government and Islam; One is his judgment of the inherent link between Islam as a comprehensive program for regulating human life, and the other is politics as a necessary tool that serves the program in all its aspects. (Enayat, 1983: p. 16)

Second, attention to some possibilities that prepare Shiite thought to adapt to political and social developments. In my opinion, the most basic of these possibilities is *ijtihad*; According to him, it is a plan to complete the jurisprudential resources and potentially embedded the revolution against worldly powers. (Enayat, 1983: p. 275) Because Shiism in the political sectors related to the government has been able to revive the role of reason in the shadow of religious appearances and texts, which is the *ijtihad* of human reason, to adapt jurisprudential theories to temporal and

spatial conditions. According to Enayat, the heritage of Islamic culture, especially the tradition of political thought, as a side element of Sharia has the greatest role in their context. (Enayat, 1983: p. 20)

Morteza Motahari, one of the thinkers who has dealt a lot with the issue of the relationship between the government in Islam, has emphasized the issue of adapting *ijtihad* to the new conditions. In expressing the code of Islam's adaptation to the requirements of the time, he has pointed out some features that seem to express a reformist view. According to him, the first feature is that Islam has avoided any collision with the development of culture and civilization by placing goals in its realm and leaving shapes, forms and tools in the realm of science and technology. (Motahari, 1995: pp. 95-96). Motahari considers the second factor of adaptability in this Islamic characteristic that Islam has considered two categories of needs for human beings; Fixed needs and variable needs. Fixed rules for fixed needs as well as variable status for variable needs. (Motahari, 1995: p. 97).

Mohammad Baqer Sadr has also emphasized the existence of fixed and changing needs and their prediction in the Sharia system. (Sadr, 1988: p. 339). According to Sadr, the mechanism envisaged for the needs of the socially variable is the "emptiness zone"; That is, a realm that is empty of rulings and assigned to the guardian in order to fill that realm in the light of a fixed realm, taking into account the requirements of time and place and according to the interests and interests of society. (Sadr, 2018: p. 400).

Imam Khomeini's main concern is to organize *ijtihad*, which is the rational aspect of religion, in such a way that he is not accused of lack of power in governing the world in economic, military, social and political mazes.

(Mousavi Al-Khomeini, 2008, vol. 21: p. 60). Imam Khomeini has already commented on the differences between Islam in theological treatises written by the mujtahids of the time and the authorities, and is limited to discussing issues such as menstruation and puerperium; With the real Islam, which has a progressive, comprehensive and comprehensive rights, it emphasizes and seeks to introduce Islam as it is. (Mousavi Al-Khomeini, 1978: pp. 8-11).

In this regard, we can refer to the anti-authoritarian thinking of Imam Khomeini, who considered it to come from Islam and Shiism. On this principle, Imam Khomeini has largely rejected constitutionalism, not because of the anti-Islamic nature of its laws, but because of a deviation from the path that was originally set for it. His first critique of the principle of monarchy and guardianship is due to the fact that monarchy and guardianship is the one that Islam has invalidated and overthrown in the early days of Islam in Iran and Eastern Rome. (Mousavi Al-Khomeini, 1978: p. 12; Forati, 2001: pp. 41-75).

Of course, opposition to the monarchy is not limited to this; Rather, it is basically because monarchy is a kind of government that does not rely on the votes of the nation and a person comes to power by force and continues to do so in his family. (Mousavi Al-Khomeini, 2008, vol. 4: p. 45). Another objection is that the constitution was written from the Belgian legal system and its deficiencies were repaired from the so-called French and British legal systems. (Mousavi Al-Khomeini, 2008, vol. 4: p. 45).

In this regard, other people like Montazeri believe that the idea of the necessity of the Islamic government is based on the assumption that Islam is not limited to acts of worship but is a comprehensive system and in-

cludes everything that man needs in matters of livelihood and resurrection. The ideal example of the Islamic government was realized during the lifetime of the Prophet (PBUH) and Imam Ali (AS), and therefore, due to the necessity of reason and sharia, what was necessary during their lifetime is necessary after them in our time as well. (Mousavi Al-Khomeini, 1978: p. 30)

Moreover, the social rules of Islam are such that the implementation and practice of them requires the formation of a government, and since the termination of these rules is not allowed at any time, such a system should be established. (Mousavi Al-Khomeini, 1978: p. 50) This system is in accordance with the principle of the republic, that is, its people. In other statements of the Supreme Leader of the Revolution, the difference between the republic in question and the republics of the Marxist proletariat or the newly established republics of the Third World has been emphasized. (Mousavi Al-Khomeini, 2008, vol. 2: pp. 351, 162)

In addition, the characteristics of the republic can be explained to them in this way. First, the republic is more indicative of the shape of the political system; A form that can be separated from the content. (Mousavi Al-Khomeini, 2008, vol. 2: p. 162) The Islamic Republic is thus a combination of two words; One refers to the form and the other to the content of the political system and the general lines of this government are the indisputable principles of Islam which are stated in the Qur'an and Sunnah. And its behavioral pattern is the way of the Prophet (PBUH) and Imam Ali (AS). (Mousavi Al-Khomeini, 2008, vol. 2: pp. 114-131).

Therefore, in spite of not specifying the theory of Velayat-e-Faqih, in this period, the republic is a form of government whose rule is based on this theory. Since the right to self-

determination is in the hands of the nation itself, even the type of government proposed is put to a public vote. In addition, the people had the right to monitor the performance of the president and deputies because "in the republic it is right and people can say no, you are wrong, go look for the card." (Mousavi Al-Khomeini, 2008, vol. 3: p. 141).

Third, political freedom, especially freedom of association and freedom of opinion, is accepted in the Islamic Republic, and religious minorities are respected. Thus, "there is no dictatorship and tyranny in the Islamic Republic" and the democracy and democracy of Islam is more complete than the democracy of the West. (Mousavi Al-Khomeini, 2008, vol. 2: 103 - 216).

### **B. The relationship between government and religion in the view of Islamic fundamentalism**

Islamic fundamentalism can be considered as an attempt to revive Islam and revive sharia; In his view, it has been forgotten due to the dominance of new criteria. This contains a major premise that religion should be considered as a comprehensive whole that contains all programs. Abu Ali Mawdudi, the founder of the Jamaat-e-Islami and a religious reformer in Pakistan, also believes that Islam is a system of society for human life that includes all the moral, social, political and religious aspects of human life. Religion is the plan and enlightenment of life and the way of thinking and acting in all areas and fields that should be followed because in his view the only real and correct way of living is the way of thinking and practicing the religion of Islam. (Mawdudi, 1979: p. 6).

Hassan al-Banna, the founder of the great Muslim Brotherhood, also believed that Islam was a complete and comprehensive religion that encompassed all human affairs. In his view, Islam is not separate from politics, society, law, economy, war, peace, jihad and judgment; Rather, it is belief and worship,

both nation and nationality, matter and spirituality, both the world and the hereafter, politics and morality, war and peace, and the book and the sword. (Mawdudi, 1979: pp.119-118).

Seyed Qutb, also stating that the religion of Islam is a comprehensive and complete religion; And wanted the establishment of Islamic society and government (Seyed Qutb, 1990: p. 38). Al-Qaradawi also stated that "Islam is the Qur'an and Sunnah, Islam is spirituality, morality, thought, education, jihad, consensus, economics and political Islam." (Al-Qaradawi, 2002: p. 43). Islamic fundamentalism believes in the inherent superiority of religious ideas, thoughts, programs, and ideas, and presents the religion program as a suitable and superior plan in comparison with human schools and plans.

The fundamentalists believe that in terms of fundamentalism, the names, the reasons for the superiority of the program and the design of religion are as follows: (Mawdudi, 1979: pp. 56-50)

1- Religion is a kind of plan and law from God and the last, the highest and most complete of them. The religion of Islam is the last religion and the Holy Prophet (PBUH) is the last messenger of God.

2- Religious rules and regulations are in accordance with human nature and all human needs and desires are taken into account. These rulings are in harmony with human nature, considering that God is the creator of man and is aware of his needs, wants and qualities.

3. These rules and regulations, unlike human schools and laws, which are imbued with utilitarianism, profiteering, domination, and carnal desires, are just rules and free from any flaws of hegemony and utilitarianism. God is just, wise, and aware, and His rules are just and just.



4- God's commandments form regular, proportionate and consistent collections. In other words, they are a system whose components are compatible with each other and while communicating with each other, they pursue the same goal.

5. The rules of Shari'a, unlike human laws which are temporal and situational, are extra-temporal and transcendental laws. What has been the addressee of the religion of God, all mankind, regardless of time and place?

Thus, Islamic fundamentalism has a maximalist conception of religion and considers it capable of solving all human problems and troubles.

According to this basis, religious fundamentalism is incompatible with the doctrine of secularism, the process of separation of religion from politics and process to the marginalization of religion, and argues that this distinction and separation relies on a kind of formal and unrealistic demarcation. What human life is an interconnected whole that cannot be dismantled. (Mawdudi, 1999: pp. 33-32).

If the rules and regulations of the Shari'a are not supposed to interfere in social and political affairs; In that case, what is the area of human life where the need for God's guidance is felt? (Mawdudi, 1979: pp. 16-15) Hassan al-Banna, in contrast to the secularists, stated that if religious Islam is not focused on politics and society, then what? In his view, the restriction of Islam to individual and spiritual affairs and its separation from social affairs is a point that is not confirmed by the experience of the Islamic society at the beginning of Islam and the authoritative religious sources, namely the Qur'an and Sunnah.

According to Banna, those who have limited Islam to spiritual matters and excluded politics from its scope are persecuting them-

selves and Islam. (Banna, 1984: p. 159) According to Yousef Al-Qaradawi, the nature and structure of the religion of Islam is such that religion is inseparable from the world and the world is inseparable from religion; "Neither the Qur'an, nor the Sunnah, nor its history, recognizes religion without government and government without government." (Al-Qaradawi, 1984: p. 153). Islamic fundamentalism also evaluates the separation of religion from politics and the privatization of religion in the sense of deviation from religion and the decline of human moral, spiritual and social life, and considers it to mean that we allow corruption and evil to dominate the realm and the public. (Banna, 1984: p. 115).

In this context, the fundamentalists, in general, take into account the backwardness of Islamic societies and their anomalies and disorders in particular, and the moral degeneration and social and economic disorders of the world, especially the Western world, in general. According to Mawdudi, life without the presence and guidance of God, and relies solely on the will, intellect and knowledge of man, is a life full of conflict, contradiction, Escape, Profitability, Dominance, Slavery, Moral Corruption, Competition, Instability and, in a word, meaningless and useless. (Banna, 1984: pp. 38-36).

Seyed Qutb also considers materialism, the forgetting of the spiritual and spiritual needs of human beings, and the metamorphosis of human beings in today's world as the result of the separation of world and religion, and refers to it as the "plague of separation." (Seyed Qutb, 1990: pp. 72-43). Also Banna considers the destruction and metamorphosis of human personality, weakness of normative and moral system, Prevalence of social corruption and shortcomings in struggle, corruption and social

crimes, Social, economic and political unrest, the rivalries and wars resulting from nationalism, the competitive and destructive rivalries of nations and states, and the spiritual and psychological insecurity in the valley of Western and Islamic societies as the result of secularism. (Banna, 1984: p. 104).

"The whole world is confused, perplexed and anxious, and all existing systems except Islam are incapable of curing pain and curing its disease" (Banna, 1984: p. 175). It is possible to understand and promote true Islam, especially its principles and rules. Sayyid Qutb and Abu al-Ali Mawdudi, in the first half of the twentieth century, considering the situation of Islamic societies and the governments that ruled them, believed that Muslims were involved in a complex network of traditions, beliefs, norms, organizations and institutions; These beliefs are miles away from Islamic beliefs and norms. Seyed Qutb called the current situation of Islamic societies "ignorant" and Abu Ali Mawdudi introduced his Islam as a duplicity. Mohammad Qutb, following Seyed Qutb, called the "current society" of Muslims "ignorant" societies; Societies that, instead of adhering to religious rules and regulations and accepting the rule of God, have submitted to the rule of other than God (Seyed Qutb, 1999, p. 25).

The formation of an Islamic government is a religious necessity. The Islamic government, although necessary in form, is like any other form of government; But it is completely different from human and non-Islamic governments. (Mawdudi, 1965: p. 9).

Yousef Al-Qaradawi, a contemporary Egyptian Islamist, also called the constant efforts of Muslims to establish a healthy Islamic life obligatory and forbade leaving; And he believes that Islam has been content with reminding, admonishing and preaching

to establish its rules, it is not in harmony with the nature and structure of the Islamic mission. The nature and structure of the Islamic mission is, above all, focused on the practice and effort to establish an Islamic way of life. Mawdudi, by stating that Islam is a movement that seeks to establish and regulate social life based on religious principles and beliefs and always strives to achieve it, wants to create a peaceful internal revolution based on the values and values of society.

Elsewhere, he considers rebellion against corrupt rulers a religious duty and advises disobedience to corrupt rulers. According to Mawdudi, jihad in Islam is nothing but an attempt to end the rule of Taghut and other than God. (Mawdudi, 1352: pp. 19-18) As long as the human condition is ungodly and un-Islamic, the hypothesis of jihad in order to establish and defeat Islam will be a religious duty and will include any kind of action and effort.

Seyed Qutb, who was disappointed with the establishment of the Islamic situation and the end of the ignorance situation through peaceful and legal means, especially preaching and admonition, proposed an armed struggle. In this regard, he called for the formation of a leading and militant Muslim party and group, which had two main tasks; One is the invitation of the people and Muslims to the true Islam; And the other is the struggle against the ignorant and tyrannical rulers who did not want to relinquish power in any way and submit to the divine law and the Islamic government. (Seyed Qutb, 1999: p. 60).

Among the quotations and statements made in the chapter on the introduction of fundamentalism, the following five foundations can be considered common among fundamentalists.

- 1- Quotation is superior to reason
- 2- Islam is a religion and a state
- 3- Man is not able to manage his worldly affairs without guidance from God.
- 4- When there is a text, there is no place for ijthihad or refusal of ijthihad against the text
5. In some respects, there is no contradiction between the establishment of an Islamic state and democracy.

### **The Relationship between State and Religion in the View of Contemporary Secular Thinkers in the Islamic World**

Contemporary secular thinkers in the Islamic world look at the issue from four perspectives to examine the relationship between government and religion and critique it; 1) Islam is both a religion and a government. 2) Man cannot think about the affairs of his world without divine guidance. 3) Ijtihad is not possible wherever there is a text. 4) There is no conflict between political Islam and democracy. (Zaher, 2015: p. 53)

Concerning the above four issues, these thinkers first point out that all four are contrary to reason and say that it does not matter to him the existence and non-existence of irrational criteria and standards that confirm these approaches. Because, in his view, reason is epistemologically superior to any other belief source, and rational approaches necessarily invalidate any other approach. In examining the relationship between the state and Islam, these secular thinkers interpret the first issue, which is that Islam is both a religion and a government. He says that it is certain to all Muslims that Islam, unlike other religions, brings together worship and politics; He refers to the words of Hassan al-Banna and his famous slogan "Islam is both a religion and a government." He considers it a special slogan of the Muslim Brotherhood

and then a common slogan among most Islamic movements.

But the question that arises is whether the sex of the relationship between politics and Islam has a causal relationship or an intrinsic relationship with each other. Because the theory of the impossibility of an objective separation between Islam and politics cannot lead to the conclusion that politics is an essential dimension of the dimensions of Islam.

Because an objective relationship is at best a causal relationship. This means that when the relationship between Islam and politics is an objective one, then what applies to their relationship is a causal or quasi-causal relationship. In this regard, Zaher gives an example from the beginning of Islam that in the circumstances of the rise of Islam and in the conflicts that the early Muslims were forced to fight, the tendency of Islam to do things such as politics was obligatory; However, expressing this point by saying that politics is an essential dimension of the dimensions of Islam is completely different. Unless, according to him, the relationship between Islam and politics originates from its doctrinal nature and is not related to the conditions of the emergence of Islam. (Zaher, 2015: p. 56)

Secular thinkers state that the view of traditional Islamic thinkers is that the connection between Islam and politics is merely a historical connection or an observer of events. Or they say that the connection between the two is logical and conceptual. When we look at the connection between Islam and politics in this way, we have already assumed that if the conditions for the formation of Islam had not occurred, Islam would not have found a political face; And there was no need to establish an Islamic government. The conditions we mean here are undoubtedly variable conditions. Accord-

dingly, since the establishment of an Islamic government is related to or similar to those conditions, there is no justification today for calling for the establishment of an Islamic government; Because our conditions today are completely different from the conditions of the formation of Islam. (Zaher, 2015: p. 37)

If the relationship between the state and Islam is based on the existence of an objective or historical relationship between the two, then there is no doubt that such a relationship exists; Otherwise, it is the case that Islam's relationship with the state is a whole, each part of it is related to other components. Faith and the law are a complete whole. So, there is no room for separation between religion and politics and religion and government. And this attitude can be considered as the attitude of Hassan Bana, who says; Islam is worship, leadership, religion, government, clergy and practice. No other part is separable. (Al-Banna, 1984: p. 283)

These attitudes state that politics is an essential dimension of the dimensions of Islam, that is, politics is a category deep within the basic teachings of Islam. According to Adel Zaher, this view of the inherent relationship between the state and Islam has given rise to some views that express fundamentalist views.

Calling for secularism among Muslims means atheism and the purification of Islam. (Al-Qaradawi, 1984: p. 74) One who moves in this direction to consider the establishment of an Islamic state as a religious obligation for a Muslim. When Islamic beliefs consider the combination of economy, politics and society with religion obligatory, if any Muslim objects to this combination, he has opposed the divine command. Because his view that Islamic beliefs have specified such a combination is a belief that God has com-

manded such a combination. (Zaher, 2015: pp. 56-57)

Some Islamist thinkers do not view the non-separation of religion from government as a religious obligation; However, in his view, there are certain religious obligations such as zakat, which can be performed only in the shadow of the Islamic government. It is Muhammad Amara's view that seems to differ from that of Islamist thinkers who see the link between Islam and politics as a necessary link. If the establishment of an Islamic state in order to fulfill some religious obligations is obligatory on Muslims, then the connection between religion and government - as it seems at first glance from the words of Muhammad Amara - does not exceed the connection of the event. Accordingly, the assumption that the necessary conditions for the performance of the religious duties of Muslims are met without the establishment of an Islamic government has no logical or conceptual implications. In other words, if the fulfillment of religious duties cannot be achieved without the establishment of an Islamic government, this is only due to the factors that observe the event and practice. (Zaher, 2015: p. 34)

These secular thinkers believe that some opinions, such as performing duties such as zakat, are subject to the formation of an Islamic government (Amara, 1989: p. 53). It has differences of opinion regarding the essential relationship between the state and Islam. Because it is logically or conceptually impossible for Muslims to believe in the necessary conditions to perform all religious duties without establishing an Islamic state. In other words, when such a thing is impossible, it will be impossible for objective or practical reasons, but these same people do not place a position on the attitude of secularism towards Islam. (Amara, 1989: p. 29)

But it should be noted that with this description, the relationship between the government and Islam will be nothing more than a historical relationship. Therefore, the view that the performance of religious duties is the reason for the establishment of the Islamic state should not be understood in such a way that certain historical conditions require the establishment of an Islamic state so that a Muslim can perform his religious duties. Sometimes the situation is different that there is no need to form an Islamic state so that a Muslim can perform his duties. (Zaher, 2015: p. 58)

By examining these views, these secular thinkers deal with the common element among all thinkers who make the connection between Islam on the one hand and politics, economics, and society on the other. They say that this common element lies in his view that the relationship between religion and the state is more than a historical relationship. Such a relationship is more precisely a logical or conceptual relationship. What is not reasonable in this theory is a conceptual change in the problem. The relation in question, which obviously cannot be more than an objective historical relation, and as a result is a possible state, becomes a logical or conceptual relation in the minds of these thinkers and becomes necessary. (Zaher, 2015: p. 59)

To critique this view, secular thinkers address the issue of how Islam originated and the establishment of the Islamic state in those circumstances, which has necessarily had a great impact on the nature of the relationship between Islam and politics. By passing through these arguments, they refer to specific religious texts such as the Qur'an and Sunnah; It is said that there is no document or text of the texts that confirms the final view on understanding the relationship between the state and Islam, and the mentioned

sources at best show nothing but a historical relationship. By stating this, they provide definite and helpful evidence for his own interpretation of secularism or the opposite view, and consider it a simple matter. On the other hand, in this section, he emphasizes and points to an important issue, and that emphasis is on philosophical issues and not theological ones; Because in his view, regardless of the quality of understanding and interpretation of religious texts related to the issues raised, it can be said that there are philosophical approaches (logical or conceptual views in many cases). Which makes it unreasonable to believe that Islam's relationship with politics, economics, and society can be anything more than a historical or objective relationship. (Zaher, 2015: p. 59).

Based on the explanations obtained from the relationship between the function of religion in society as well as the relationship between religion and government. What is the theoretical basis of this treatise, although it does not consider the functions of secular religion, but uses critical principles about the function of religion and government in this theory? Also, the type of attitude of the two thinkers discussed about the relationship between religion and government is a continuation of fundamentalist ideas in this field. However, the difference between the views of Sunnis and Shiites in this regard causes a difference in the views of the two thinkers in obtaining his theories, which according to Imam Khomeini leads to the theory of Velayat-e Faqih.

### **C. Government from Imam Khomeini's perspective**

According to Shies political thought, sovereignty originally belongs to God. This rule has been delegated by God to the Prophet of Islam and the infallible Imams. On this basis,

the legitimacy of the rule of the Prophet of Islam and the infallible Imams stems from God's delegation to them. Hence, all governments that do not have the permission of God do not have legitimacy.

According to the theory of Imamate, Imam Khomeini considers all governments after the Prophet (PBUH) to the present day, except for the short period of Imam Ali (AS), as an oppressive government; And it emphasizes the legitimacy of the infallible rule in the age of revelation and the rule of the comprehensive jurist in the age of absence. Therefore, in his view, only the infallible government of the comprehensive jurists has legitimacy and other governments are illegitimate; And it is obligatory on the comprehensive jurists of the conditions to form a government by creating conditions individually or collectively. The reasons for the formation of the government are the nature of the laws of Islam and the necessity of the government and the cessation of the implementation of the rules and limits of Islam on the existence of the government. (Derakhsheh, 2004: p. 129).

From Imam Khomeini's point of view, the state has characteristics and features that it is necessary to explain in order to understand how religion relates and works in the direction of what he intends about the relationship between religion and government.

The first and most important role of the government is the establishment of law. According to Imam Khomeini, the law-based unity is a political system. All religions, especially the religion of Islam, have come to present and implement the law in society, and because of the importance of all the prophets, the Prophet of Islam, the Imams and the Islamic rulers considered themselves humble and submissive to it. From the beginning of the world until now, all the prophets have

come to establish the law and Islam has come to establish the law, and the Prophet of Islam and the Imams of Islam and the caliphs of Islam have all been humble for the law and have submitted to the law. (Mousavi Khomeini, 2012: p. 61) According to Imam Khomeini, the observance of the law prevents any disputes and irregularities and leads the society towards the set goals. According to the Imam, the existence of differences in society is due to lawlessness. If we obey the law and respect the law if all individuals and groups and all institutions that exist throughout the country, there will be no dispute, the dispute will arise through violations. (Mousavi Khomeini, 2012: p. 61) According to Imam Khomeini, since Islam is a progressive religion, it also has the most advanced laws; And the observance of these laws is considered a criterion of a country being Islamic, and in contrast, opposition to those laws is considered opposition to Islam. In a country where the law does not rule, especially the law that is the law of Islam, we cannot consider this country Islamic. Those who oppose the law, they oppose Islam. (Mousavi Khomeini, 2012: p. 61)

Therefore, Imam Khomeini believes that one of the most important features of the government is to discuss the law and practice it. The second characteristic of the government according to Imam Khomeini is the participation of the people. Enjoying the participation and support of the people in every way is the key to the success and efficiency of the government. Because the government alone is not able to perform its duties. Imam Khomeini says in this regard: If a nation supports a regime, that regime will not disappear, and this is because if governments do not value their nation, it is natural that they will not enjoy popular support. Today, the only way for governments to succeed and be efficient

is to have popular support and satisfaction. According to Imam Khomeini, one of the manifestations of popular participation is the government's consultation with the people and the people's representatives. Government decisions are effective when they are accompanied by consultation with the people or their representatives. In the government, the rulers of affairs must constantly consult with the representatives of the nation in decisions, and if the representatives do not agree, they cannot be the sole decision-makers. (Rezvani, 2002: p. 166.)

According to Imam Khomeini, meritocracy is one of the characteristics of the government. Undoubtedly, the efficiency of the government is achieved in the light of its meritocracy, and in Imam Khomeini's view, the only way for the nation and the country to be worthy is its government. According to Imam Khomeini, the happiness and misery of nations depend on matters, one of the most important of which is the authority of the governing body. If the governing body (those who determine the fate of a country) is corrupt; The country is going to be corrupt and the country will not be competent until the government is competent. According to him, one of the ways of meritocracy is to select officials from the middle and lower classes of society.

According to Imam Khomeini, another solution to meritocracy is to select committed and specialized forces in the government. The government must use committed and specialized people in various fields to earn the necessary income in all matters. The selection of managers in the government or any other institution must be in full accordance with the principles and criteria. In Imam Khomeini's view, some of these cases can be considered as associate; He mentioned commitment, better service and being in the ser-

vice of the people. If the choices are based on friendship, familiarity will naturally lead to the inefficiency of the government and that institution. Of course, friendship and acquaintance cause failure and inefficiency when it is not based on logic, thought and reflection. (Rezvani, 2002: p. 166).

Administrative reform and anti-corruption are also features of the government that Imam Khomeini has emphasized. Because the government needs administrative reform at different stages to increase its growth and efficiency. This is one of the things that failure to do in time will reverse the growth of government efficiency. Imam Khomeini says in this regard: Reforming the government and reforming the administrations and reforming the society and rebuilding all this is on the shoulders of you gentlemen who are in charge; And if you do not make an effort, we may take a step back. According to Imam Khomeini, the existence of corruption in society and not pursuing and repairing it is one of the important factors in the decline and decline of the government. Accordingly, he believes that: the government and everyone is obliged not to give up when corruption occurs and to eliminate the same thing; So that it does not spread until a republic is corrupted or disgraced in the world. (Mousavi Khomeini, 2012: p. 218).

Justice and criticism are other features of the government that Imam Khomeini has emphasized. According to Imam Khomeini, this is a just government that nurtures just people. And if governments are just, they will gradually make people their own. According to Imam Khomeini, the one who rules a nation, if he is a justice-seeker, his system will be justice-seeking, and the strata that are related to him will tend to justice. All administrations under the government will inevitably turn to justice, and justice will expand. There

must be a government that treats all classes with justice and does not give privileges between the classes except for the human privileges that they have. (Mousavi Khomeini, 2012: p. 245). According to Imam Khomeini, a just government can provide all the interests of the country, while an oppressive government is the cause of all the misfortunes of the country; Corruption springs from governments, the government of justice provides all the interests of the country, and the government of oppression creates all the misery for a nation. (Mousavi Khomeini, 2012: p. 245) Justice also arises only through criticism, and in Imam Khomeini's view, the government must tolerate and welcome criticism. Criticism of the government and its actions will increase the efficiency of the government. According to Imam Khomeini, the smallest person can freely and without the slightest danger criticize the highest government official and ask him to explain his actions. (Mousavi Khomeini, 2012: p. 268).

### **Conclusion**

Different readings of Islamic thinkers on the relationship between religion and government have led to the formation of fundamentalist ideological and jihadist groups. That the essence of their movements is in a direction

that will not even lead to the formation of an Islamic state; And secondly, it will cause pessimism about the formation of an Islamic state, both among Muslims and in the international community. The importance of research is due to the readings of Shiite fundamental jurisprudence in taking the foundations of the state from religion and paying attention to human social life and Islamic programs in this field for spiritual progress and the hereafter. By conducting a review study and comparing the political ideas of Imam Khomeini and contemporary thinkers about the relationship between religion and government, it was found that Imam Khomeini's thought is based on the denial of the rule of Taghut in order to achieve a monotheistic rule; In which, while emphasizing the republic and the establishment of divine laws and the rule of law, the government belongs to God and in it, the model of Velayat-e-Faqih is in the form of appointment-experts. Whereas in the view of contemporary thinkers, the monotheistic government denies ignorance and in it, while emphasizing the radical method and the establishment of divine laws and justice, the sovereignty belongs to God. Also, the rule of Velayat-e-Faqih is in the form of a council.



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