Chapter V

Islamic Revolution of Iran and its Impact on West Asia
Ayatullah Khomeini was born in the provincial town of Khomein in Iran in 1902. Khomeini's father, Sayyid Mustafa, was killed shortly after he was born, in 1902. Khomeini lost his mother also when he was only sixteen. At the age of seventeen, Khomeini went to study in Arak. In Arak, he attached himself to the circle around Shaikh-Abdol Karim Haeri-Yazdi and followed the latter to Qum in 1920. Haeri-Yazdi was the
modern founder of the theological centre in Qum. In 1927 Khomeini started teaching philosophy at Qum. When Reza Shah started to limit the role of clergy, Khomeini retaliated without fear of the pahlavi and soon came to the notice of state authorities. But Khomeini's opposition to the pahlavi rule was not restricted to the vocal articulations for in 1941 he wrote a book *Kashf al-Asrar.* (Discovery of Secrets) which openly attacked the Pahlavi dynasty and called for an end to imperialist influences in Iran.\(^1\)

In his attack on Reza Shah, Khomeini always referred to the monarch with his pre-royal title "Reza Khan". There are some claims that Khomeini had participated in the 1924 anti-Reza Shah March led by Nurullah Isfahni, that he had befriended Mirza Sadiq Aqa after the latter helped to lead an anti-Reza Shah March in Tabriz in 1927, and that his classes on morals were full with anti-Pahlavi statements so that Reza Shah had them first harassed (by sending secret police among the students) and then closed. However, in 1940's and 1950s although part of the sullen opposition of the Pahlavis, Khomeini politically followed Borujerdi. Borujerdi was a leading figure among the clerics of Iran. He in 1949 convened a meeting of clerics and argued withdrawal from the political arena. Fearing anarchism and leftists in the recovery period
after the World War II, Borujerdi cooperated with the monarchy to preserve law and order. Both Khomeini and Borujerdi were critical of the day today involvement in politics of Ayatullah Abul-Qassim Kashni, a major figure in the National Front led by Dr. Muhammad Mosaddeq.²

In 1953, when Dr. Mosaddeq rose to curtail the power of the Shah, Khomeini maintained distance from the nationalist forces. He did not show any enthusiasm for Mosaddeq's nationalization of oil. To him the policy of condemning despotism and welcoming reforms initiated by the National Front in 1959 was meaningless, for no reforms were possible without independence and independence was an illusion as long as the Pahlavi regime survived.³

After the coup of 1953, Reza Khan banned the political parties that had flourished since the British and Russians had installed him on throne in 1941. Many political activists were imprisoned or executed, and others escaped to Europe. With the assistance of the CIA, and the FBI, and Israel's Mossad, the Shah established the secret police force SAVAK, the primary purpose of which was to suppress all domestic oppositions. But Shah made every effort to please the ulama, with whom he maintained good relations at least until 1959, when a number of
ayatullahs protested government proposals concerning women's enfranchisement and land reform.  

In the summer 1960, serious domestic opposition to the Shah's post-coup regime surfaced for the first time when secular intellectuals with ties to the national front protested the patently rigged election of Majlis (National-Assembly). The Shah was anxious to avoid antagonizing the new Kennedy administration, which was known to favour the liberalization of authoritarian regimes. So he announced that "free" elections would be held in January 1961. But national front as well as Tudeh candidates were generally excluded from these elections, which therefore further outraged the professional, student, and bazarri supporters of the Front. Then in the spring 1961, the regime was shaken by the teacher's strike in Tehran, which was the most dramatic of a series of strikes triggered by prolonged inflation and government's subsequent austerity measures.

The Shah responded to all this, as he did in crisis of late seventies, with a combination of carrot and stick on the one hand, he instituted a series of reforms designed to please the National Front's largely middle-class supporters. In the other hand, he had the National front's leaders Jailed and their protests (usually at the University of Tehran) broken up by military forces. These tactics succeeded. By 1963, the Shah's
liberal democratic opposition had decreased. But then came Ayatullah Khomeini. Khomeini had emerged as a leader after the death of Borujerdi in 1962. Majority of the ulama had not participated in the demonstrations of 1961-62, although some of them had criticized the government's land reform bill as well as the idea of women's suffrage. When the shah announced in February 1963 that women would be allowed to vote, the ulama organized demonstrations bazarris (merchants) closed their shops in all Iranian major cities. The Shah's government responded by an attack on the Fayziyya Madrasa (Seminary) in Qum, which soon became the centre of Islamic opposition to the Shah.

On June 3, 1963, which was Ashura (Tenth day of Muharam), Iman Khomeini linked the attack on the Fayziyya Madrasa to the slaughter at Karbala and warned the Shah that unless he stopped trying to eradicate Islam and the ulama from the Iranian society, he would die in exile like father. Before dawn next morning, Khomeini was arrested at his home in Qum, as were many other active ulama and religious students. Khomeini's arrest sparked demonstration that soon turned into riots in Qum, Tehran, Shiraz and Isfhan.

The Shah used troops to suppress these riots and demonstrations, with orders to shoot at sight if necessary.
Marvin Zoins a political scientist, who saw military open fire in Tehran bazaar on the very first day of violence said that the total number of people wounded or killed during June 1963 was thousand. In less than a week all protests were stamped out by army's tactics.

In April 1964, Khomeini was allowed to return to Qum, where he got a hero's welcome. The head of the Shah's secret police (SAVAK) at that time claimed that Khomeini had agreed not to participate in political activities anymore, but the Khomeini was soon criticizing the Shah as vehemently as ever. In October 1964, the Majlis passed a bill giving diplomatic immunity to American military and civilian personal in Iran and another bill approving a $200 million loan from United States. Khomeini saw the latter as a payment for former and condemned both:

Do you know that this agreement reduces the Iranian people to a rank lower than that of American dog? if some one runs over an American dog with is car, he is subject to investigation and prosecution even if he is "the Shah" himself. But if an American cook runs over " the Shah of Iran" himself, or any other important person, will not be subject to prosecution.

Khomeini also asserted that the authorities were trying to reduce the authority of the ulama because they had understood that so long as the men of religion had extensive influence on
the people, the government “would not be able to enslave the people and sell them to the English one day and the American another.”

The Shah then decided to exile Khomeini and on November 4, 1964 Khomeini was flown to Turkey. In October 1965, the Shah allowed him to move from Suuni Turkey to the Shi'i shrine city of Najaf in Iraq, which was to be Khomeinis home for thirteen years.

Ayatullah Khomeini established himself as a major presence in Najaf. More importantly, he maintained his influence and fame in Iran. He issued periodic proclamations concerning developments in Iran, which were smuggled into the country and circulated secretly at the great risk. In addition, his messages addressed to the Muslim world at large were distributed several times in Mecca during the annual pilgrimage season. In Najaf Khomeini was visited by a number of important Iranian and other Muslim personalities. Khomeini during these years of exile, had a tremendous impact on the Iranian students of religious studies who returned to Iran armed with his analyses of the countries problems. Khomeini's students in Najaf were very active in maintaining contact with the movement in Iran and distributing propaganda for it in other countries. Their organization became fully fledged with
the establishment of the combative clerics outside the country group in 1972, which set out a detailed programme for the movement. The transcripts of lectures by Khomeini were dispatched to Islamic societies in the USA, Europe, India and Pakistan as well as Iran. The most important points from the speeches and announcements of Khomeini were arranged in a manner common to political treaties as a work entitled 'Pronouncements of the Islamic movement' (*Manshur-I-Nazhat-Islami*).\(^{14}\)

The publication discussed the principles and goals of the Islamic struggle, and included such topics opposition to the regime, anti-imperialism and views on Zionism, the Islamic unity and leadership, the economic ideas of the movement, foreign policy and internal policy. In 1970 a text based on the government of Jurists was compiled in Beirut, using money send from Najaf, and was then secretly send to Iran. Khomeini was very anxious that his ideas should reach to the youth of Iran, who where greatly impressed by Marxist ideas. After sometime the Arabic version of the text was published in Beirut and distributed to the Arabic-speaking countries.\(^{15}\)

When Khomeini began to discuss and preach the message of the government of Jurists, the *ulama* of Najaf were very much against it, though the number of students doubled. In
1970s Khomeini attacked the regime in Saudi Arabia and pamphlets giving his views were distributed there by 1975, although it had become difficult for the Iraqi Shi'a to see Khomeini close to the Syrian, Lebanese and Afghans. After the death of Ayatullah Hakim most of the Shi'a in the other countries followed Khomeini. Khomeini's stand on Palestine was to win sympathy in Sunni Muslim world, and he issued a fatwa saying that the Palestinian could use their canonical taxes in Palestine to fight Israel.¹⁶

Khomeini aroused hopes of deliverance and improvement in every class of the Iranian society. The traditional middle class of artisans, merchants and well-off farmers saw Khomeini an upholder of private property, a partisan of the market (bazaar), and a true believer in Islamic values. The modern middle class of professionals, industrialists and businessmen regarded him a radical nationalist weeded to the programme of ending Shah's dictatorship and foreign influence in Iran. The urban working class backed Khomeini because of his repeated commitment to social justice. Finally the rural poor saw him as their saviour: the one to provide them with arable land, roads, schools and irrigation facilities.¹⁷ It was, then natural that Khomeini should swiftly emerge as a leader and guide of Islamic Revolution of 1978-1979. Notwithstanding his physical
absence from the country, he was deeply present in the hearts of Iranian people.

The sudden death of Ayatullah Khomeini's son Mustafa Khomeini in Najaf on 23 October 1977 was a bolt from blue for the Iranian masses. The mysterious death convinced the masses that Mustafa was poisoned by SAVAK. Khomeini himself, however, made no accusations and bore the loss of his son who had already established a name for his scholarship and radicalism with equanimity and composure. The condolence meeting organized in Qum and elsewhere in Iran openly condemned SAVAK atrocities and Shah's injustice. It became evident that the repressions of Shah's regime had failed to alienate the Iranians from Ayatullah Khomeini.¹⁸

Soon after the death of Mustafa a memorial service was held in Tehran. At this service, which was reportedly attended by over 3,000 people, the Ayatullah Tahiri Isfahni urged all those present to pray for the good health and "speedy return" of "our one and only leader, the defender of the faith and great combatant of Islam, Grand Ayatullah Khomeini." The congregation responded to the mention of Khomeini's name by chanting Allahu-akbar, "God is great."¹⁹

On January 8, 1978, one week after president Carter had been in Tehran branding the Shah as a wise statesman and
beloved of his people, the government-controlled press printed an article against Khomeini and labeled him as an agent of foreign powers. The public reaction was immediate outrage. The following day in Qum, demonstrations broke out that were suppressed with heavy loss of life. Throughout the summer and spring of 1978, Khomeini issued a series of proclamations and directives congratulating the people on their steadfastness and encouraging them to persist until the attainment of final objective—overthrow of the monarchy and founding of an Islamic republic.\textsuperscript{20}

The centrality of the Khomeini in the revolutionary movement of Iran was obvious from beginning. His name was constantly repeated in the slogans that were devised and chanted in the demonstrations; his portrait served as a revolutionary banner; and his return from exile to supervise the installation of an Islamic government was insistently demanded. Acting under erroneous assumptions, the Shah's regime requested the Ba'athist government of Iraq, to expel Khomeini from its territory, in the hope of depriving him of his base of operations and robbing the Revolution of its leadership. Khomeini left Iraq and went to France in early October in 1978, when Iraqi government issued the order of his expulsion.\textsuperscript{21}
The move to France proved beneficial for Khomeini because communication from France with Iran was easier than it had been from Iraq. The directives and declarations were directly telephoned to Tehran. The world's media also started paying attention to the Khomeini, and his words began to reach to different parts of world.22

The month of Muharram that coincided with December 1978 witnessed vast and repeated demonstrations in Tehran and other Iranian cities demanding the abolition of Shah's regime. Despite all the energy Shah had used, including the killing of demonstrators, the torture of Prisoners and despite the unstinting support he had received from United States, the Shah failed to control the people. Hundreds of thousands of people joined the March against Shah in the heart of Tehran on 10 December 1978. On December 11, the Ashura (Tenth of Muharram and the day when Imam Hussain son of Iman Ali was killed in battle at Karbala) day dawned with huge mobs filling the major streets of all towns in Iran. In Tehran foreign observe estimated the number of demonstrators as more than half a million. Area of human heads filled more than five miles of road. The demonstrators condemned Shah, crying:

*Shah Jenayat mi Konad, Carter hemayat me Konad* (The Shah commits tyranny, Carter supports him):
Nehzat-e ma Hussain ast, rahbar-I ma Khomeini ast (our movement is guided by Imam Hussein's martydom, our leader is Khomeini).

Marg bar Shah (Death to the Shah). Khoda, Qor'an, Khomeini (God, Qur'an and Khomeini).

Khomeini during this time played an important role to neutralize the shah's 440,000-strong military. He came up with idea of 'moral attack' on army. 'We must fight from within the soldier's heart's; he said, 'face the solider with a flower, fight through Martyrdom, because the martyr is the essence of history. Let the army kill as many as it wants until the soldiers are shaken to their hearts by the massacres they have committed. Then the army will collapse, and you will have disarmed army'. At the same time Khomeini warned the soldiers that if they shot their brothers and sisters ' it is just as though you are firing the Qur'an'.

By the January 1979 it became certain that Shahpur Bakhtiar was prime Minister designate. Shah with his queen Farah also left Iran on January 16, 1979, in his Boeing 707. As soon as the news of Shah's departure broke on Tehran radio, thousands of people came out of their homes shouting "Shah raft" (Shah is gone). Once the Shah left Iran, Khomeini prepared to return to Iran. When he did (although Bakhtiar tried his best to stop him), on Feb. 1, 1979, he was met with a very
warm welcome. With his presence Bakhtiar could not save his prime Minister ship. Finally on Feb. 10 and 11, the government collapsed and the Islamic Republic of Iran was born.  

(ii) Khomeini's Political views

Before discussing Khomeini's political views it will be better to give a brief history about the stand of Shia-ulama regarding state.

Throughout the middle ages the Shia ulama, unlike their Sunni counter parts, failed to develop a consistent theory of state. The Sunnis accept the Umayyad and Abbasid Caliphs as the Muhammad's legitimate successors and their clergy associated political obedience with the religious duty, and disobedience with religious heresy. The Shia ulama, however, kept a distance from this belief and they believed that prophets true successors were not the elected and then the hereditary caliphs, but the twelve imams-beginning with Ali, the prophets son-in-law, going through Hussain, the third Imam and younger son of Ali; and ending with the last of Hussain's direct male descendants, the twelfth Imam, also known as Mahdi (Messiah), and the Saheb-e Zaman (Lord of ages) who had supposedly gone into occultation some 200 years after Hussain's martyrdom at kerbala and would come to this world again at some future time-to prepare the way for Judgement Day.
Every *ulama* in the Shia community agreed in the full legitimacy of Hidden Imam, however, they sharply disagreed on the nature of the existing states, even when these states were ruled by Shias. Some were of the opinion that since all temporal rulers were usurpers, true believer should reject the state like plague. They also argued that a true believer should decline government offices and favours, treat rulers with suspicion, shun Friday prayers where monarch will be thanked, take disputes to their own experts rather than to the state Judge. Other Shia clerics, however, argued that one should accept the state, but halfheartedly. They reminded their followers that Imam Ali, in *Nahjal-Balagah*, had warned of the dangers of 'social chaos' that bad government was better than 'no government.' Yet other *ulamas* wholeheartedly accepted the state, especially the Shia dynasty set up in Iran by Safavids in 1501. They argued that the monarch was shadow of God on earth, obedience was their divine right, political dissent led directly to external domination. They further instructed their followers to serve the state and monarchy. They believed that monarchy and the clerical hierarchy were complementary pillars of the state since both were equal heirs to the Imam's inheritance and authority. In other words this form of the Shia
concept of state was almost equal that of the conservative sunni's.\textsuperscript{28}

For the eleven centuries, not a single Shia writer talked about the unacceptability of monarchy, and the role of Grand Ayatuallahs as an authority to control the state. Majority of the \textit{ulama} agreed that the clergy's main responsibilities referred as the \textit{Velayat-e-faqih} were largely apolitical. They were only to study the law (\textit{fiqh}) based on the \textit{Quran}, the sayings of prophet (\textit{hadiths}), and the teachings of Imams. A few argued that if rulers violated the Islamic law, the senior clerics had the added responsibility of temporarily entering the political arena to protect the Muslim community. For example, when Muhammad Hasan Shirazi-one of the first Ayatullahs to be commonly recognized as the single most important \textit{faqih}, the \textit{marja-e-taqlid} (source of imitation) of his time-led tobacco protest in 1891 against the Qajar Shah, he stressed throughout the crisis that he was merely opposed to "bad adviser" and that he would pull out his leg from politics once the Shah cancelled the concession. In the same way, the Ayatuallahs who participated in the constitutional movement of 1905-9 sought neither to overthrow the monarchy nor to establish a theocracy, but at most to setup a supervisory committee of senior clerics to
ensure that law passed by the parliament were not against *Shari'ah*.\textsuperscript{29}

Ayatullah Khomeini as a traditionalist scholar and pragmatic political activist rejected secularism. In Khomeini's view, Islam is the religion of politics, and as such everything in Islam is political. Khomeini paid foremost attention to the political dimensions of Islam by stating that “the issues of Islam are political issues, and thus the politics of Islam gains primacy over other issues.”\textsuperscript{30}

To understand Khomeini's view of political life, it is critically important to know his conception of politics. Central to this conception is leadership of community. Khomeini observed that "..... politics means running a state". Running the state involves ".....a relationship between the governor and the people, between governments and masses, between the governors and other governments; and the prevention of corruption." Khomeini's typology includes satanic politics, which has its base on corrupt leadership, unjust rule over people and their properties, and lies; and Islamic politics that guides the society towards all individual and societal needs.\textsuperscript{31}

Ayatullah Khomeini was of the opinion that a non-Islamic government necessarily would not allow the implementation of Islamic laws (*Shariah*). It is obligatory on
every Muslim to defy the non-Islamic government. And when
the system is corrupt, the citizens have two choices, one is
joining the corrupt system and fully cooperating with it, the
second is of fighting against it in order to establish an Islamic
government. It is indeed duty of every true Muslim to fight the
corrupt political system. Khomeini believed that Islam consists
of a set of laws, which are meant for the administration of the
state and implementation of the laws of the sacred path. The
administration of state should be entrusted in a *walayat-e faqih*.
He maintains that the prophet Muhammad was not a mere
legislator, but also an executive authority. Mere legislation of
laws would not guarantee the salvation and welfare of the
mankind. It is indeed, the creation and administration of
Islamic state, which would facilitate the salvation of man. The
need for creating an Islamic state was not limited to era of
prophet. It should be continued after his departure. Since the
implementation of Islamic rules and regulations are an eternal
necessity on the part of Muslims, the formation of government
is also its perpetual requirement. Khomeini argues that the
quality and nature of *shari'ah* (Islamic law) indicate that they
were designed for the creation of government and
administration of the state. Khomeini believed that Islam
encompassed all aspects of human life: personal affairs, social
economic as well as political aspects. In order to depose a corrupt political system, Khomeini advocates "Political revolution." Although Khomeini does not give systematic details of "Islamic revolution", it is clear from his remarks and statements, that he considered Islamic revolution as a radical uprising against non-Islamic governments in an Islamic country. It can be a violent or a peaceful process while its final goal is the spiritual regeneration of man. To achieve this, the Islamic government should come under Jurists (fuqah) only. Khomeini maintained that only Fuqah could provide sound leadership for an Islamic state.32

The Velayat-e Faqih (Islamic jurists) according to Khomeini must have two credentials for the leadership of community; first, they must have thorough knowledge of Islamic law and secondly, they must be just as well versed in Islamic Jurisprudence.33 The Jurists have the same power and authority with respect to governance that the prophet or the Imam had, with one exception: since all Jurists are equal, in the absence of hidden Imam, no one Jurist can legitimately have power over other Jurists. The role of parliament, although not discussed by Ayatullah Khomeini directly, appears to be as forum for management of doctrinal conflict among Jurists in
the interpretation and application of Divine law in the
development of contemporary policies:

The Jurists must work separately or collectively to set up a
legitimate government that establishes the structures, protects the
borders and establishes order. If competence for this task is confined
to one person then this would be his duty to do so corporeally,
otherwise the duty, is shared equally. In case of difficulty in
forming that government the (attribution) to rule does not
disappear. The Jurists have been appointed by God to rule and the
Jurists must act as much as possible in accordance with their
assignments .... The temporary inability to form a strong and
complete government does not at all mean that we should retreat.
Dealing with the needs of Muslims and implementing among them
whatever laws are possible to implement is a duty as much as
possible.\textsuperscript{34}

While Khomeini advocated a political revolution on the
part of individual Muslims in Muslim countries, he was very
critical of the Muslim rulers who by abandoning Islam can not
be united 'had the current Muslim rulers tried to implement the
laws of Islam, abandoning all their differences, putting aside their
disputes and their divisions and uniting in one hand in the face of
others, the hands of the Jews and puppets of Americans and Britain
would have not been able to reach what they have reached...'.\textsuperscript{35} For
the 'only means that we possess to unite the Muslim nation, to
liberate its land from the grip of colonialists and to topple the
agent governments of colonialism is to seek to establish our Islamic government.

If the rulers and Muslim community fail to understand there by Islamic means, Khomeini then asserted:

How can we stand nowadays to keep silent on handful of exploiters and foreigners who dominate with the force of arms when these people have denied hundreds and millions of others the Joy of enjoying the smallest degree of life's pleasures and blessings? The duty of the Ulama and of all the Muslims is to part an end to this injustice and to seek to bring happiness to millions of peoples through destroying and eliminating the unjust governments and through establishing a sincere and active government.

Khomeini considered Jihad (holy war) as an essential part of true faith. He mentioned about Jihad in following way:

a. "If an enemy attacks an Islamic country, it is obligatory for Muslims to defend it by all possible means, even by scarifying their lives and their properties. No permission is needed from the leading Mujithahid (authority) in this affair".

b. "A financial or commercial agreement which will lead to foreign control, in any way of a Muslim countries resources is haram (prohibited) and Muslims must avoid it."

As for as Zionism is concerned Ayatullah Khomeini considered it as an ideological threat to the very foundation of Islam. He wrote about this: "..... the Islamic movement in its
embryonic stages faced the Jewish anti-Islamic propaganda. The Jews first began their intellectual conspiracy against Islam and latter on launched an ant-Islamic propagation which had continued through the ages.\textsuperscript{39}

Regarding the genesis and formation of Israel, Khomeini believed that: "Israel was given birth with the collusion and coalition of the Eastern and Western colonial powers in order to suppress and colonize Muslim nations."\textsuperscript{40}

In an interview with Middle East Magazine in 1978, before the victory of the Islamic revolution in Iran, Khomeini declared that: "we reject Israel and will not establish relations with it. Israel is a usurping government and is our enemy. If we come to power, it will no longer receive any oil from Iran."\textsuperscript{41}

Shortly after Islamic revolution in Iran Ayatullah Khomeini, in a meeting with the leaders of P.L.O. (Palestine liberation organization) announced: "The victory of the Palestine nation is possible through the unity of word and the power of faith. We condemn Israel. Israel is a usurper and the Arab governments must unite in order to cut Israels hand off from their countries."\textsuperscript{42}

As for as Arabism, is concerned Khomeini was against it. In an interview with Dr. Algar in Paris Khomeini replied a question in this manner:
"...unfortunately, true Islam lasted for only a brief period after the inception. First the Ummayyads and then the Abassids inflicted all kind of damage on Islam. Later the monarchs ruling Iran continued on the same path; they completely distorted Islam and established something different in its place. The process was begun by the Umayyads, who changed the nature of government from divine and spiritual to worldly. Their true rule was based on Arabism, the principle of promoting the Arabs over all other peoples, which was an aim fundamentally opposed to Islam and its desire to abolish nationality and unite all mankind in a single community, under the aegis of a state in different to the matter of race and color. It was the aim of the Umayyads to distort Islam completely by reviving the Arabism of the pre-Islamic age of ignorance, and the same aim is still pursued by the leaders of certain Arab countries, who openly declare their desire to revive the Arabism of Umayyads, which is nothing but the Arabism of the Jahiliyyah". 43

Khomeini considered Nationalism an as conspiracy against Muslims and their unity. In a message to the Pilgrims of Hajj of September 12, 1980 Khomeini gave a call for Muslim unity. The third part of this message reads:

"One of the themes that the planner of disunion among the Muslims have put forward, and their agents are engaged in promoting, is that of race and nationalism. For years the government of Iraq has been busy in promoting nationalism, and
certain other groups have followed the same path, setting the Muslim against each other as enemies. To love one's fatherland and its people and to protect its frontiers are both quite unobjectionable, but nationalism involving hostility to other Muslims nations, is something quite different. It is contrary to the noble Qur'an and the orders of most noble messenger. Nationalism that results in the creation of enmity between Muslims and splits the ranks of the believers is against Islam and the interest of Muslims. It is a stratagem concocted by the foreigners who are disturbed by the spread of Islam."**

Thus it may be said that Khomeini believed in Islam as a complete code of conduct. His political ideas are reflection of his Islamic zeal. He advocated nothing short of a revolution in Muslim world.

(B) Dr. Ali Shariati

(i) Dr. Ali Shariati: Life and Activities:

No study of the Islamic movement in Iran would be complete without an understanding of Shariati's message because it was he who through his radical interpretations of Islam, inspired the people of Iran to take up arms against the Shah.

Ali Shariati was born in the traditional village of Mazinan, a suburb of Mashad in 1933. He grew up in circumstances, which were physically humble but rich with the
intellectual life of ancient culture of Iran. His earliest teacher was his father, Muhammad-Taqi Shariati, cofounder of the centre for the publication of Islamic Truths and the trainer and the inspirer of hundreds of revolutionaries in the name of Islam. Muhammad-Taqi and his circle was great admirer and supporter of Mosaddeq. Sent to Mashad, the provincial capital, for his schooling, Shariati attended the Ibn-Zamin elementary school and Ferdowsi High School in that city, after which he completed a two-year teacher training course and began his teaching carrier in the villages around Mashad, while at the same time, undertaking a University programme. Combining work-study and political, activity, he succeeded in obtaining his bachelor's degree after a five years period. As a teacher he became actively involved in Many Islamic movements and anti-monarchical secret societies. The leading one was the Islamic socialist group founded in 1944-45. After the fall of Masaddeq he and his father were arrested for their Pro-Masadeq activities. Eight months latter they were released. Ali Shariati rejoined Mashad University and qualified for scholarship for foreign studies. The efforts of internal security to stop him from going abroad failed and in 1960 he left for further study in France. As soon as he arrived in France Shariati joined the confederation of Iranian students, a revolutionary organization opposed to the
Pahalvi regime. Later on, he was one of the founders of the Iranian National front in America (established 25 February 1962) and, shortly after, the Iranian National front in Europe (formed in May in the same year). The first Congress of the latter was convened in August 1962 in the city of Wiesbaden, Germany, in the course of which Shariati was chosen as editor of the organ of the front, *Iran Aazad* (free Iran), a monthly paper.  

Shariati was closely involved with the Algerian liberation front and that nation's freedom fighting organization, *El-Mojahid*, committing his pen to the cause of the struggle against French colonial domination. Sharaiti completed his graduate work with a doctoral dissertation entitled: *Fadail al-Balkh (Lesmerites de Balkh)*, an edition and translation of a medieval Persian text. His sojourn in France at a mature age gave him a rare opportunity to perceive that Islam did have the socio-political frame work to offer the Iranian Muslims, provided a new intellectual dynamism could be applied to elaborate this frame work. It is precisely in this field that Shariati demonstrated his originality and creativity, disregarding the nuances of official western sociology, and clinging instead to his own observation and discernment of the social trends in modern Iran.
After obtaining a doctorate degree in sociology, Sharaiti returned to Iran in 1964 and was immediately arrested and imprisoned for six months for having taken part in anti-Shah activities in France. On his release, he applied for a teaching post at the University of Tehran in the faculty of letters, but was turned down. Thereafter, he joined various colleges of Agriculture, until a teaching position in history became available at the University of Mashhad. Sharati within a short period became the most popular teacher in the University, and started giving speeches at the function held by the University community. He had a style that could best be described as innovative in the Iranian context, both in method and in substance. The latter element was bound to bring trouble and distress for him, since the religious clergy took him to task for his radicalism in expounding Islamic doctrines, or more particularly, the Shiite interpretation of them. Sharati did not know well about the Islamic sciences and errors were present even in his citation of some famous historical events. The incisive criticism of his work by some sympathetic members of the religious class helped him to revise the content of his extremely influential lectures. At the same time, his father helped him in polishing the rough edges of his Islamic material. Nevertheless, Sharati's sociological approach to the Islam, on
one hand, and his free methods of teaching, on the other, combined to bring him in conflict with the University authorities and administration. At that time University of Meshad was headed by pro-monarchy and conservative elements, and conflict between shariati and them was inevitable.47

Tehran University students founded an educational and religious centre called Hoseiniyah Irshad in 1965. Shariati gave a series of lectures at this centre. His lectures were attended by a huge mob of students and teachers. Within a short time he had produced a huge corpus of literature relating to the revolutionary aspects of Islam.48 In a paper entitled Red Shiaism, Shariati differentiated the Shiaism as based on the traditions of Imam Ali and Shiaism as developed under Safavid rule. The paper is designed to remind the Muslims in general, and Shias in particular, that Imam Ali's teachings inculcated liberty, revolution, and dynamism, whereas the Safavid monarchical teachings were designed to make Moslems blind imitators, back-word and greedy.49

Shariati devoted most of his time in teaching and preaching his interpretation of Islam. His call did not went unheard his lectures had a great political impact on Iranian society and youth. For preaching radical ideas of Islam, and
seeing their political impact, the regime arrested him in summer 1973. The activities of Hoseiniyeh Irshad were suspended and although Shariati was released in 1975, he was not free to move about and remained in exile in Mazinan, his hometown. In early June 1977 he was permitted to leave Iran to travel to Europe. On 19 June 1977, he died in England under mysterious circumstances that suggest the almost certain involvement of SAVAK. He was buried in Damascus, next to the Shrine of Zaynab, sister of Imam Husein and the Heroine of Karbala.⁵⁰

(ii) Socio Political ideas of Dr. Ali Shariati

Shariati’s interpretation of Islam sought to bring out the revolutionary spirit of Islam, which would be a continuation of prophet Muhammad’s mission. Shariati regarded this in two ways. On one hand Islam was a religion (man's relationship to God) and on the other hand it was an ideology for the Muslims. As an ideology it was the Islam of Justice and leadership, the Islam of Imamat and not the Islam of caliphate, class and aristocracy. It was Islam of freedom, motion and awareness, and not the Islam of captivity, ignorance and stagnation, the Islam of the Mujtahid and not Islam of official clergy.⁵¹
Shariati was very much disappointed with the Muslim intellectuals and considered them responsible for Muslim intellectual decay:

'When we Muslims had wealth and power, when Spanish and Italian professors, Philosophers and scholars got up to lecture in their Universities, they put on Islamic robes. They made themselves look like Avicenna, Razi and Ghazali. Nowadays, when our professors put on the academic robe, they think they are doing what European do! They think imitating kant and Descartes when they make themselves look like professors of Spain, Italy, France and England!.... some of us have gotten smart and gotten to know what world is all about. We sit down and like monkeys in the zoo, watch people. And whatever people do, we monkeys just imitate them. In the eyes of these smarties, only foreigners are people. They are the people to reckon with because foreigners have money and power. The rest of us have become poverty stricken. The good in us is looked down upon, while those who have become wealthy, force others to see their defects as art.'\textsuperscript{52} Shariati believed that colonialists are responsible for the division among Muslims. He said:

When the crusades took place, they came fight us, we fought back. Eventually Christians colonialists and Zionists got together and Muslim became divided. Sunnis fought with Shi'ites, shi'ites with Sunnis, Turks with Iranians, Iranians with Arabs, Arabs with Berbers whereas Islam taught oneness, Muslims themselves fell into
different groups and ways of thinking. Foreigners have become the instruments by which we have been destroyed. They have reduced us into playing in sand boxes playing with blood, forming sects, competing with hardware, distracting our minds with irrelevant thoughts, trapping us in fascination with bread and circuses we have become numb and useless.53

For Shariati the most important question which a Muslim 'should ask himself today is not whether each religious concept is rational or irrational, compatible or incompatible with science but rather what is its usefulness and its worth to the society in which he lives.54 Sharati's writings are full with the Islamic concept such as Ummah, Imamate, Adl. Shahada, Taqiya, Taqlid, Sabr, Hijra, Shirk, Tawhid, Hajj etc. and all these concepts have been radicalized to become meaningful to the common man.

The type of believer that Shariati was seeking to inspire through his message was the Raushanfikr. Popularly the term refers to an intellectual but Shariati was not seeking a sterile, westernized intellectual who was alienated from his own culture. On the contrary, the Raushanfikr was a 'man endowed with an enlightened mind' and would act as the 'torchbearer' and 'Scout' and as the 'antithesis of oppression and darkness'. Like the scientist or educated man he does not only know the facts, but also discovered the truth, is close to the masses and
through Islam guides them to progress with 'sense of self awareness and responsible leadership.'

Shariati was of the opinion that the ideal society of Islam is **ummah**. For him 'taking the place of all the similar concepts which in different languages and cultures designate a human agglomeration or society, such as "society", "nation", "race", "people", "tribe", "clan" etc., is the single word **ummah**, a word imbued with progressive spirit and implying a dynamic, committed and ideological social vision.'

Shariati further more defines the *ummah* in this way: 'The word *ummah* derive from the umm, which has the sense of path and intention. The *ummah*, is therefore, a society in which a number of individuals, possessing a common faith and goal, come together in harmony with the intention of advancing and moving towards their common goal.'

Shariati believed that such an *ummat* 'can not exist without *imamate*. Thus while *ummat* is a society in eternal motion.... the *imamate* is a regime which leads it within this *ummat*, a muslim should try, 'not to be but to become, not to live well, but to lead a good life' because freedom is 'not an ideal, but a necessary means to attain the ideal.'

To shariati the political philosophy and the form of the regime of *Ummah* 'is not democracy of heads, not irresponsible and directionless liberalism which is a play thing of contesting
social forces, not putrid aristocracy, not anti-popular dictatorship, not a self-imposing oligarchy. It consists rather of "purity of leadership" (not the leader, for that would be fascism), committed and revolutionary leadership, responsible for the movement and growth of society on the basis of its world view and ideology, and for the realization of the divine destiny of man in the plan of creation. This is true meaning of Imamat!"\(^{61}\)

Shariati has analysed the Muslim societies in sociological perspective very brilliantly. He said that the conflict within these societies is not because of the conflict between modern and traditional forces, nor between the rich and the proletariat. For shariati, this conflict is between the forces of \textit{Tawhid} and those of \textit{Shirk}. \textit{Tawhid} brings harmony between God, man, nature and existence. \textit{Tawhid} also does not accept legal, class, social, political, racial, national, territorial, genetic or economic contradictions. Consequently, when contradictions enter this world between "Nature and meta-nature, matter and meaning, this world and hereafter, intellect and illumination, science and religion, metaphysics and nature, working for men and working for God, politics and religion; logic and love, bread and worship, piety and commitment, life and eternity, land and peasant, ruler and ruled, black and white, noble and evil, clergy and laity, Eastern and Western, blessed and wretched, light and darkness, inherent virtues and inherent evil, Greek and barbarian, Arab and non-Arab, Persian and non-Persian, capitalist and proletarian, elite
and mass, learned and illiterate. These form the world view of Shirk. It is essential duty of those who believe in the contradictions of Tawhid to struggle for and destroy the world view of Shirk until it is in harmony. This can be accomplished through various processes. The people can play a greater role because Quran directs the people to be instrumental in changing the world of shirk into that of Tawhid. Thus Muslims are vested with responsibilities to change their destinies. But such changes can only be brought about through a normative design which leads to the path derived from Islam and Quran. Personalities have to understand these divine norms if they want truly to lead their societies to the Tawhid structure. While there are no accidents in Tawhidian structures of society, life and nature, they do happen in human societies due to the failure of people, personalities and the Shirkian norms they try to follow. Thus the 'proportional influence of each of these factors on given society depends on the circumstances of that society. In certain societies it may be people, in others the personality." In early days of Islam 'the personality of the prophet had a fundamental and constructive role in bringing about change, development and the progress, in building a future civilization and in changing the course of history.'

Ali Shariati believed that in the struggle for a Tawhidian world the quality of a man's belief in Tawhid should be of such type: '.. man fears only one power and is answerable before only one Judge. He turns to only one Qibla and direct his hopes
REFERENCES


15. Ibid p. 72

16. Ibid p. 72


21. Ibid pp. 19-20

22. Ibid p. 20.


27. Ibid p. 112.


31. Ibid p. 36.


37. Ibid p.28.


42. Ibid p. 38.


44. Ibid p. 302


47. Ibid p. 195.


53. Ibid p.2.


55. Ibid pp. 158-159.


57. Ibid p. 119.


60. Ibid p. 160.


64. Ibid p. 54.