

## **The Necessity of Islamic Government in Modern Era from Imam Khomeini's Perspective**

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### **Abstract**

Imam Khomeini is the first jurist who put forth the necessity of establishment Islamic government in the Occultation era and significantly attempts to prove the need for administrative power to implement Islamic decrees. He invoked to the Holy Prophet method in establishing an Islamic state and the fact that the nature of Islamic laws that are universal and eternal by the aim of managing the society to achieve welfare, happiness, and perfection. He claimed that these divine laws are not restricted to the Holy Prophet's era and they are not executable without an Islamic government with appropriate Islamic institutions and organizations to implement the divine laws in the Muslim society, which will be examined in the first part of this research. Finally, the questions, what are the features of Islamic government in comparison with other forms of government such as secular, liberal democracy, tyrannical, monarchy, and communist according to Imam Khomeini's point of view will be investigated in the second section. One of the important features that distinguishes Islamic government from other forms of governments is the leadership that Imam Khomeini strongly attempts to prove its divine legitimacy and popular acceptance. He believes that the person, who wishes to be as the successor of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) and infallible Imams (AS), should appointed by Allah Almighty through the Holy Prophet and Imams (AS) and has to possess at least two qualifications, the knowledge of Islamic sciences, and the justice. Besides, he must have the general competencies of intelligence and administrative capability to govern the Islamic community. In Imam Khomeini's opinion, if a person is the most knowledgeable in Religion Science, but fails to recognize the expedient of society or generally lacks in insight the social and political context and in decision-making power, this person is not Mujtahid in social and governance issues and cannot take the reigns of the community.

### **Keywords:**

Imam Khomeini, Islamic Government, Divine Laws, Divine Legitimacy, Popular Acceptance.

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## **Introduction**

One of the controversial issues that has preoccupied Muslim's minds in today's world is whether Islam can run the community in the modern world or not- If so, how and in what way is it possible? Imam Khomeini (2006, 7: 31) as a theologian, faqih, philosopher and mystic claims that, it is possible and Islam can run the community in the modern world (Khomeini, 2006, Vol, 7: 31 & Vol, 10:160 & Vol, 12: 319-320). Imam Khomeini in contrary to the previous Islamic scholars, put forth the necessity of establishment Islamic government based on the Velayat-e Faqih Theory in the Occultation era. In this respect, uprising against the tyrannical reign to change its structure and establishing an Islamic government and a society with virtues people was among his ideals during his revolutionary struggles to replace the new system rather than tyrannical Regime of Pahlavi (Babapur, 2002: 151).

This corroborate on necessity of formation of Islamic government and fighting to eradicate existing non Islamic government, is one of the main characteristic that made Imam Khomeini different from other predominant Shi'a Ulama, even individuals who had thought in political guardianship of jurists. Other Jurists who emphasized on political guardianship of Ulama, have never emphasized on the necessity of fighting against the sovereign regimes, and establishment of Islamic state in Occultation era. From the standpoint of some leading Ulama, if socio-political situation of Islamic society was in approval of creation of an Islamic government ruled by a jurist, it is a religious obligation of Ulama to accept the responsibility. However, in Imam Khomeini' viewpoint, uprising to downfall of tyrannical governments and paving the ways for establishing Islamic government was considered to be the most essential responsibility for Muslims (Khomeini, 2005: 16). He challenged the philosophy of separation of religion (secularism), liberal democracy, and communism. He merged politics with mysticism, divine conduct, as well as spirituality, and forgave the philosophical color to the government. He was well able to explain the

theoretical foundations of government and put it to experiment in practical realization and brought it into social scene from that was confined in amidst the books. Therefore, the researcher presents a comprehensive discussion about the Islamic government, what Imam Khomeini meant by “Islamic government”, why he insists to found it, what were reasons behind his insist. Then deals with the questions, how and in what form Imam Khomeini approached to execute Islamic government.

In this regard, the researcher attempts to reveal fundamental structure of Imam Khomeini’s thought with regard to the necessity of Islamic government. In the works remained of Imam Khomeini in general and in his “Islamic Government” book in particular, Imam Khomeini emphasized on three significant issues which constitute his core ideas to prove the need for founding an Islamic state, as follows:

- “1. Action taken by the Holy Prophet (s) to establish a government;
2. The fact that divine precepts are to be enforced perpetually; they are enacted not only for the time of the Holy Prophet (s); they are meant for all time.
3. The nature and characteristic of Islamic laws and regulations like fiscal, national defense, and legal and penal precepts are such that they are not executable without a government” (Khomeini, 2005: 4).

Accordingly, the researcher offers the following sections:

### **1. Definition of Islamic Government**

In Imam Khomeini’s point of view, Islamic government is a political system accordance with the God’s ordinances, tradition of the Holy Prophet and Shi’a Imams. Imam Khomeini in his entire works, particularly, “Hukumate Islami” which literally translated as “Islamic Government” book, put forth the definition of Islamic government as:

Islamic government is a government of law. In this form of government, sovereignty belongs to God alone and law is His

decree and command. The law of Islam, divine command, has absolute authority over all individuals and the Islamic government. Everyone, including the Most Noble Messenger (s) and his successors, is subject to law and will remain so for all eternity- the law that has been revealed by God, Almighty and Exalted, and expounded by the tongue of the Qur'an and the Most Noble Messenger (s) (Khomeini, 2005: 42).

Imam Khomeini tries to illuminate in detail the true meaning and function of Islamic government with the exclusive role of divine verdicts or Shari'a on administration of Islamic society, he declared that Islamic Government is different from any types of governance, which has existence in the world. For instance, it is neither a tyranny, that the governor can attitude autocratically with the people's possession and lives or convict to the death anyone he wants, and make rich anyone he desires nor absolute, but constitutional. However, in his view, the meant of constitutional is not the same current sense of the word, that based on the approval of laws according to the majority votes. He noted that:

It is constitutional in the sense that the rulers are subject to a certain set of conditions in governing and administering the country, conditions that are set forth in the Noble Qur'an and the Sunna of the Most Noble Messenger. It is the laws and ordinances of Islam comprising this set of conditions that must be observed and practiced. Islamic government may therefore be defined as the rule of divine law over men" (Khomeini, 2005: 41).

## **2. The Necessity for an Executive Power and Administrator in Islam**

Imam Khomeini discussed in "Islamic government" book in case of the executive power, which executes the laws in the society as the first issue in the necessity for establishing a system. Because, in his viewpoint, the law by itself without an executer has less profit; he believed that law by itself cannot

guarantee the reform of societies and the well-being of man and not enough for mankind to achieve happiness and salvation (Khomeini, 2005: 21). In Imam Khomeini thought, laws and social institutions, based on their nature always have need of the being of an implementer. He noted that it is a general and permanent legislation, which is, applied everywhere that law lonely cannot guarantee the bliss of humanity. Thereby, after setting up a legislation, the existence of an administrative potency is essential. In this sense, Imam Khomeini explicitly states that “a body of laws alone” is not adequate for a society to be reformed or, in a larger level, the happiness of mankind to be pursued. To achieve these purposes, Imam Khomeini considers that there must be an executive power and an executor, and he states:

The God almighty in addition to revealing a body of laws (i.e. the ordinance of the Shariah) has laid down a particular form of government together with executive and administrative institutions. The Most Noble Messenger (s) headed the executive and administrative institutions of Muslim society (Khomeini, 2005: 21).

In this connection, Imam Khomeini argued, a set of legislation or a state that does not have an administrative potency, it is obviously defective. He remarked that Allah Exalted, besides to manifest a system of Islamic legislations has designed a specific form of rule simultaneously with executing and administrative organization. Imam Khomeini emphasizes on the executive power, besides the formation of regulation, a power that fulfills the legislations of Shari'ah, and provides for people the feasibility of profiting from the Islamic legislation and justice on the society (Khomeini, 2005: 22). Thereby, besides the legislation, the existence of an executive power and an executor is necessary for implementation the laws in the society to supply the welfare, justice, and happiness of human.

### **3. The Way of Holy Prophet in Medina**

Imam Khomeini discusses that the need for an Islamic state has its roots in the early Islamic community, when the Prophet led the administrative and executive institutions of that society in Medina. The Holy Prophet (PBUH) obliged the execution of legislation and the establishment of the Islamic verdicts, through the establishment of an Islamic state. The declaration of legislation alone did not satisfied him; therefore, he enforced laws during his lifetime. Thus, in accomplishing his role, the Prophet, in addition to declare of laws he applied God's ordinances at the same time, to administer the affairs of the community.

Imam Khomeini's statement is:

“The Most Noble Messenger (s) headed the executive and administrative institutions of Muslim society. He himself established a government, as history testifies. He engaged in the implementation of laws, the establishment of the ordinances of Islam, and the administration of society. He sent out governors to different regions; both sat in judgment himself and also appointed judges; dispatched emissaries to foreign states, tribal chieftains, and kings; concluded treaties and pacts; and took command in battle. In short, he fulfilled all the functions of government” (Khomeini, 2005: 22).

Then, Imam Khomeini remarked that the Prophetic Sunnah and his manner create a worthy evidence for the requisiteness of founding governance. At the beginning, Holy Prophet himself founded a governance, to the witness of authentic historic sources.

Imam Khomeini invoked that “The Messenger of God (s) was an executor of the law. For example, he implemented the penal provisions of Islam: he cut off the hand of the thief. It is for this reason that the formation of a government and the establishment of executive organs are necessary” (Khomeini, 2005: 21).

Second, Imam Khomeini propose a question, who was appointed by the Holy Prophet to preserve the administrative power after him?

After he pointed the substantial role of the executive power for administration the Muslim society, confirmed that the highly importance of this function made the opinion of successorship so vital for the continuance of the prophet's mission. In Imam Khomeini's thought God Almighty through revelation, ordered the Holy Prophet to convey his mission, and chose his successor by the Noble verse: "O Messenger, announce that which has been revealed to you from your Lord, and if you do not, then you have not conveyed His message. And Allah will protect you from the people" (5:67). According to this verse and explicitly order of Almighty God, if the Holy Prophet (PBUH) had not designated a successor to undertake the executive power, he would have failed to accomplish his mission. It was revealed to the Prophet during his last pilgrimage to Mecca on the 18th after the Farewell Hajj (Hjhalblagh) in the 10th year of the Hijrat (632 AD). After that Holy Prophet gathered all of fellow traveller at Ghadir-e-Khum on the 18th of Farewell Hijja. Then he ordered to return individuals who had gone forward and were awaited for those who had straggled. He climbed a high place that they built as the rostrum and presented a long speech that most of it allocated to the virtues and competency of the Ali Ibn Abi Talib. Then, the Prophet announced that "whomever I am the master (mawla), Ali is his master". The above-mentioned verse is that Shi'a remarks on the Ali Ibn Abi Talib Imamate who directly appointed by Allah. They believe that the leadership originally belongs to Allah Almighty and He has bestowed it to the Muslim community through the Prophacy and Imamate. Allah is at the head of the Muslim community, He knows the best and leads the best and guides the best. The Holy Prophet appointed a ruler to succeed him, according with divine command. In Imam Khomeini's point of view, this guardianship can be possessed by others in the condition that this transference is approved by God (Khomeini 1995, 160).

Imam Khomeini stated:

"If God Almighty, through the Prophet (s), designated a man who was to rule over Muslim society after him, this is in itself an

indication that government remains a necessity after the departure of the Prophet from this world. Again, since the Most Noble Messenger (s) promulgated the divine command through his act of appointing a successor, he also, implicitly stated the necessity for establishing a government” (Khomeini, 2005: 22).

As such, God Almighty, through the Prophet (s), designated a man who was to rule over Muslim society after him. The person who holds this executive power is known as the *vali-yi amr*<sup>1</sup>, which literally means the “guardian of an affair,” who is responsible for administering the social and religio-political affairs of a Muslim society (Khomeini, 2005: 21). In so doing, the Islamic state led by “*Vali-ye ’amr*” is capable of preventing the emergence of anarchy and disorder and of protecting society from corruption. So that’s why, the leadership of the Islamic nation (*ummah*), however, was not to be ended by the death of the Prophet.

Thus, according to Shi’a institute the principles of “prophecy” of the Prophet (PBUH) and his successorship by the twelve Imams (AS) of the Shi’a (Imamate) are basically the two supplementary principles of Islam. Imam Khomeini concluded that, with consideration of both reason (*’aql*) and divine legislation (*shar’ah*), it is required in our age for what was needed in duration of life of the Prophet (PBUH) and during the time of the, Ali ibn Abi Talib (PBUH), that is, the establishment of an Islamic governance and the appointing an Islamic executive and administrative organizations. (Khomeini, 2005: 23). According to Imam Khomeini’ thought, this is an obligation that all Muslims should actualize the Islamic ordinances, in all Muslim countries, to attain the victorious of political Islamic revolution.

Imam Khomeini believed that both reason and divine law, reveal the necessity in our time for what was necessary during the lifetime of the Prophet (s) and the age of the Commander of the Faithful, ‘Ali ibn Abi Talib (‘a) namely the formation of a government and the establishment of executive and administrative organs. Imam Khomeini argues that in Occultation era, this “law of God”, however, cannot be managed and



implemented by a non-Islamic 'secular' state, or worse, by an anti-Islamic (Kufr) or sherk government because they always brought about a type of corruption which is known, in Qur'anic verse, as "corruption on earth." (Khomeini, 2005: 30). It will discuss inclusively in the second part concerning to respond the question who should govern an Islamic state in the modern era.

#### **4. The Nature and Characteristic of Islamic Legislations, and the Comprehensiveness of Islamic Teaching in Fulfilling the Needs of Human Life**

Imam Khomeini clearly stated that the nature and attributes of Islamic legislations and the divine decrees of the shari'ah provide extra proof of the requirement for founding governance, because they demonstrate that the laws were enacted for the aim of establishing a government and managing the political, economic, and cultural matters of society (Khomeini, 2005: 24).

He explained that in order to execute Islamic legislations and its ordinances such as financial, defensive, legal, and retributive verdicts existence of a governance is necessary, thereby, Islamic laws naturally are for administering the society, and without a governance, they are not executable. According to the Imam Khomeini, the Noble Qur'an and the divine Shari'ah consist all the legislations and decrees that human require achieving happiness and the perfection. Then, he presented a rational argument:

The first point that, the Islamic ordinances comprise a system of varied legislations and adjustments that constructs a perfect social system, in which, have been met all the necessities of human. Holy Prophet (PBUH) established legislations and actualized injunctions for all human affairs. There are laws for social, political, cultural, economic, and military affairs of

Muslim community in the same way that there are legislations laid for the duties of worship for mankind. In this respect, Imam Khomeini remarked:

“His dealings with his neighbors, fellow citizens, and clan, as well as children and relatives; the concerns of private and marital life; regulations concerning war, peace, and intercourse with other nations. Islamic law is a progressive, evolving, and comprehensive system. Islam provides laws and instructions for all of these matters, aiming, as it does, to produce integrated and virtuous human beings who are walking embodiments of the law, or to put it differently, the law’s voluntary and instinctive executors. It is obvious, then, how much Islam care devotes to government and the political and economic relations of society, commercial law; and regulations pertaining to trade, industry and agriculture. With goal of creating conditions conducive to the production of morally upright and virtuous human beings” (Khomeini, 2005: 25).

The second point that, with precise examination the nature of the regulations and the Islamic laws, it can be realized that their enforcement relied upon the establishment of a state, and executing divine ordinances is impossible except through the formation an Islamic government, administrative institutes and executive organizations (Khomeini, 2005, 26). Then he mentioned some kinds of regulations to explain the matter that the Islamic laws and social institutes by their nature need an executor power.

In Imam Khomeini’s perspective, the affairs concerning to the levies, and plan for collecting taxes which has designated in Islam are not only for the purpose of supplying the subsistence of the impoverished or nourishment the unfunded people among the progenies of the Prophet (PBUH). They are also aimed to provide possibility for establishing a great governance and to make sure of its necessary expenses. Imam Khomeini put forth an example; khums is one item in the budget, which is a massive source of revenue that belongs to the treasury. According to the Shi’a belief, khums is to be levied

in a just procedure on all agricultural and commercial benefits, all natural resources including above or under the ground, and on all other types of riches and income. It exerts equally to the all kind of jobs. They should pay one-fifth of their overplus income, to the Islamic governor, so that it boosts the treasury. It is evident that such an immense income applies for the aim of managing the Islamic governance and fulfilling all its fiscal needs. It is entirely obvious that the target for the levy of such a tax is not just for the keeping the sayyids<sup>2</sup> or the religious scholars. He claims that it is applies for “something far more significant namely, meeting the financial needs of the great organs and institutions of government. If an Islamic government is achieved, it will have to be administered on the basis of the taxes that Islam has established- khums, zakat<sup>3</sup> (this, of course, would not represent an appreciable sum) jizyah<sup>4</sup>, which is imposed on the ahl adh-dhimmah<sup>5</sup> and kharaj”<sup>6</sup> (Khomeini, 2005: 26-27). The providing of such an immense budget should clearly be for the aim of formation a governance and managing the Islamic territory in order to supply not only the needs of impoverished people, but for generic services concerning to well-being, education, defense, and economic improvement (Khomeini, 2005: 26-27).

The implementing of these substantial tasks is not possible except through establishing certain organizations for executing legislations and exact supervisions on their performance, administrative methods, and wise policies. It is the responsibility of the Islamic governor, first, to levy the taxes in convenient amount, then, to collect them; and eventually, to expend them in a way that leads to the Muslims’ comfort and happiness.

### **5. The Necessity of Defense of Islamic Territory and Rescue the Oppressed People**

Besides these financial decrees, the multiple Qur’anic verses and narratives order Muslims to conserve the Islamic system and defend of the Islamic territory. It is obvious that, defense of the Islamic territories and Muslims depended on the establishment of a governance. (Khomeini, 2005: 28). The

decrees concerning to conservation of the order of Islam and defense of the independence of the Islamic lands and the Islamic ummah<sup>7</sup> also necessitated the establishment of a governance. One clear sample of this ordinances, that Imam Khomeini points out, is the Qur'anic verse, "Prepare against them (the enemy of Islam) whatever force you can muster and horses tethered," Qur'an (8: 60). In this Noble verse, God Almighty ordered Muslims to the military readiness, as much it possible for them, they should provide armed defensive force and commands them to be on the alert forever, even during the time that peace is reigned over Muslims territory (Khomeini, 2005: 28). This verse commands Muslims to be powerful, so that their enemies will be incapable to violate and exceed against them. Since the Muslims have missed their unity, power, and readiness, they suffer from despotism, cruelty, and interventional policies of foreign aggressors. Referring to this 'defense ordinance,' Imam Khomeini, then identified one of the most significant sources of the failure of the so-called "Muslim states" particularly with respect to the Arab-Israeli conflict after the 1967 war. He argued that "if the Muslims had acted in accordance with this command ('the alertness of the Muslim nations') and after forming a government, made the necessary extensive preparations to be in state of full readiness for war," the Israelis would never have been in the situation of grabbing our lands, and "to bum and destroy the Masjid Al Aqsa."<sup>8</sup>

Clearly, in Khomeini's view, the occupation of the Muslim lands could have never occurred if the Muslims being able to defend their lands. He points "All this has resulted from the failure of the Muslims to fulfill their duty of executing God's law and setting up a righteous and respectable government. All this happened because of the incompetence of those who rule over the Muslims" (Khomeini, 2005: 28-29).

In short, Khomeini maintained that the above-cited Qur'anic ordinance of defense commands the Muslims to be powerful, strong, and prepared, as much as possible, so as the Islamic nations will not be vulnerable to the foreign aggression. We clearly did not follow this command, Imam

Khomeini concludes, so we were defeated, humiliated, and oppressed by the enemies of Islam (Khomeini, 2005: 27).

This strong condemnation of the rulers of the Muslim societies by Imam Khomeini was prompted not only for their failure to respond to the Israeli occupiers, but also for their lack of “legitimacy” and competence to rule over their people. The fundamental cause behind the “illegitimacy” and incompetency of the ruling political systems of those communities is what Imam Khomeini mentioned that “After the death of the Most Noble Messenger (s), the obstinate enemies of the faith, the Umayyads<sup>9</sup> did not permit the Islamic state to attain stability with the rule of ‘Ali ibn Abi Talib (‘a). They did not allow a form of government to exist that was pleasing to God, Exalted and Almighty, and to His Most Noble Messenger (s). They transformed the entire basis of government, and their policies were, for the most part, contradictory to Islam” (Khomeini, 2005: 29). He remarked that the method of government of the Umayyads and the Abbasids<sup>10</sup>, and the political and executive strategies they followed, were anti-Islamic. The system of government was entirely deviated by being converted into a monarchy, such as the monarchs of Iran, the empires of Rome, and the pharaohs of Egypt. For the most part, this non-Islamic form of government has persisted to the present day, as we can see. It is our task to establish a desirable social environment for the instruction of faithful and virtuous people, trustable, pious, individuals cannot possibly exist in a socio-political environment of unjust and tyrannous system, and still preserve their faith and virtuous behavior (Khomeini, 2005: 30).

In this connection, to prevent of the prevailing of chaos, anarchy and social, intellectual and moral corruption, the creation of a governance and the formation of certain organizations to warrant that by ratification of the Islamic laws, all people activities are accomplished in the framework of a just system, is necessity (Khomeini, 2005: 22-23).

## **6. Islamic laws are behind the Space and Time and not belong to the Holy Prophet Era**

Imam Khomeini noted to the fact that divine rules are to be enforced continuously; they are enacted not only for the time of the Holy Prophet (s); they are meant for all time. In Imam Khomeini's view, the claim that the legislations of Islam may stay overhung without implementing or are limited to a specific time or place is opposite to the necessities of Islamic belief. Since ratification of laws, is necessary after the leaving of the Prophet from this world, and indeed, will remain so until the end of time, the establishment of a governance and the formation of executive and administrative organizations are also necessary (Khomeini, 2005: 23).

Imam Khomeini put forth that it is not reasonable that Holy Prophet (PBUH) as the last Messenger of Allah Almighty brought out his teachings only for a restricted time; he proposes the following questions to clarify the issue better. From the time of the Minor Occultation until to the present (a period of more than twelve centuries that may continue for hundreds of millennia), is it appropriate that the decrees of Islam be put away and remain unexecuted, so that everyone acts accordance with his pleasures and chaos governs? Were the legislations that the Prophet of Islam toiled so hard for twenty- three years to announce, promote, and enforce authentic only for a restricted term of time? Was everything concerning to Islam meant to be abandoned after the Lesser Occultation? "Anyone who believes so, or voices such a belief, is worse situated than the person who believes and proclaims that Islam has been superseded or abolished by another supposed revelation" (Khomeini, 2005: 23).

He clearly declared that, "no one can say it is no longer needed to defend the boundaries and the territorial integrity of the Islamic homeland; that taxes such as the jizyah, kharaj, khums, and zakat should be stopped. Any person who claims that the formation of an Islamic government is not necessary implicitly denies the necessity for the implementation of Islamic

law, the universality and comprehensiveness of that law, and the eternal validity of the faith itself” (Khomeini, 2005: 24).

Imam Khomeini strongly claims that after the passing away of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) none of the Muslims suspected the exigency for governance. No one said: “We no longer need a government”. Nobody was heard to say anything similar that. There was unanimous consent with the necessity for establishment of government. If there was a disagreement, it was only concerning to who should undertake responsibility of governance and mastery of the government. Therefore, after the Prophet (PBUH) state was established, both in the era of the caliphs and in the time of the Commander of the Faithful, Ali Ibn Abi Talib (AS); Government was emerged with administrative and executive organizations (Khomeini, 2005: 29). Therefore, the establishment of a governance to execute the divine laws in our time is necessary (Khomeini, 2005: 23).

### **Imam Khomeini and the Characteristics of Islamic Government**

Imam Khomeini after having an expanded discussion about the necessity for an Islamic government and the vital need for it, he carries his arguments further and turns to the second fundamental issue surrounding an Islamic state, that is, “The characteristics of Islamic Governance”. This is in fact a type of state whose establishments and policies are based on the Shari’ah system and conform to the Sunnah of the Prophet and the Shi’i Imams. Imam Khomeini is the first Shi’a jurist that used the term “Islamic government” in juridical book (Khomeini, 1988: 490, Mahdipour, 2007). The desired government in Imam Khomeini’s viewpoint is a government based on Islamic principles and values. The Islamic state gains its legitimacy and legality within the Islam. It is theocracy, which manifests God’s sovereignty on the earth and implements the divine laws in the society. This Islamic state has some characteristics that distinguished it from other governments such as Dictatorship, Royal, Aristocracy, Oligarchs, and Secular systems. Such governments are incomplete and rejected because of 1) origins of law is

nothing but desires, only spirit of authoritarian and individual or group absolutism governed on them. 2) Their separation from the people, 3) their goals, which has put in this world, they have no purpose beyond the materialistic world, and are being away from spirituality, and 4) Each of these political systems are founded on current sources of legitimacy such as inheritance, violence and overcome, or the social contract. In this respect, Imam Khomeini declared, these governments are established based on the governors' wishes that is a material and sensual desire and these governments move in order to apply the rule and reign over the people not seek to serve them (Khomeini, 2005: 43). A tyranny government that the governor can attitude autocratically with the people's possession and lives or convict to the death anyone he wants, and make rich anyone he desires. In a republic or a constitutional monarchy, that claim they are the representatives of the majority of people, ratify anything they want as law and then impose it over the whole people (Khomeini, 2005: 42). Such rule states are in type of "Taghut" idolatrous against the sovereignty of "Allah", they are not acceptable in Imam Khomeini's Ideological, philosophical and political attitude.

### **1. Allah's Sovereignty and the Role of Islamic Government**

In the Islamic state the sovereignty, belong to Allah, Allah Almighty is the only power who is able to govern others, because He is the creator of the universe, human being and all creatures and He is the possessor of entire creatures. In Imam Khomeini's perspective, nobody has the right to govern others except Allah, as a result, the right to govern and legislation belong to Allah and it should be designated only by God (Khomeini, 1995:160). Then, he noted the duty of Islamic government and introduced it as a system, which is only the instrument of execution of divine orders. He mentioned that the main purpose is to establish a just social system and real obstacle of chaos, as well as social, moral, and intellectual corruption. In this sense, Islamic government is an instrument for the execution of God's ordinances



and establishment of Islamic institutions in society, so that Muslims might attain happiness in this world and the hereafter. Therefore, this government is merely the tool of execution of the God's laws and should not be mistaken as the true sovereign over the Muslims because only and only God Himself believed to be the real sovereign and true legislator. Hence, it is precisely for this oneness and unity (monotheism) of the source of sovereignty and legislation that Islam, as perceived by Imam Khomeini and others, has neither a dichotomy nor a conflict in its aims, purposes, and objects, and a unity is visible in its ideology, action, and effects.

Furthermore, the "monotheism of sovereignty and legislation" in Islam, along with its unity in aims, actions, and effects, has led Ulama particularly Imam Khomeini to confidently believe in the comprehensive nature of the Shariah system. Imam Khomeini as mentioned before, believes that the Shariah system, , has specifically sufficient provisions and methods to protect individual, social, and human interests and values as repeatedly confirmed by the Qur'anic verses and the Prophetic and Imamate traditions. He noted that the Muslims have admitted the framework of Islamic legislations that propose in the Qur'an and Sunnah and they recognized them as deserving of obedience. This satisfaction and admission simplifies the duty of government and makes it truly belong to the people. In contradiction, in a republic or a constitutional monarchy, that claim they are the representatives of the majority of people, ratify anything they want as law and then impose it over the whole people (Khomeini, 2005: 42). Thus, the Shariah essentially remains different from the other types of politico-legal systems, for all of its schools have common fundamentals, and are based on and derived from the word or mandate of God. Therefore, "laws and legislations" should be perceived as the norms of human behavior as desired by Allah, the almighty. Therefore, any non-Islamic forms of government based on a secular constitution, and especially that of monarchy, has been convicted by Imam Khomeini as the usurper of the God's and his Prophet's authority. Such a secular regime is regarded, by Imam Khomeini, as the

violator of the Islamic Shariah, hence the source of corruption and oppression in the Muslim societies such as Iran under the Pahlavi regime.

In sum, a careful analysis of Khomeini's writings and declarations indicates, among other things, the "illegitimacy" of a secular state by virtue of its deviation from and even clear violation of the holy path of Shariah (the embodiment of Divine will). Such a secular state which considers itself either as the absolute sovereign, or as the manifestation of people's will, in modern democratic sense, according to Imam Khomeini, at best cannot be potentially trusty and reliable to fully implements social justice with more emphasis on the moral and spiritual happiness. However, Imam Khomeini deeply believed that the formation of an "Islamic State" is the only true and legitimate alternative by which the execution of the Shariah decrees and the fulfillment of the Islamic justice could be possible. In fact, Imam Khomeini's insist on executing of Islamic laws was for realizing the God's willing, that God says in the Qur'an, Islam is true religion and revealed on the human nature (fitrat) to guide mankind according to noble Qur'anic verses (3: 19 & 30: 30 & 14: 1).

Therefore, Imam Khomeini emphasizes on Allah's sovereignty, implement of divine laws, and this important issue that, according to the Islam, government has the sense of subordination to legislation; in Islam, it is law that governs on society.

## **2. The Islamic Republic as the Form of Islamic Government**

Another characteristic of Imam Khomeini's Islamic State is the particularly form of "Islamic Republic," which was never used by any other leading Ulama and jurisconsults except by the Imam Khomeini. The ideal form of government which was presented by Imam Khomeini was "Islamic Republic". It's necessary to noted Imam Khomeini's statements about Islamic Republic in his book "Sahifey-e Nour":

"By republic it is meant the same types of republicanism as they are at work in other countries. However, this republic is

based on a constitution which is Islamic. The reason we call it Islamic republic is that all conditions for candidates as well as rulers, are based on Islam.... The regime will be a republic just like one anywhere else” (Khomeini, 2006, Vol. 6: 479).

In another interview with a reporter of the Radio BBC English service, Imam Khomeini defined An Islamic Republic:

It will be republican because it is based on the votes of the majority of the people, and it will be Islamic because its constitution is derived from the Islamic laws. Islam has its laws regarding all aspects and therefore we do not need any other law. We will amend the present constitution, that is, those parts that are compatible with Islam will be retained and those parts that are incongruent with Islam will be deleted (Khomeini, 2006, Vol. 5:170).

Imam Khomeini interprets Islamic Republic means that the importance of an Islamic republic lies in the majority voting for it; but it should be endowed with Islamic rules, a republic whose laws should be Islamic. If it is to be a republic without Islamic laws, then it is not what the nation wanted and for which purpose it had voted. All this blood of the people was shed for the fulfillment of the rule of Islam. It is the continuance of the endeavors of the prophets, the Messenger of God, the Commander of Faithful, and the honorable Martyr Imam Hossain. The Imam Hossain gave his life so that Islam would become a reality. He continued that “We are aiming for the realization of Islam; not just in name; not that it is enough for us to have succeeded in getting it the “Islamic Republic” appellation. We want Islamic precepts in all respects and in all the affairs of our country. We want Islamic rule, Qur’anic rule to govern us, and nothing apart from that. We are still on the way; we have not reached our destination yet” (Khomeini, 2006, Vol. 8: 41).

In this regard, Imam Khomeini proclaimed:

“Now that the Islamic Republic is our official system of government, it is our duty to act in accordance with it. The Islamic Republic means the system demanded by the people, with its principles being those of Islam. The system demanded by the people was realized, with percent of them voting for it. Our official government now is the Islamic Republic. It remains for the injunctions to become Islamic. It is not the intention for it to be merely an Islamic government. The aim is that in an Islamic government, Islam should rule; the law should rule. The people should not rule according to their own opinions and thinking. We want Islamic principles to gain currency everywhere and the Commands of God, the Blessed and Exalted, to rule. Obey Allah, and obey the Messenger and those of you who are in authority.” It is God’s command” (Khomeini, Vol. 8: 248).

Imam Khomeini insists on implementing Islamic laws and declared that there is no governance without the law because he considered it a right for people; in this sense, he referred that “it was for Islam that our people swarmed into the streets, took to the rooftops, struggled day and night, sacrificed their youth and had their blood shed. They would not have done such things had it not been for Islam. We whose aim is Islam should not think about anything other than Islam. We should not think about un-Islamic laws. Our aim is to see Islam wherever we go in this country. It should not be so that we voted for the Islamic Republic but there be no sign of Islam anywhere. The meaning of the Islamic Republic is that it should be a republic governed by Islamic laws. All laws other than Islamic ones are not laws, and are not acceptable to us and the nation” (Khomeini, 2006, Vol. 8: 178). Thus, in a modern political system - which is mainly based on “national interests”, the two principles of God’s sovereignty on one hand, and the vicegerency of Muslim community on the other, are considered in a perfected pattern. Accordingly, the substantial difference between the Islamic government and the other forms of government such as constitutional monarchies and republics, could be stated as follows. Whilst

the representatives of the people or the monarch in that system of government involve in legislation, in Islam, Imam Khomeini believes that, the legislative power and merit to create laws belong exclusively to Allah Almighty. Thus, the Sacred Legislator (Shar'-e moqaddas) of Islam is to be considered as the sole legislative power. In his view, no one has the right to legislate and no law may be executed except the law of the Divine Legislator, and therefore the legislative assembly is replaced by a "simple planning body" in an Islamic government. This body, in Imam Khomeini's opinion, draws up programs for the different ministries (executive power) in the light of the ordinances of Islam and thereby determining how the public services must be provided throughout the nation (Khomeini, 2005).

### **3. The Leadership of Velayat-e Faqih in Islamic Government and its Necessity:**

An essential issue emerging from the Form of Imam Khomeini's Islamic government is the type of leadership, which that government should have after its establishment. In this connection, Imam Khomeini comprehensively argues for a unique type of leadership, which he refers to "velayat-e faqih," literally means, "governance of jurisconsult." The Ulama, according to Imam Khomeini, must particularly possess two fundamental qualifications: the knowledge of the Islamic laws of the Shari'ah, and justice (adalah). Besides, he must have the general competencies of intelligence and administrative capability to govern the Islamic community. In Imam Khomeini's opinion, if a person is the most knowledgeable in Religion Science, but fails to recognize the expedient of society or generally lacks in insight the social and political context and in decision-making power, this person is not Mujtahid in social and governance issues and cannot take the reigns of the community (Khomeini, Vol.21: 47; Firahi, 1999: 303).

Velayat-e Faqih is a logical corollary to the Shi'a institution of Imamate, according to Imam Khomeini and his followers, is the "legitimation" of the

position of the Islamic jurisconsults (fuqhaha) as the most qualified leaders of the Islamic societies after the disappearance of the Imams. The rationale behind this declaration is that if the Imams are responsible with the obligation of guiding and leading the Muslim society after the end of “the cycle of revelation,” that is after the death of the last messenger of Allah, the fuqhaha are also obligated to presume the similar tasks in guiding of the Muslims after the end of “the cycle of Imamate”. That is, after the disappearance of the last Imam of Shi’ites in 872 C .E (Enayat, 1982: 5 & Ezzati, 1981: 105-108). Imam Khomeini proved that besides the rational reasons, the roots of the jurists’ guardianship, inferred from numerous Qur’anic verses, the Prophetic narratives, and the Imams (AS). These traditions are explicitly concerned with the roles and responsibilities of the fuqhaha in the Muslim societies. The outcome that is derived from the Imam Khomeini’ discussion through various intellectual and transmitting evidences to prove the guardianship and authority of jurists, demonstrates that this duty is not due to the people’s will or the jurists’ authority themselves, but only due to the divine assignment and this right is maintained for them. Imam Khomeini calls upon the Ulama and the Iranian people to implement that type of government in Iran.

In this article, due to brevity, just has been invoked to the two Hadiths. Hadith is related to the Most Noble Messenger (PBUH) that stated: “The fuqhaha are the trustees of the prophets (‘a), as long as they do not concern themselves with the illicit desires, pleasures, and wealth of the world.” The Prophet (s) was then asked: “O Messenger of God! How may we know if they do so concern themselves?” He replied: “By seeing whether they follow the ruling power. If they do that, fear for your religion and shun them.”<sup>11</sup>

Since the perfect investigation of this hadith requires a long debate, Imam Khomeini emphasized only about the phrase: “The fuqhaha are the trustees of the prophets (‘a),” that is relevant to the subject of the authority of faqih. Imam Khomeini explains the Holy Prophets’ duties, powers, and functions to clear the jurists’ responsibilities as the depositaries and

deputies of the Holy prophets (PBUH). It means that the just jurist must undertake all of the duties consigned to the prophets (PBUH) as an issue of duty through the conditional expression: “as long as they do not concern themselves with the illicit desires, pleasures, and wealth of this world”. Namely, till the time that they do not drown themselves in the swamp of pleasure, ambition, and wealth of this world. If a faqih put his purpose to store property and riches in this world, he do not have merit to be the custodian of the Holy Prophet and the implementer of the Islamic verdicts (Khomeini, 2005: 65-71).

Another narrative quoted by Imam Khomeini to prove the divine legitimacy of the fuqaha in the absence of Imam (AS), is related to a signed verdict of the Imam Mahdi (AS). Imam (AS) declared: “In case of newly occurring social circumstances, you should turn for guidance to those who relate our traditions, for they are my proof to you, as I am God’s proof to you.” (Khomeini 2005: 74).

It is cited in the book “Ikmal ad-Din wa Itmam an-Ni’mah”<sup>12</sup> that Ishaq ibn Ya’qoub wrote a letter to the Imam Mahdi (AS) (the Twelfth Imam) questioned him for guidance concerning specific problems that had occurred and Muhammad ibn ‘Uthman al-‘Umari<sup>13</sup>, the delegate of the Imam (AS), delivered the letter to him. Imam (AS) responded the letter with his blessed hand, noted: “In case of newly occurring social circumstances, you should turn for guidance to those who relate our traditions, for they are my proof to you, as I am God’s proof<sup>14</sup> to you.”

Imam Khomeini put forth that here the phrase “newly occurring social circumstances” (hawadith-i waqi’ah) Shi’a scholars and Imam Khomeini believe that the meant of “by hawadith-i waqi’ah” is the newly and unanticipated happening, conditions and social, economical and philosophical problems that affect the Muslim life. Imam (AS) answered, “With respect to such occurrences and problems, you should refer to those who narrate our traditions, i. e., the fuqaha. They are my proofs to you, and I am God’s proof to you.” Then, Imam Khomeini concluded that the term

“proof of God” mean that “just as the Holy Prophet was the proof and authoritative guide of all the people, so, too, the fuqaha are the proof of the Imam (‘a) to the people” (Khomeini, 2005: 76).

In any event, as previous discussions clearly indicated, the “true” form of Islamic government in Imam Khomeini’s opinion, cannot be established by any forms of non-Islamic or secular regimes. He believes that the creation of an Islamic state is only possible, first and foremost, through the establishment of the “governance of faqih” in the Muslim society. If this mode of conduct, based on the “governance of faqih”, had been conserved, and the form of Islamic government had kept, there would have been no monarchy and no empire, no plundering of the lives and wealth of the people, no cruelty and usurpation, no infringement on the public treasury, no perversion and hatred. He claims that it is divine responsibility; the scholars of Islam have a duty to create an Islamic state in order to release the Islamic countries from occupancy and influence of the imperialists, it is necessary to establish a fair Islamic governance to provide services to the deprived people. The formation of such a government will facilitate to maintain the regularity unity of the Muslims. Scholars of Islam must not let the populace to stay hungry and impoverished whilst pillage oppressors arrogate the sources of riches and live in luxuriance. As the Commander of the Faithful, Ali (AS) says: “I have accepted the task of government because God, Exalted and Almighty, has exacted from the scholars of Islam a pledge not to sit silent and idle in the face of gluttony and plundering of the oppressors. On the one hand, and the hunger and deprivation of the oppressed, on the other were it not for all of this then I would abandon the reins of government and in no way seek it. You would see that this world of yours, with all of its position and rank, is less in my eyes than the moisture that comes from the sneeze of a goat”<sup>15</sup> (Khomeini, 2005: 33).

Allah Almighty’s wisdom has ruled that human being should live according with justice and act within the ranges determine by divine legislation. This wisdom is everlasting and invariable, and forms one of the



rules of God Exalted. Therefore, today and forever, the existence of a suspensor of authority, a governor who works as trustworthy and preserves the organizations and legislations of Islam, is a necessity, a governor who prohibits injustice, despotism, cruelty, and contravention of the rights of others. (Khomeini, 2005: 36). To Imam Khomeini “Velayat” custodianship is to manage the society based on the the sacred regulation of the Shari’ah and the execution of the rules. This position made a substantial and difficult responsibility but it does not forgive to someone any exceptional situation or elevate him above the other peoples in terms of humanity

#### **4. Legitimacy and Acceptability of Jurists’ Guardianship in Imam Khomeini’s View**

An investigating on the origins of the divine legitimacy of guardianship of jurist in the jurisprudential and political works of Imam Khomeini such as al-Bay’, Velayat-e faqih and Sahifeh Nour, demonstrated that the foundation of velayat-e faqih is based on the divine legitimacy and popularity acceptability. In this sense, jurist has legitimacy on the one hand by God and on the other hand by people for sovereignty and administer the Muslim society (Kavakebian, 1999). To the fact that, this theory is based on this issue that the actualization and realization of the jurist government will depend on the vote of the people and their acceptance (Javadi Amoli, 1999, vol.2: 86-87). In Imam Khomeini’s viewpoint, the most important responsibility of the jurists is to guide people in their life and the substantial affairs of society by the aim of people’s perfection and closeness to God Exalted not to govern and dominate on people. The divine legitimacy of jurists does not give them the right that they govern on the Islamic society without acceptance and consent of people. Thereby, in Imam Khomeini’s perspective, what rules on the community is God’s laws and decrees, not fuqaha. Islamic scholars should attempt to constitute an Islamic state for fulfilling the divine laws. But, as long as people do not choose them, although their divine legitimacy is maintained for them, they would not be able to govern on the Islamic society. Thus, in Imam Khomeini’s thought,

there is not any contrast between divine legitimacy and popular acceptability and these two dimensions are mutually essential, and in absence of each, the governance will lose its legitimacy

### **5. The right of Self-Determination**

Human Being in the hierarchy of existence system and creatures has a great value and Imam Khomeini made it clarified frequently, either in religious or mystical viewpoint in writings and his speeches. In Imam Khomeini's words, referring to the verse "Then He proportioned him, and breathed into him of His Spirit." (32: 9). He considered the dignity of man as a "manifestation of divinity" and "Embodies the comprehensive name Allah" who is comprehensive of all perfection. Among these, is the issue of perfect man and his dignity that confirmed and explicated in this verse of glorious Qur'an "We have honored the Children of Adam, and carried them on land and sea, and provided them with good things, and greatly favored them over many of those We created." (17: 70). The issue of nature, discretion, and reason are the criteria of human spiritual greatness; of course, all of these find an additional concept in Divine Monotheism and spiritual life of the man. Imam Khomeini frequently in various speeches introduced the man as the extract of the world and ultimate goal of creation, manifestation of light and embodies of greatest Allah's name. In other words, humans are, according to the Islamic perspective, created in the "image of God" and are also God's vicegerency (Khalifah) on earth. Human rights are, conforming to the Shari'ah, an outcome of human commitments. We have series commitments towards God, nature, and other humans, which are designated by the Shari'ah. By the effect of fulfilling these commitments, we obtain some rights and freedoms that are again determined by the divine law (Nasr, 1981: 16).

According to Imam Khomeini's thought, in the system of jurist's guardianship, people possess a logical and proper position. It can be said that it is a governance in service for people not over them, with mutual

relationship between leader and governmental officials on the one hand and the people on the other hand. Imam Khomeini introduced the Pahlavi, tyranny and illegal regime because they ignored the right of hundreds of millions of Muslims on their destinies, and deprived them of their freedom, and also treated them as they have treated people of medieval times (Khomeini, 2006, Vol. 3: 211). Therefore, although he proves divine legitimacy of jurists' guardianship and emphasizes on it, he considers a pivotal role for people in legality of Islamic state. Fundamentally, the actualization and realization of the jurist guardianship will depend on the vote of the people and their acceptance, if people do not want; jurist is unable to exert his authority. He corroborated the importance of people's right in another speech: "the majority's vote...is valid. Whatever they say is valid, even if they sustain a loss in this process." (Khomeini 2006, Vol.8, 247). He stresses clearly that here (in Iran), the people's votes rule (Khomeini, 2006, Vol.14:165).

In this regard, he pronounces that: "one of the primary rights of each nation is the right to self-determination and determination about the form of government" (Khomeini 2006, Vol.4, 367). In another occasion, he says that: "This principle is an absolute intellectual principle that has been bestowed by Islam" (Khomeini 2006, Vol.6, 13). Accordingly, one of the primary rights of people that Imam Khomeini declared and corroborated in various cases is the right of delineating their own fate. In this respect, he proclaimed : "whatever the vote of people is, the governor should follow it and dictatorship is not allowed by Islam" (Khomeini 2006, Vol.10: 181). The scale is the nation's vote (Khomeini, Vol.5: 34).

## **6. Independence and the Neither East nor West Policy**

Imam Khomeini's Islamic revivalism also exposes new views on the two Western political ideas, Capitalism and Communism, and looks at the power of Islam in a new way that has not been so much in attention before the Islamic Revolution of Iran. It is an independence based on the doctrine of

“neither the East nor the West”. And, of course, all political changes and independence happened in Iran can be seen as a reflection and symbol of this doctrine. In fact, it is the relationship between an epistemic level of the metaphysical doctrine and a political level in which a jurist or leader of revolutionary society that can seek for being independent of the East (Soviet Union) and the West (United States) in the modern era. With this doctrine, Imam Khomeini could pursue the Muslim profits, cut off the political ties with the Israel, and defend deprived Muslims in Palestine. He believed that through the political revolution should change international structures and international relations, until can establish a global society based on social justice. He also denies the exploitation of man by man and rejects any colonial oppression. He stated that the main target is to revive Islam and Islamic rules and to execute universal Islamic rules in order that all people be liberal, independent, and .live in welfare (Khomeini, 2006, Vol, 7). In his view, reviving an Islamic civilization and establishment of universal Islamic state can be actualized by forming free and independent republics (Hashimi, 2003).

### **7. Self-Purification and Upbringing of Spiritual Dimension**

As a theologian, philosopher, and mystic leader, Imam Khomeini believed that a civilization would be worthy for human dignity when it had metaphysical, moral, spiritual, intellectual and cultural support. In his view, civilizations not having these aspects are frail and ineffective; they cannot be perfected civilizations; they educate human being one-dimensionally: either materialistically or bestially. They are misleading and causes of human corruption, depravity, and exploitation. Hence, to revive Islamic civilization and its dignity, he concentrated on Islamic culture, which is based on doctrines of Qur’an and teachings of the Holy Prophet because they consider all materialistic aspects of human life as well as all transcendental matters of it. Imam Khomeini shines as a Muslim reviver in our time. Although he has not laid a foundation of religion, its commandments, ethics, or values, however, undoubtedly, his absolute attention return to religion, pivotal role

of God, respect for religious beliefs are gifts of his guidance and leadership. His mission was to revive those values that are forgotten in society but still alive in human hearts and souls. Under such circumstances, he was skillful in returning those values to society. If religiosity and pivotal role of God had become only an inner and cordial affairs, the Imam cautioned that this view and idea must be manifested and appear in practice. With true spirituality, he was a pioneer and attempted to purify and refine the appearance of the lofty truth which has been victimized by deviation and misuses in history (Tabatabai, 2011). Imam Khomeini explicated the divine civilization which has been introduced by Muhammad, as Messenger of Allah, to the future of the Islamic world and introduced justice and non-discrimination between the black and white as main criteria in the Islamic society. He introduces establishment of such a society in conformity with the Prophet's aims (Mahbubi, 2012).

### **Conclusion**

In the Quran and the teachings of religion and thought and works of Imam Khomeini, authority and sovereignty with all its conceptual scope inherently belongs to God Almighty. The governance belong to Allah, only Almighty Allah, the One who is the possessors of all creatures, the creator of the globe and human being, that in fact it manifested on the Prophet (PBUH) and the infallible Imams (PBUT). In waiting for the return of Mahdi, Shia has to be prepared and strong enough to constitute a safe ground for him, and have the initial forces to serve Mahdi for the final victory of good over evil. Therefore, in order to fulfill God's sovereignty in the society, the necessity of the religious authority is obvious (Khomeini, 2005: 1-2). In addition, Imam Khomeini claims that Islamic laws are for establishing a government and the formation of executive and administrative organizations are also necessary. He noted to the fact that divine rules are to be enforced continuously; they are enacted not only for the time of the Holy Prophet (s); they are intended for all time. In his view, after the demise of Holy Prophet (PBUH) the Islamic laws should be implemented for the welfare, perfection,

happiness and other social, economic, and political affairs of Muslims. Imam Khomeini, had a worldview including, the belief that Islam is a universal ideology, a totally self-sufficient system, and exposed the necessity of strengthen the modus of jihad in the advocacy of the faith.

In sum, a careful analysis of Khomeini's writings and declarations indicates, Imam Khomeini deeply believed that the formation of an "Islamic State" is the only true and legitimate alternative by which the execution of the Shariah decrees and the fulfillment of the Islamic justice could be possible. In fact, Imam Khomeini's insist on executing of Islamic laws was for realizing the God's willing, that God says in the Qur'an, Islam is true religion and revealed on the human nature (fitrat) to guide mankind according to noble Qur'anic verses (3: 19 & 30: 30 & 14: 1).

In any event, as previous discussions clearly indicated, the "true" form of Islamic government in Imam Khomeini's opinion, cannot be established by any forms of non-Islamic or secular regimes. they are not trusty and reliable to fully implements social justice with more emphasis on the moral and spiritual happiness. He believes that the creation of an Islamic state is only possible, first and foremost, through the establishment of the "governance of faqih" in the Muslim society. If this mode of conduct, based on the "governance of faqih", had been conserved, and the form of Islamic government had kept, there would have been no monarchy and no empire, no plundering of the lives and wealth of the people, no cruelty and usurpation, no infringement on the public treasury, no perversion and hatred. He claims that it is divine responsibility; the scholars of Islam have a duty to create an Islamic state in order to release the Islamic countries from occupancy and influence of the imperialists, it is necessary to establish a fair Islamic governance to provide services to the deprived people. The formation of such a government will facilitate to maintain the regularity unity of the Muslims.

He then concludes that numerous causes such as, human wisdom, the Islamic laws, the manner of the Prophet (PBUH), and that of the Ali Ibn Abi

Tali (AS), the confirmation of different verses of the Noble Qur'an and Prophetic narratives and the Imams Hadiths all represent the necessity of forming an Islamic government. Imam Khomeini claims that these evidences, reasons, and logical reasoning are not provisional in their credibility or restricted to a specific period. Thus, the urgency for the establishment of a government is permanent and is an obligatory duty on the ulama to create it.



## Notes

1. "Vali-yi Amr:" the one who holds authority," a term derived from Qur'an, 4: 95:" O you who believe! Obey God, and obey the Messenger and the holders of authority (ou li 'l-amr) from among you."
2. Sayyids: the generation of the Holy Prophet from his daughter Fatimah and Ali Ibn Abi Talib, the first Imam of Shi'ites.
3. Zakat is not a considerable amount of income resource; it is applied on overplus riches, the reserve which is curbed by the economic system of Islam.
4. Jizyah: a tax excise on non-Muslim citizenries in the Islamic government for the safekeeping they obtain in exchange of the taxes, such as zakat, that Muslims pay.
5. Ahl adh-Dhimmah: non-Muslim citizenries of the Islamic government, whose rights and obligations are designated in treaty.
6. Kharaj: a tax excise on some types of land.
7. Ummah: the entire Islamic community, without territorial or ethnic distinction.
8. Masjid al-Aqsa: the site; in old sector of Jerusalem where the Prophet Muhammad, according to the Qur'anic verse 17:1, ascended to heaven in the 11th year of his mission. This trip is known in Islamic history as Me'raj, or the 'heavenly' ascendance. See also Khomeini, Islam pp. 46-47.
9. Umayyads: the dynasty that ruled at Damascus from 41/632 until 132/ 750 and transformed the caliphate into a hereditary organization. Mu'awiyah was the first of the Umayyad line and ended with the Marwan II, the last Umayyad caliph.
10. Abbasids: the dynasty that replaced the Umayyads and established a new caliphal capital in Baghdad. It ruled in 132/ 750 with the caliphate of 'Abdullah as-Saffah and it was brought to an end by the Mongol conquest in 656/ 1258
11. Kulayni, al-Kafi, I, ii, 881- 911.



12. Ikmal ad-Din wa Itmam an-Ni'mah: a book written by Shaykh Sadouq concerning the occultation of the Imam.
13. Muhammad ibn 'Uthman al-'Umari: the second delegate of the Imam Madi (AS) in the Minor Occultation.
14. A "proof of God" is one whom God has designated to conduct affairs; all his deeds, actions, and sayings constitute a proof for the Muslims.
15. Nahj al-Balaghah, Letter 74. See English translation of Nahj al-Balaghah, Peak of Eloquence with commentary and its original Arabic text (Qum: Ansariyan Publications), <http://www.al-islam.org/nahjul/index.htm>.



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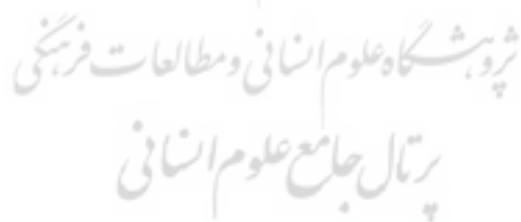
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