



A Comparative Study of the Impact of Social Political Developments of the Last Century in Iran on the Political Decisions of Imam Khomeini before and after the Islamic Revolution

Morteza Mohammadzadeh¹, Abdolreza Baghi^{2*}, Morteza Abazari³

^{1, 2*, 3}Department of Humanities, Faculty of Humanities, Shahreza Branch, Islamic Azad University, Shahreza, Iran

Received: 20 Jan 2022 ; Accepted: 7 March 2022

Abstract

Imam Khomeini's political decisions, which were rooted in his philosophical, theological and jurisprudential foundations, were an attempt to solve the problems of human societies, especially Islamic societies and Iranian society. The purpose of this research is to examine Imam Khomeini's decisions before and after the Islamic Revolution; And finding an answer to the question of what effect did the socio-political developments of the last century in Iran have on Imam Khomeini's political decisions before and after the Islamic Revolution? According to the research, it can be concluded that Imam Khomeini's political decisions have changed according to social political developments. In the first stage and before the exile, most of his political decisions were related to the role of jurists in the Islamic government and the idea of Velayat-e Faqih, and therefore most of his decisions were made on this basis. In the second stage, his decisions emphasized the role of the people in the Islamic government. And in the third phase of his leadership, most of the decisions were based on expediency and according to the rule of maintaining the system. And it must be said that these decisions were compatible with each other. In this research, using the descriptive-analytical method and using the theoretical framework of Thomas Spragens model, an attempt has been made to compare the influence of social political developments of the last century in Iran on the political decisions of Imam Khomeini before and after the Islamic revolution.

Keywords: Velayat-e Faqih, People, Expediency, Imam Khomeini, Revolution

Introduction

Imam Khomeini is one of the prominent and unique personalities whose thought and research in his theoretical and practical life can be constructive and open the way. Because

the system of the Islamic Republic of Iran, due to its different nature, is a distinct and special system, and this distinction and feature has caused the top managers of the

*Corresponding Author's Email: baghi@iaush.ac.ir

system to be exposed to more acceleration and intensity of uncertainties and complexities. And Imam Khomeini is one of the rare Islamic managers who has been able to leave his practical career in this field due to his

presence in the field of action and decision-making at micro and macro levels. In this field, there have been some researches which are presented in the following table as the background of the research:

Table 1

| Row | Title | Year | Researcher | Research Methods | Research results |
|-----|---|------|------------------------------|------------------|---|
| 1 | Imam Khomeini and transformation management | 2000 | Hossein Khanifar | content analysis | Identification of the fields and obstacles of transformation from Imam Khomeini's point of view |
| 2 | Imam Khomeini and politics | 2001 | Mohammad Kazem Kaviani | content analysis | Identifying the effective elements on Imam Khomeini's policy making |
| 3 | Imam Khomeini and strategic management | 2001 | Davood Fayyaz | content analysis | Designing the strategic management model of Imam Khomeini |
| 4 | Imam Khomeini and crisis management | 2001 | Seyyed Hossein Akhavan Alavi | content analysis | Presentation of Imam Khomeini's crisis management model |

The above researches can be helpful in understanding the decisions of Imam Khomeini and introducing them to the managers of the Islamic society. However, in the context of the developments of Imam Khomeini's decision, nothing has been stated in the mentioned researches, and from this point of view, this research is innovative. The purpose of the current research is to examine Imam Khomeini's decisions in different stages of his life and to examine the reason for the differences in some decisions before and after the revolution. And for this purpose, in this research, we are trying to find an answer to this question using a descriptive-analytical method. What effect did the socio-political developments of the last century in Iran have on Imam Khomeini's political decisions before and after the Islamic Revolution? It can be stated as a hypothesis for the mentioned questions that Imam Khomeini's political decisions have changed according to social po-

litical developments; In the first stage and before the exile, most of his political decisions emphasized the role of jurists in the Islamic government and the idea of Velayat-e faqih, and therefore most of his decisions were made on this basis. In the second stage, his decisions emphasized the role of the people in the Islamic government. And in the third stage of his leadership, most of the decisions were based on expediency and according to the rule of maintaining the system. And it must be said that these decisions were compatible with each other. In this research, the independent variable is: temporal location and the dependent variable is: Imam Khomeini's political thought.

The concept of decision and political decision

Decision in the word means judgment or choice between two or more different solutions that can be done in unlimited ways and in different conditions. Considering the im-

portance of decision-making in organizations and structures and its great importance for managers, leaders, the concept of decision-making is very important, especially in the political field.

Decision-making actually means choosing the right solution from among the available solutions, and the decision-maker is said to be someone who makes this choice. In most cases, to make a decision, it is necessary for the decision maker to go through the process of identification, analysis, evaluation, selection and planning.

Decision-making has steps such as specifying the goal, preparing a road map and choosing the right solution from among the available solutions, and finally implementing them. Decision-making is one of the most important tools of the decision-maker in order to succeed in achieving goals.

The concept of decision-making has been implied in some older approaches regarding the history of diplomacy and the study of political institutions. Political decisions are the outputs of the political system through which values are authoritatively distributed within a society (James Doherty, 1995, p. 719).

Decision-making was also the focus of those political scientists who were interested in analyzing the decision-making behavior of voters, legislators, executive officials, leaders, politicians, influential groups and other actors in the political scene (Seif Zadeh, 1977, p. 265).

The decision regarding Resolution 598 is considered as a decision in foreign policy based on expediency and purposeful action of the government. In this model, Imam Khomeini, after examining the available solutions, chose the most favorable solution based on the opinion and announcement of other political and military officials and based on the political, military, economic

conditions and sanctions. And the officials of the system made a diagnosis and Imam Khomeini also confirmed this diagnosis. Accepting the resolution today is in the interest of Islam, the revolution and the country (Behdarvand, 2001, pp. 507-510).

Theoretical framework: Spragens crisis theory

In this research, a theoretical framework similar to the model used by Thomas A. Spragens has been used. According to this analytical model, political thought is the effort of thinkers to solve the problems and crises of society (Fowzi, 2015, p. 7). It seems that the observation of crisis and disorder accelerates the thinker's thinking and encourages him to meditate on the causes and roots of existing problems in societies (Spragens, 2020, p. 29).

Based on these investigations, the thinker provides a solution for the existing problems; A solution that is strongly influenced by his ideal society and is rooted in his theoretical foundations. Based on the aforementioned analytical framework and by studying Imam Khomeini's political decisions, it can be said that observing the current situation in Iranian society in the post-constitutional period, the first and second Pahlavi eras, and the post-revolution era, had a great impact on Imam Khomeini's motivation. In such a way that by observing the conditions in the pre-revolution period, he analyzed the current situation by referring to his philosophical, theological, mystical and jurisprudential foundations. And because he saw it as inconsistent with the aforementioned principles and considered the society's process for human growth and education to be unfair and cruel, he turned to finding the root causes of these conditions. In re-examining the problems of the society, with the influence of his theoretical foundations and ideal society, he considered the root

of the problems in the establishment of an autocratic, dependent, unpopular and illegitimate political system; By following the policies imposed by foreigners in the fields of culture, economy and politics, it caused the decline of the society in various fields, the most important consequence of which was the change of the Islamic identity of the society and the weakening of Sharia laws in the Islamic society. Accordingly, his solution was to return to divine laws and try to establish a favorable government. Imam Khomeini proposed this solution in the discussion of the relationship between religion and politics, the plan of Islamic government and the legal authority; And in the era after the revolution and with the establishment of the Islamic government and the emergence of some new intellectual problems that could be an obstacle to the establishment or efficiency of the new political system. He discussed the limits of the authority of the Islamic government and its goals in order to pave the way for the authority of the Islamic government and to solve the problems facing it.

Investigating political developments during the leadership of Imam Khomeini and their role in his decision-making based on Spragens theory

In this topic, we try to examine the following; Political developments and campaign history of Imam Khomeini before exile; The campaigns of Imam Khomeini in the years 1964 to 1977, the campaigns of Imam Khomeini in the years 1977 to 1979 and the leadership of Imam Khomeini in the years 1979-1989. Since Imam Khomeini's decisions after the Islamic revolution were mainly taken during political and social crises. Spragens crisis model and theory can be a way to explain these decisions. Spragens's crisis theory has four stages: observation and identification of

problems and problems, analysis and search for the causes of the crisis, ideal reconstruction of the political society and providing solutions. The basis of Spragens's theory is the impact of crisis on thinking and ultimately decision making.

Problem ology: Political developments and Imam's decisions before exile

A) State and Provincial Associations Bill: Since the end of the 1950s, religious forces under the leadership of Imam Khomeini have been at the center of revolutionary movements. The peak of these movements happened in 1962 and 1963, and their starting point was the formulation of the state and provincial associations bill by the government (Malakoutian, 2008, p. 277). The two central issues of this bill were; 1- The restriction of Islam was removed from the conditions of the electors and the elected, and in the ceremony of swearing to trust and honesty, and instead of the Qur'an, the Holy Book was brought; 2- Equality of full rights of men and women and participation of women in elections (Mansouri, 1997, p. 54); It seems that the regime's purpose in including these clauses in the bill was to test the power of clerics and religious people after the death of Ayatollah Boroujerdi. Imam Khomeini, as an emerging authority, with full vigilance took several measures to counter this brazen act of the government. First, through speeches and sending messages, while impeaching the dimensions of this action, he enlightened public opinion; And he tried to bring the struggle to the level of different sec-

tions of the society (Davani, p. 2) (Karbashi, 2002, p.100-101). This issue and the retreat of science caused Imam Khomeini, who was previously known among his students, to be raised as a reference and political leader and fighter among public opinion (Dehghani, 2015, p. 55).

B) The White Revolution: The Shah announced his plan in the form of six bills under the title of the White Revolution or the Revolution of the Shah and the People (Khosravi, 2001, p. 69).

In this context, the process of Imam Khomeini's struggles can be analyzed in four stages. The first stage of the struggle to deny and boycott the referendum by scholars, which led to demonstrations and clashes with regime forces. In the second stage, following the king's disregard for the scholars' warning, it was decided to close congregational prayers and lectures during the month of Ramadan. The third phase of the struggle started in Nowruz, when Imam announced that we do not have Eid this year and was welcomed by other scholars. Observing these conditions, the regime tried to slap the scholars. Therefore, he attacked the Faiziya school and beat the students; But the result was reversed. A flood of domestic and foreign protests was sent to the government and according to SAVAK reports, it also increased the Imam's popularity. Without fear of these terrifying measures of the regime, on the eve of the month of Muharram, the Imam created a fundamental

change in the relations between the Shia scholars and the government by issuing a historic fatwa, by banning taqiyyah. With the arrival of the month of Muharram, the fight against the regime entered the fourth stage.

Considering the position of Ashura in the Shiite culture and the readiness of the public space of the society, Imam tried to present an up-to-date interpretation of Ashura by using this basic element (Fallahi, 2007, p. 63-70).

C) Capitulation: On October 11, 1963, Hassan Ali Mansour's government sent the bill on the immunity of American advisers to the parliament, which was approved. Then the Imam declared danger to the army, politicians, scholars and all sections of the society by stating that this law is selling Iran. And he called for everyone to take a sharp and clear stance against it (Mousavi Khomeini, 2010, pp. 401-414). After this issue, the regime did not consider Imam Khomeini's presence in the country any longer and on November 3, 1964, under strict security measures, Imam was transferred to the airport and then to Turkey.

In fact, the Imam reacted to the turbulent period and the atmosphere after Pahlavi II, especially the social harms such as the failure to establish an Islamic government, preaching the separation of religion from politics, preaching against Islam, stripping the society of spirituality and spreading corruption. And after knowing the existing problems, he investigated the roots and reasons for its existence and offered a solution.

Etiology: analysis and context of the crisis and political decisions of Imam Khomeini:

While analyzing the hypotheses and causes of the uprising, Imam Khomeini believes that the policies of the Shah's regime undermined the legitimacy of this regime and was the main cause of the uprising. And he considers the main cause of the uprising and revolution to be the person of the king and the instigation of the regime and the ruling factions. In this regard, Imam Khomeini considers the Shah's de-Islamization policy, strangulation, oppression of the Pahlavi regime, violation of the nation's rights and freedoms, dependence on foreigners, prevalence of administrative, financial and moral corruption as hypotheses for the emergence of the uprising. (Mousavi Khomeini, 2010, Vol. 15 p. 137, Vol. 16 p. 10, Vol. 17 p. 29).

Imam Khomeini came to this conclusion in examining the created problems; that the Pahlavi regime, due to its dependence on America and the West, lack of independence, alienation and orientation towards the West, started to implement measures and reforms, including the state and provincial association bill, the white revolution, and capitulation. And the Imam also took a stand during speeches and messages that led to his exile; And in this regard, he used goals and ideals to continue the path and solve the existing problems (Mousavi Khomeini, 2010, Vol. 17, p. 194).

Idealism: Imam Khomeini's political decisions in 1343 to 1356

After knowing the reasons for the formation of the existing problems, the Imam sought to make the role of the people in decision-making and religious democracy more colorful. And in this regard, he wrote the books *Tahrir al-Wasilla* and *Velayat-e Faqih*, and in addition, he used the concept of mobilization for the role of the people and conceptualized

it and turned it into a basic concept. And to solve the problems, he sees the only solution as forming the government of the Islamic Republic and returning to Islam, and in this regard, he presented the constitution.

During his stay in Iraq, Imam Khomeini began his series of lectures on jurisprudence in November 1344 in Najaf, which continued until his migration from Iraq to Paris. At the same time, he continued his criticism of the regime and monitored the situation in Iran.

In the following years, Imam drew his ideal model and ideal society on the one hand; And in his collection of lectures on jurisprudence in Najaf in 1969, which was published under the title "*Velayat-e faqih*", he presented the model of Islamic government and the characteristics of an Islamic ruler.

In general, Imam Khomeini mainly played the role of an ideologue in the years before 1977. In these years, he tried to emphasize principles such as the inseparability of religion from politics, the importance of establishing an Islamic government, and removing the rusts of seclusion from Islam on the one hand, and emphasizing freedom, independence, and justice, which are the foundations of Islamic government. describe Islam as a political, progressive and comprehensive religion and present it as the superior ideology in the fight against the pseudo-modernism of the regime.

Populism: Imam Khomeini's political decisions in the years 1977 to 1979

In 1356, with the revolutionary movement of the people of Qom on January 19th, the ground for the reappearance of Imam Khomeini in the political scene was provided. At this point, the Imam's announcements often played the role of "mobilizer"; In this way, while planning the actions of the regime, he gave the people hope of victory

and called them to unity and cohesion, and considered any silence against the high interests of Islam. In his announcements, while expressing intransigence and determination in the fight against the regime, Imam addresses all the people and emphasizes the most important strategy of his mobilization, which is populism. Of course, he also emphasized on negative resistance and non-violence, and by banning any cooperation with the regime, he called for peaceful demonstrations, mass strikes and popular protests, and disobeying the regime's laws. In order to show the oppression of the revolutionary forces (Kooshki, 2009, p. 5).

During the Imam's four-month stay in Paris, Neauphle-le-Château was the most important news center in the world, and numerous interviews and various meetings of the Imam caused his views on the Islamic government and the future goals of the movement to be told. In this way, more people of the world became familiar with his thought and uprising, and it was from this point that he led the most critical period of the movement in Iran. Imam Khomeini formed the Revolutionary Council in January 1979 and returned to Iran on February 2, 1979 amidst the welcome of the people, and on February 6, 1979, he appointed Bazargan as the head of the Revolutionary Provisional Government.

Solution ology: Imam Khomeini's political decisions during the leadership of the political system (1979-1989)

In the years 1979 to 1989, Imam Khomeini became the leader of the political system and began to design a new political system after the revolution.

In the political field, the Imam defended the Islamic Republic system and defined it as "the government of the republic, relying on public and Islamic votes and relying on Is-

lamic law" (Mousavi Khomeini, 2009, pp. 144-145). And by explaining the model of the new political system, he succeeded in establishing the political system of the Islamic Republic with the decisive vote of 99% of the participants.

At the next stage, he was able to get a new constitution approved by public votes; in which, on the one hand, the elected religious guardian of the people, with his supervision, guaranteed the continuation of the Islamic orientation of the system. And on the other hand, the people played their role in guaranteeing the republican system by directly electing the president and representatives of the National Congress and electing the representatives of the Congress of Experts.

In the early years of the revolution, issues such as the following caused the Imam to take positions; Ethnic and regional crises, the occupation of the American embassy in Tehran, the cultural revolution, the dismissal of the first president, the armed war of the opposition groups, assassinations after the revolution, and planning a coup against the revolution. The occurrence of Iraq's imposed war against Iran and how Imam Khomeini faced this eight-year crisis that had international dimensions. And finally, the acceptance of Resolution 598 by him is another reason to learn about other dimensions of the Imam's political decisions, especially in the foreign policy dimension. During this period, events such as the killing of Iranian pilgrims during the Hajj ceremony; Heinous massacre of the people of Halabja during the chemical bombing of this city (by the Iraqi Air Force); The killing of innocents in the vast bombings of Iran's residential areas; The presence of American and European naval fleets in the Persian Gulf in support of Saddam; targeting the Iranian passenger plane over the Persian Gulf by the American military forces; And

finally, internally, the removal of the deputy leadership and the amendment of the constitution are among the other issues that Imam Khomeini had a special position on.

In these years, Imam Khomeini, using the capabilities of Shia jurisprudence, succeeded in strengthening that model by reviving concepts such as the absolute authority of the Islamic state, social expediency and the support of experts in determining expediency. The Imam's emphasis on the absolute authority of the jurist and expediency and government rulings opened new doors in Shia political and government jurisprudence and increased the authority of the government.

All in all, his views, which were a development in traditional jurisprudence, provided the ground for removing obstacles and accelerating the movement of the Islamic Republic towards the realization of various economic, cultural and social goals. From this, it can be said that Imam Khomeini made a decision and presented a solution according to the critical conditions of the society of his time and going through the four stages of Spragens's crisis theory to solve the problems and problems and crises ahead. The imam's prescriptions were actually the treatment of the problems facing the Islamic revolution.

Comparison of Imam Khomeini's decisions before and after the revolution

According to the material presented in the previous section, Imam Khomeini's decisions before and after the Islamic Revolution can be stated as follows:

1- Imam and the emphasis on the role of the jurist in the Islamic government and the idea of Velayat-e-faqih: Imam Khomeini in 1968-1969 in Najaf, made the issue of Velayat-e-faqih a matter of reflection and attention. It seems that there are at least two reasons for Imam

Khomeini's decision in his political thought plan with emphasis on the role of jurists and the theory of religious authority.

First: Negligence of religious schools at that time: The Imam mentioned in the same discussions about the Velayat-e-faqih that those incompetent people who are sitting in religious schools are not capable of forming and continuing the government.

Because they are so incompetent that they cannot even use a pen, they do not take a step in any direction. They have told us so much about foreigners and their agents; Sir, go to your card, go to school and studies, what do you have to do with these things? These things are not up to you. We have also come to believe that there is nothing we can do, and now I can't get these bad advertisements out of the ears of some people and make them understand that you should be the boss. You are like others. You too can manage the country (Moussavi Khomeini, 2019, p. 8).

Second: The opinion gap in political discussions: the first question of every fighter could be where we are going to go; What is our ideal and what kind of political system do we want? But in those years, there was not only a suitable political-government theory for the age of absence; On the contrary, the serious thoughts of religious leaders and seminaries denied the existence of the government at the hands of jurists. This is where the idea of the Velayat al-Faqih theory as an alternative to the royal government seemed absolutely necessary and necessary.

2- Imam and emphasis on the role of people in Islamic government; This phase of Imam Khomeini's decisions started from the second phase of 1978, especially after Mehr month of this year, when the Imam immigrated to Noufel-Lochato, France from Iraq, and continued for almost a decade. At this time and in this place, Imam pays special attention to the role of the people in the Islamic government. For example, the Imam of France sends a message and takes a position that every nation has the right to determine its own destiny. This is one of the human rights, which is also in the declaration of human rights. This nation of ours is standing now and wants to determine their own destiny (Moussavi Khomeini, 1998, p. 443).

In the same place in November, they say that the king should be the king with the votes of the nation. When the people's votes are against, he is no longer the king. A parliament is not a parliament when there are no votes of the nation (Mousavi Khomeini, 1998: p. 618).

After that, with the establishment of the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran, the Imam continued to emphasize the role of the people in the Islamic government. In one place he said: We are subject to the opinions of the people (Mousavi Khomeini, 1998, p. 143).

In his ruling as the head of the interim government, the Imam stated that; According to the religious right and the legal right resulting from the votes of the overwhelming majority of the people of Iran, I appoint Your Excellency to form the interim govern-

ment (Mousavi Khomeini, 2010, pp. 26-27).

Finally, at this stage, it is referred to the request of the representatives of the legal guardians in the secretariat of Friday imams across the country, who asked; After offering greetings and greetings, in what way does the jurist have guardianship over the Islamic community?

Answer: Velayat exists in all forms, but taking over the affairs of Muslims and forming the government depends on the votes of the majority of Muslims. It is mentioned in the constitution and it is interpreted as allegiance to the guardian of Muslims in the beginning of Islam.

3- Imam and discussion of expediency: expediency is a synonym of benefit and the opposite of corruption. According to Imam Khomeini, all divine decrees are established based on special interests, and the Islamic ruler can enact governmental decrees based on the interests of the Islamic system, and these decrees have the necessary legitimacy. He has always mentioned in his works that acting expediently is based on Shia jurisprudence. This point, apart from the things mentioned in his speeches and scattered writings, is also mentioned in the Book of Al-Baye, which lays the scientific foundations of Velayat-e-faqih. The discussion of expediency appears in most of Imam Khomeini's decisions after the revolution. This is especially evident in the adoption of Resolution 598. For example, they have repeatedly announced and emphasized that they consider the acceptance of the resolution at this point in time to be in the interest of the

revolution and the system. And at the current stage, I consider it to be in the interest of the revolution and the system; And God knows, if there was no motivation that all of us and our dignity and credibility should be sacrificed in the way of the expediency of Islam and Muslims, I would never have been satisfied with this act (Imam Khomeini, 2010, pp. 91-92). Today's decision was only to determine expediency (Imam Khomeini, 2010, pp. 92). In this context and in this strategic decision, another distinct feature also stands out in the Imam's decision; And that preference is more important than important. Despite Imam's belief in the continuation of the war until the final victory, this request was repeatedly repeated during the years of war imposed by the nation. When the imam sees the expediency of the system and the country in danger, preferring the expediency of the system to everything else, by accepting the resolution and ceasefire, they say that the expediency of the government is one of the issues that precedes everything. And on this basis, they easily give up their heart's desire and agree to accept the resolution and, in their own words, drink the poisoned cup for the benefit of the government, the country, and the revolution.

From these points, we can conclude that the Islamic government, like other governments, can enact and implement what is necessary and necessary based on expediency. But the important point and difference between the Islamic government and other governments is that the Islamic ruler must also be able to recognize the interest of the society,

and he does not have the authority to plan the system, and the term *ijtihad* of the domains is not enough either. The imam believed that formal *ijtihad* is not enough in religious schools. On the other hand, if a person is a scholar of certain religious sciences, but cannot recognize the interest of the society, or cannot distinguish righteous and useful people from unrighteous ones, and generally lacks correct insight and decision-making power in the social field; This person is not a *mujtahid* in social and government issues and cannot take the reins of society (Moussavi Khomeini, 2010, p. 21-22).

So, after a decade of closeness to the government, the Imam clearly came to the conclusion that it is not possible to respond to the needs of the age based on the sub-rules of the *Sharia*, as is common in seminaries; And that is why, in some cases, it is even necessary to agree to the temporary closure of subordinate clauses (for example, in the Labor Law of the Islamic Republic of Iran). In order to solve this problem, they found it necessary to establish the expediency of the system to approve the laws that are even against *Sharia* and the law and fill the legal gap of the system. And in order for this institution to have the necessary support, the legitimacy of such an institution requires a clear and transparent defense of the legal authority; that in 1980, after about two decades of discussing the theory of *Velayat-e-faqih*, the imam expressed his intention of absolute *Velayat*. And the plan of discussing the expediency and transparency of the debate on the issue of religious authority was from the develop-

ments and changes in Imam Khomeini's thought and decisions, in line with the developments in the previous stage.

Conclusion

From the previous discussions, in line with the raised question and hypothesis, several results can be emphasized.

1. In Imam Khomeini's political thought and his decisions, time and place, audience and requirements of the age are the determining elements in the evolution of Imam's political thought. These developments are compatible, because at one time the audience was assumed to be mainly religious schools and scholars. And in another place, the audience is mainly people and members of the society, and in the third stage, the clarification of the previous positions is discussed.

Imam's thoughts in the second stage (emphasis on the people) and the third (emphasis on the jurisprudence of the jurist and the assembly of expediency) have been reconciled; Because the absolute authority of the Imam did not mean the unlimited and unconditional authority of the jurist; In other words, absolute sovereignty is not "unconditional", but "conditional" and "subject to object". But Imam's thought in the first stage of the second stage (emphasis on the role of jurists) and the second stage (emphasis on the role of people) are not incompatible with each other. Rather, it is complementary, because every political system has at least two levels: the level of elites, leaders and managers, and the level of the body of the system and members of society and the people. In a situation where the clerics of seminaries are influenced by the propaganda and exhortations of foreigners sitting in the seminaries, the imam sings to each other that these things are not of our making. What are we to do with these things, we just have to pray and ask ques-

tions, he went to them; He woke them up from a great side and enumerated their duties in the political-social spheres? And on the other hand, they opened a well-argued theoretical debate on the issue of Velayat-e-faqih, and engaged the minds of seminaries and scholars to reflect on the duties of jurists and scholars in planning the political system. And the prevailing atmosphere of religious schools, which either did not enter into government debates, or if it did, argued against entering into politics, considered the failure and duty of the leaders, managers, cultural and political elites of the society.

It is clear that for the audience in seminaries, it is necessary to talk about their duties. If the elites of a society are asleep, it is unreasonable to expect others to wake up; And at that point in time and in that place (Najaf) and for that audience (students and scholars), the Imam put all his effort into discussing the legal authority, not the people. But in another time and place and for another audience (the other end of the scale), i.e., members of the society, he enumerated their duties and rights. This does not mean the negation of the authority of the jurist, but rather completing another corner of the discussion and expressing the duties of other members of each group and political system. Because the place of France is the cradle of people's freedom and rights; Because the arrogant world wants to present the Imam's movement as anti-people, autocratic, petrified and reactionary. There, the imam talks about human rights, freedom, democracy, the Islamic Republic and people's rights with more emphasis. Especially the luck and sacrifices of the people and the spirit of martyrdom, the people's demand for rights in the atmosphere of the revolution, required a suitable response from their beloved leader. And the Imam also expressed his heart's trust and belief in the na-

tion, of course, the Imam's confidence and trust in the people was more than a political and revolutionary leader. And therefore, about a decade after the victory of the revolution and the Imam as the leader of the Islamic society, he often spoke about the rights of the people and saw himself as the servant of the people.

2. The fundamental transformation of the Imam's thought and political decisions can be justified considering the role he plays and, accordingly, the expectations others have of him at that time. In the first stage, as one of the religious scholars, his main role is to defend the privacy of religion, and therefore, he writes *Kashf al-Asrar* in the response of the constituents, and besides answering dozens of issues, they also refer to the issue of government. And the society does not have the questions and expectations of the leadership time from them, and they also do not see the duty to stop seriously in this field.

In the second stage, his role is the leadership of the movement and even the revolution. It is in a position where the government system of the kingdom is seen as illegitimate and its followers and enthusiasts are looking forward and waiting and expecting what is the ideal government of their leader. On the other hand, Imam Khomeini is not only in the position of the leader of the revolution, but in the position of a theoretician, he must also answer political and government questions based on the ideology of the movement. It is here that in the theoretical vacuum of the Imam's governmental debates during the opportunity that occurred to him in exile, he examined in detail all the hadiths from the point of view of evidence, meaning, text and other aspects; And with his own broad vision, he has discussed the

completeness of the meaning and validity of each title for the jurist.

Therefore, it is possible to make the general claim that the audience, the requirements of the era, and the time and place were so effective on Imam Khomeini's political thought; In some cases, he has changed the basis and changed the theory, which is one of the pieces of evidence in the discussion of religious authority and Islamic government. who were defenders of jurisprudential supervision theory and accepted the royal government? And in another time and era, they put forward the theory of religious authority and considered other types of governments, including monarchy, monarchy, and monarchy, to be illegitimate. And of course, in some cases, time, place, and audience would complete and develop a theory quantitatively and qualitatively. As it happened in the three stages of the second stage in the discussion of Islamic government.

One of Imam's developments in the political and governmental discussion is the introduction of the concept of "interest" in Shia political thought. The discussion of expediency, which is currently applied in the system of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the form of the Expediency Determination Assembly, is one of the methods that, without it, the Islamic political system would surely suffer a serious deadlock, and the effectiveness of religion in the contemporary world would be questioned. However, the Expediency Discernment Assembly keeps the jurisprudence and Islamic government alive and responsive to the questions and challenges of the time by observing and considering the time and place and the requirements of the age and the constraints of the system, and helps the ruling jurist in the successful planning of the system.

References

- Akhavan Alavi, Seyyed Hossein (2001). Imam Khomeini and crisis management, research project, Government Management Training Center: Islamic Research in Management.
- Ansari, Hamid (2012). *Hadith-e-Bidari: A Look at Imam Khomeini's Ideal-Scientific and Political Biography (From Birth to Death)*, Imam Khomeini Editing and Publishing Institute.
- Dehghani, Javad (2015). re-reading Imam Khomeini's strategic and tactical principles and his leadership process in the development of the Islamic Revolution of Iran, *Political Journal*, second year, vol. 7.
- Devani, Ali (wd), *Iran's Clergy Movement*, Volume 3, Imam Reza Cultural Foundation Publications.
- Fawzi, Yahya (2015). *Imam Khomeini's Political Thought*, Qom: Supreme Leader's Representative Institution in Universities.
- Fayyaz, Davood (2001). *Imam Khomeini and strategic management*, research project, Public Management Training Center: Islamic Research in Management.
- Karbaschi, Gholamreza (2002). *Oral History of the Islamic Revolution*, Volume 2, Tehran: Publications of the Center for Islamic Revolution Documents.
- Kaviani, Mohammad Kazem (2001). *Imam Khomeini and Policymaking*, Research Project, Public Management Education Center: Islamic Research in Management.
- Khanifar, Hossein (2000). *Imam Khomeini and Transformational Management*, Research Project, Public Management Training Center: Islamic Research in Management.
- Khosravi, Ahmad Ali (2001). *A review of Imam Khomeini's strategy in the leadership of the Islamic Revolution*, Qom: Manba Publications.
- Kooshki, Mohammad Sadegh (2009). *Armed Approaches to the Struggle Against the Shah*, Zamaneh Publication, vol. pp. 84-85.
- Malakoutian, Mustafa (1999). *Imam Khomeini and the great events of contemporary Iran (before the Islamic Revolution)*, *Siyasat Journal*, Volume 38, Volume 3.
- Mansouri, Javad (1997). *Qiyam 15 Khordad 1342*, Tehran: Surah Publications
- Mousavi Khomeini, Seyyed Roohollah (2019). *Velayat-e-Faqih*, Imam Khomeini Editing and Publishing Institute.
- Mousavi Khomeini, Seyyed Ruhollah (1999). *Kawsar* (a collection of Imam Khomeini's speeches with a description of the events of the Islamic Revolution), Vol. 3, Institute for Editing and Publishing Imam Khomeini's Works.
- Mousavi Khomeini, Seyyed Ruhollah (2008). *Selections from Imam Khomeini's Thoughts and Opinions - The Religion of the Islamic Revolution*, Institute for Editing and Publishing Imam Khomeini's Works.
- Mousavi Khomeini, Seyyed Ruhollah (2010). *Sahifa Noor*, Volumes 2, 3, 4, 15, 16, 17 and 21, Imam Khomeini Editing and Publishing Institute.
- Spragens, Thomas A. (2020). *Understanding Political Theories*, Translation: Farhang Rajaei, Tehran, Agah publication.
- Toloui, Mahmoud (1994). *Actors of the Pahlavi Era from Foroughi to Fardoust*, Vol. 1, Tehran: Alam publication.