

IN THE NAME OF ALLAH THE MERCIFUL, THE COMPASSIONATE



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Islamic Political Thoughts

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Column Headings: A = Arabic, P = Persian, OT = Ottoman Turkish, MT = Modern Turkish

A	P	OT	MT	A	P	OT	MT	A	P	OT	MT
ا	—	—	—	ز	—	zh	j	ك	—	g	g
ب	b	b	b or p	س	s	s	s	ل	l	l	l
پ	p	p	p	ش	sh	sh	ʃ	م	m	m	m
ت	t	t	t	ص	s	s	s	ن	n	n	n
ث	s	s	s	ذ	z	z	z	ه	h	h ¹	h ²
ج	j	c	c	ط	t	t	t	و	w	v or u	v
چ	ch	ç	ç	ظ	z	z	z	ي	y	y	y
ح	h	h	h	ع	gh	gh	g or ğ	ـ	—	—	—
خ	kh	h	h	ف	f	f	f	ـ	—	—	—
د	d	d	d	ق	q	q	k	ـ	—	—	—
dh	z	z	z	ك	k	k or g	k or n	ـ	—	—	—
ر	r	r	r	گ	g	g or ğ	g or ğ	ـ	—	—	—
ز	z	z	z	ـ	—	—	—	ـ	—	—	—

¹ (-at in construct state)

² (article) al- and 'l-

³ (when not final)

VOWELS

	ARABIC AND PERSIAN	OTTOMAN TURKISH	MODERN TURKISH
<i>Long</i> ¹ or	ا ā	ā { words of Arabic }	ā
	و ū	ū { and Persian }	ū
	ي ī	i { origin only }	i
<i>Doubled</i>	ـِ iyy (final form i)	iy (final form i)	iy (final form i)
	ـِ uww (final form ū), etc.	uvv	uvv
<i>Diphthongs</i>	اـ au or aw	ev	ev
	اـ ai or ay	ey	ey
<i>Short</i>	ـ a	a or e	a or e
	ـ u	u or ü	u or ü
	ـ o	o or ö	o or ö
	ـ i	i or i	i or i

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Introduction

In regard to ISU approach to the production, publication, and updating of Islamic and human sciences , and providing answers for newly emerged demands of the revolution and Islamic government, and also in compliance with the national and international research ethics guidelines, such as those of the Committee on Publication Ethics (COPE), and “Code of Practice for Research Ethics “ ratified by the Research Assistance Branch of the Islamic Republic of Iran Ministry of Sciences, Research and Technology, ISU academic journals and publications are bound to observe the related professional code of conduct. Hence, the major duties of those involved, namely author(s), director, editor-in-chief, the editorial board, managing editor are briefly mentioned below.

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2. The final responsibility of the full content of the submitted manuscript is with the author. It is appropriate to report the results of the article completely



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and take sufficient care about them and about their analysis. The article must contain enough details and resources to permit other researchers to have access to similar data for further research.

3. Before submitting the article, any possible conflict of interest affecting the research results and research analysis or the selection of editor-in-chief and reviewers must be mentioned and the funders of the research must be named.

4. Respect must be paid to the confidential assessment, and the disclosure of the author(s)' identity to the reviewers and vice versa must be avoided. In other words, the manuscript must avoid self-disclosing information to prevent reviewers from identifying the author(s).

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8. The author(s) must clearly declare the originality of the work and its being free from plagiarism or being published previously.

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3. **Plagiarism:** appropriation of other writers' ideas and phrases, copying opinions, structural similarities in writing, borrowing ideas and findings of others without attribution or proper reference, or introducing them as an original scientific research.

4. **Scientific hiring:** employing other people to carry out the research in place of the author(s) and after some manipulation passing it off as one's own.

5. **Unreal affiliation:** unreal affiliation of the author(s) to some organization or educational and research center which have not had any role in the fulfillment of the task.

6. **Duplicate submission:** an article or part of an article already published domestically or internationally or under review and publication.

7. **Overlapping publication:** publishing data or findings from previous articles with some alterations in another article under a new title.

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3. Avoiding interference in the scientific review process.

4. Avoiding interference in the scientific decisions of the editorial board and the editor-in-chief.

5. Observing the material and intellectual rights of the authors, editor-in-chief, editorial board, reviewers, and executive members.

6. Final confirmation of the submitted material for publication from a legal point of view.

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1. Preserving the freedom and authority of the editor-in-chief in executing its duties independently, such as acceptance or rejection of received manu-



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2. Attempting to promote and enforce regulations of ethics and soundness of research.

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b. Declaring the possible conflicts of interest.

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1. Notifying the journal's editorial board and sending letter to the corresponding author demanding clarification without any prejudgment.

2. Allocating suitable time for receiving response from the author(s) charged with unethical publication and research behavior, and pursuing definite violations till the end.

3. Referring the case to the editorial board in case of receiving unaccept-



able justifications from the author(s) for final decision as for the acceptance or rejection of the submitted manuscript.

4. Based on the final decision of the editorial board,

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b. Sending warning to the corresponding author for rejecting any other work by the offender.

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4. Avoiding the appropriation of the received data, discussions, explanations and ideas in the process of reviewing and even the unpublished information of the author(s) for personal gain.



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5. Respecting the confidentiality of the reviewing process and avoiding the appropriation of the received information, discussions, explanations and ideas in the process of reviewing, or utilizing the new data and concepts derived from the article for or against one's own or other people's research or for criticizing or discrediting the author(s).

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2. Monitoring and pursuing research complaints for the university's journals.

3. Assisting in ensuring the originality and soundness of the published articles in the university's journals.

Contents

Social Order and Security in the Holy Quran and Islamic Tradition <i>Naser Jamalzadeh</i>	13
Strategic Requirements of Islam in Political Sciences' Field <i>Asghar Eftekhari</i>	41
The Philosophical, Political and Economic Thought of Dr. Muhammad Iqbal: A Brief Reappraisal <i>Rizwan Hussain</i>	61
Freedom in Allameh Tabataee's Point of View; Emphasizing on Two Concepts of Freedom of Thinking and Freedom of Idea <i>Mohammad Sadegh Nosratpanah, Mohammad Mehdi Seifi</i>	93
Principles of Islamic Jurisprudence of Foreign Policy in Imam Khomeini's Thought <i>Mohammad Javad Harati</i>	123
Liberalism of Skepticism and Fear, and Islam <i>Mohammad Reza Taheri</i>	141

Social Order and Security in the Holy Quran and Islamic Tradition

Naser Jamalzadeh¹

Abstract

Order and security and their dimensions in Islamic verses and tradition are individual and social necessities being in the center of the true religion of Islam's attention. Order and security are inter-dependent. Security comes as a result of order, and with security, order continues. God has created human beings and knows everything about their inner and outer needs, therefore, he is aware of the order and security man needs to reach peace and tranquility. Thus, we should search for the characteristics of the secure society, in the discourse of God and his Prophets and Imams. This article is going to explain the ideal order and security of man in the Quran and Islamic tradition and the life style of innocent Imams (A. S.) employing descriptive-analytical method.

Keywords

Social Order, Social Security, Prophet Mohammad Seerah, Holy Quran, Islamic Tradition.

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Introduction

The concepts of order and security and their dimensions have obtained specific attention in the Quran and Islamic tradition. Order and security are individual and social needs in the human society. That is why the Quran has confirmed those human needs and has investigated their dimensions from different viewpoints in many places. The protection of social order is one of the goals of security provision which is defined by protection of identity, culture, and religious values of any society. In other words, order and security are inter relational; security is generated as a result of order, and order continues to exist in the light of security. Human society consists of individuals with different and, sometimes, bothersome interest, which can survive only in the light of faith and commitment to practical and ideological orderliness. Thanks to this orderliness, everybody can obtain his or her rights and interest and live in peace and tranquility. Therefore, order and security are among major needs and rights of human beings.¹ That is why during the course of history, kinds of practical and ideological systems have emerged to establish order and provide human rights and interests some of which, have human origin while some have Godly origin.

Their common point is that all of them try to attract human trust toward a system, that is, to make him agree that his major interest is the one that has been represented to him and his rights and interest will be met through obedience of that system. But their difference is in bases, scientific principles, musts and mustn'ts, administrative manners, and goals. Thus, every time man has followed a certain order that provides his rights and interests, he has been able to become familiar with other systems representing his

rights and interests in a different way. Therefore, man can get this idea that his existing system is not ideal and another system may shape in his mind as the ideal order and security. Thus, human beings, intrinsically seek an ideal order and security system in the light of which, they can find their mental and physical tranquility and become safe from their internal and foreign enemy. Now, we should know what this system is that provides man with real peace. Can the order and security resulting from weapons bring peace for man? Nowadays, the West is trying to inculcate this thought to the people of the world that their mental security is provided only in the light of trusting in the Western political, economic, and cultural programs.

Unfortunately the existing system ruling upon the world, is the Western system, which works based on the superiority of money and power owners' freedom in getting that superiority at any cost, denial of human elevated interests and otherworldly wellbeing, or at least non-influentiality of otherworldly case in the worldly interests with the aim to take the highest pleasures in this world.

Accordingly, in order to maintain its system of order, the West denies and refuses any other ideological and practical system, and prevents any society or group from being active, employing the most modern tools, technology, and detective and military operations, so that they admit that their worldly and otherworldly interests will be met by its order system. God knows, as the Creator of humans, everything about their internal and foreign wishes, so he is completely aware of which system of order can bring them peace and quiet. For this reason, any question on this field should be answered by God's Prophets and Imams. In this research, we

are going to explain the ideal order and security system from the Quranic viewpoint, Islamic tradition, and the life style of innocent Imams.

1. Ideal Order and Security

From the beginning of creation of man, God represented his own system to him and gave him the message not to be deceived by the system represented by others, because more than any other person he is interested in the happiness of his servants. For this reason, he warned man that his security can be met only through following God's order system. God is the real friend of his servants. He doesn't benefit from the faith of his servants because he doesn't have any needs, and the obedience or non-obedience of servants make no difference in his power over the world. For this reason, God addresses people in the Quran (Baghareh, sura 38) and says: "Oh, people, that Prophet has brought realities to you, so believe in Allah because it is good for you".

In order to establish the ideal order and security, God sent the Quran. In addition to explanation of realities about Creation, man's future, the history of Prophets and their tribes and virtues, the Quran, describes a set of laws and rules needed by human beings. The major duty of the law is to establish order and security in the society. The Quran says in this regard: "Those who believe in God, his Prophets, and his book and don't taint their faith with polytheism and heresy, they will be secure" (Anaam: 82). It means that real security and tranquility result from having faith in Allah, and that is the real prosperity of human beings. Again it says: "Those who follow my direction shouldn't be afraid, and they won't become

sorrowful” (Baghareh: 38). It should not be forgotten that God’s ideal order and security ends in the establishment of justice, as the Holy Quran says: “Indeed we sent our Prophets along with distinct indications and sent book and scale with them, so that people act justly, and we created iron in which there is serious strength (for fighting and defense) and other profits” (Hadid: 25). Thus Islam has introduced laws and rules in every individual and social field and about the relationship of people with each other, people with the rapture, people with God, and even with themselves in order to establish the order and security that generate the justice among those relationships:

“In divine order, the superiority of individuals depends on the degree of their piety and not on their wealth and racial characteristics” (Hadid: 25). “In this system there is no place for dissimulation” (Mozzammel: 11), “and reluctance” (Baghareh: 256). The application of willpower should be in the direction of worldly and the otherworldly advisability (Baghareh: 256), and people should reach a place to create the ideal order and discipline in personal and social realms through observation of the rules (Maedeh: 105), and help its continuity and prevent from its deviation by taking care of themselves and others (Towbeh: 71). The existence of the police, security system, and military and justice agencies is only to prevent from violations of vicious people, and vindicate the rights of the oppressed according to the law. The law should be implemented equally on everybody. Nobody has an extra right or privilege upon others. Religious order and security are in agreement with human nature which is confirmed by imagination and is agreed upon by common sense. Now, we will consider and explain

the concepts of order and security in the Quran, Islamic tradition and the Holy Prophets and Imam's life style, to better understand the ideal Godly order and security for humans, and human society.

2. Order in the Holy Quran, Islamic Tradition, and Prophet and Imam Ali's Life Style

2-1. The Concept of Order

The word "order" means to arrange and string pearls (Amid 1389: 1023). Order is the resting of parts of a whole beside each other in a specific form. In this state, the parts are either free, or dependent. An example of dependent parts is the parts of a building which are dependent on the willpower of the builder. But the order among free creatures like human beings rests upon their own willpower. The word "order" is used in theosophy, politics, society, canon law, etc. and in each realm; they are used proportional to their literal meaning. For example, within theosophy it is employed in proof by order and it says that the universe has order, and every order has a regulator, so the universe has a regulator.² This word has usage in social realm too. For example it can be said that a society should have order, or it can be said that the order in this society is in the favor of money and strength owners. Social order means that the members of a society that consist of individuals who have accepted their own social unity, should be arranged beside each other in a way that they can act according to a specific plan to achieve their individual, and common goals³, without bothering each other. In this arrangement a manager or regulator is determined in order to control the administration of order and the law. But this order is

an ideal of our mind, while the social order is not always similar to what comes to the mind. Therefore, we come across another social order as a reality. This order is the outcome of the willpower of individuals and groups in the direction of achieving⁴ their benefits and interests, and originated from the power that they have obtained, the power that can sometimes impact on the law and common norms of the society. Disorder is opposed to order which is referred to with different titles such as anarchy, disorderliness, crime, chaos, unrest, immorality, etc.

2-2. The Concept of Order in the Quran

The Holy Quran emphasizes on individual and social order in the community of Muslims and exemplifies the order in the nature and wants them to follow that example and refrain from carnal desires (Mo'menoon: 71). In another place the Quran exemplifies the order in the nature in order to prove the oneness of God and says that if there were another God beside the One God, there would be no order in the universe (Anbia: 22). The Quran, repeatedly invites Muslims to have unity in the light of observance of Quranic recommendations, and warns them against disunity directly and indirectly, and wants them to think about life matters and says: "Resort to God's rope, and do not be dispersed. Remember God's blessings..." (Aleomran: 103). It also points to the dispute and struggle among Muslims as the factor of extinction of their power and greatness. It is clear that any disunity among members or the elite of the society will end in disorder and finally, in the fall of that society. The Quran says: "Don't show hostility toward each other because it may cause you to fall and lose your greatness and power" (Anfal: 46). On the other hand, Islam wants Muslims to hold

religious rituals such as prayers, Friday prayers, and Hajj collectively and associated with specific orderliness. This, indicates the level of importance that Islam considers for social order and constant and spiritual relationship among Muslims. In Islam, there is greater spiritual reward in holding religious rituals collectively to make relationship with God rather than holding them individually.

2-3. The Concept of Order in Islamic Tradition

In Islamic Hadith and tradition also the importance of preservation of order in social life has been emphasized. Imam Ali (A. S.) pointed to following of the Holy Quranic orders and observing its recommendations as the main factor leading to social orderliness. He says: “Be aware that, [in the Quran] there is the knowledge of your future, the history of your past, the remedy to your pains, and the factor of orderliness among you.”⁵ In his last will, addressing his sons, Imam Ali (A. S.) says: “I advise you and all my family and those who receive my last will to have piety and fear of God and order in your deeds, and cordiality among each other, because I heard your grandfather (p.b.u.h) say that cordiality among people is greater than a year of praying and fasting”⁶.

Imam Ali in his famous recommendation to Malek Ashtar who was assigned as the governor of Eygept, writes about observance of order: “Avoid hastening in affairs before there right time, or flagging in actions that should be conducted just now, or insisting on indistinct cases, or determination in actions when they are well-defined. Do everything in its right place and right time”⁷.

In a tradition attributed to Imam Reza (A. S.), which Imam Khomeini has quoted in his ‘Velayat Faghih’, the reason for obey-

ing the orders of the protector of the Islamic juristics which has come in the Quran, is to establish order in the society and to follow the recommendations of Islam; because according to Imam Reza's reasoning, in the absence of Imam and the patristic, God's orders won't be done, and people's faith will weaken and corruption will increase in the society. "If somebody asks why God has assigned the protector of the Islamic juristics to be followed by Muslims, the answer is that it has many reasons. Firstly, because there are some rules that should be followed by people, or else they will go astray, so a powerful, honest, and careful person is needed to control them and prevent them from violating the law or violating others' rights. Without the presence of such a person some people may commit many atrocities in order to protect their illegal benefits. Secondly, if a powerful, honest, and careful person is not assigned to monitor people, religion will become abandoned and God's rules will be reversed and innovation in the religion will become fashionable, and unbelievers will find opportunity to deceive naive, inexperienced people. As a result, after a short while, the rules of the religion will change, and this change will lead to the corruption of all human beings (quoted from Moosavi Khomeini, *Bitā*: 40).

After writing this hadith, Imam Khomeini continues about the duties of the protector of the Islamic juristics during the absence of the innocent Imam as follows:

"The reasons of assignment of him as an Imam are permanent, with the difference that there isn't a certain individual; the matter is protected forever. If Islamic orders are supposed to be protected, if the ruling classes are supposed to be prevented from violating

the rights of powerless people, if ruling minorities are supposed not to be able to plunder people's belongings in order to add them to their own asset, if Islam is supposed to establish orderliness, and everybody behave according to rightful manner of Islam, if innovations in Islamic commandments are supposed to be prevented, if fake parliaments are to be prevented from anti-Islamic legislation, and finally if the outsiders are to be prevented from penetrating into Islamic realms, all of these, need a powerful government, a competent Islamic government, or else the existing governments are not of use, because all of them are oppressive and corrupt, without capability (Moosavi Khomeini, Bita: 41).

2-4. Social Order in Prophet Mohammad and Imam Ali's (A. S.) Seerah

In Prophet Mohammad and Imam Ali's (A. S.) Seerah there is a specific emphasis on social order as a necessity for government. When the Prophet Mohammad entered Medina, there was a serious brawl among the members of two tribes of Ows and Khazraj, and the immigrants also, who entered Medina with the prophet, had cultural and tribal dispute with the residents of Medina. The Prophet, in the first stage, attempted to prepare an agreement known as "Medina agreement" in order to establish peace and quiet among people. Since legislature is considered as an important tool for public order establishment, all people in Medina accepted the political power of that agreement as a law, and they enjoyed an equal right as the result of it. In fact it was the first written governmental law that linked all citizens of Medina together. It consisted of three parts:

1. General law, for the reverence of the region of Medina according to which all residents were obligated to be unified against outsider enemies;

2. Regulation of relationships among Muslims through a fraternity contract between the immigrants and the supporters of the Prophet to help each other against unbelievers; and

3. The rules for non-Muslims of Medina in order to create a higher level of order and peaceful coexistence so that all Muslims and Jews could freely have their own religions, conditioned that they cared about regulations in Medina, and didn't offer shelter to unbelievers of Ghoraysh (see Ibne Ishagh, *Bitā*: 123). Beside this agreement, the Holy Prophet Mohammad established other fraternity and bipartite treaties in order to create unity and political identity among residents and increase the power of the newly established Islamic government. Among other attempts of the Holy Prophet in the direction of increasing the social order was the assignment of the mosque as the governor's office which was constructed in a place in the middle of the city and houses were gradually made around it, and the city expanded in the direction of regulation of public activities, and this was architecturally a major attempt. Among the Holy Prophet's other actions to create order in the society was his commitment to his own treaties. There are several emphasizes in the Quran also relative to fulfillment of promises, even in relation to agreements with pagans. The Quran says: "So long as they are straight with you, so be straight with them. Allah loves the righteous" (*Towbeh*: 7). And God allowed the Prophet to change his behavior toward pagans only when they broke their promise: "Don't break your promise if they don't do

so” (Towbeh: 12). In fact, in the Holy Prophet’s manner, according to Quran, the unbelief of pagans doesn’t cause Muslims to attack them, but their break of promises makes the Prophet change his behavior toward them and declare war, as he fought against Baninazir and Bani Gharizeh or expelled them from Medina because they broke their promises. The Holy Prophet used tribal capacities in the framework of Islam in order to create more order in the society (Barzgar, 1385: 100-108).

Thus, in the light of Prophetic government, a system was established according to which, every tribe found identity in the frame of a unit of the society and served to expand Islam. In fact, this respect toward tribes caused them to join Islam in large groups (Tabari, 1375: 896). It can be claimed that the religious basis of the Prophet’s policy was to recognize the ethnical diversities of different tribes and to define social functions for all of these groupings (Haghpanah, 1386: 257). Imam Ali (A. S.) also believes in the relationship between the necessity of the ruler and the order he establishes in the society. He believes that lack of the ruler in a society leads to disorder and anarchy, and for this reason, people need to select a ruler to create orderliness in their society, even if that ruler is corrupt and lewd, because it is only thanks to the existence of the leader of the society that roads become secure, the rights of people are observed and stability returns to the society. He says in Nahjolbalagheh: “People need a good or even bad governor so that the believers become engaged in their job and pagans also benefit from him, and people continue their living in the light of government. Treasury can be protected by the government, with its assistance Muslims can fight against enemies, roads become

secure, the rights of poor people can be taken from oppressors, and benefactors can live secure from evildoers⁸”. In another place he prefers the existence of a cruel ruler to disorder and lawlessness in the society and says: “The existence of a cruel ruler is better than the continuation of sedition in the society⁹”. Thus, it is clear that to a high extent, the protection of order in the society is urgent, and even the existence of a cruel ruler is preferred to the continuity of disorder, because in Islam, the highest priority is given to peace and quiet in life.

3. Security in the Holy Quran, Islamic Narrations, and in the Seerah of the Holy Prophet and Imam Ali (A. S.)

3-1. The Concept of Security

Security means “to live in tranquility and peace” (Amid, 1389: 171). Secure means “without fear, certainty, inner calmness, opposite of dread” (Amid, 1389: 171). Security is the physical condition resulting from lack of feeling of danger or disturbance in one’s heart. In fact, when there is no dread, there is security, just as when there is no illness, there is health. These are invisible phenomena, as we can feel them only when their contrasting factors appear. We usually notice the lack of security only in the presence of danger, anxiety, and dread.¹⁰ “Then, we quickly show reaction and try to restore our calmness through eliminating the causes of restlessness and danger.¹¹”

3-2. The Concept of Security in the Holy Quran

The word ‘security’ has been used in the Quran either directly (us-

ing the word and its derivatives)¹², or indirectly (its conceptual use in words such as salam, faith, blessing, justice, combat, almsgiving, Khoms, Zakat and so on). In a general definition of security, it must be said that in the Quranic culture, security has a wide meaning, and includes all human life material, spiritual, individual, social, national, international, political, economic, and military realms which are allocated to the believers who have faith in God, and won't defile it with polytheism and oppression toward others (An'am: 82).

The Holy Quran considers the quality of security as a characteristic of the Holy city of Mecca and swears to it: "... and this is the secure city" (Tea: 3).

"I swear to this city, while you are a resident of this city" (Balad: 1-2), or:

"And Allah told you stories and maxims (so that you take lessons from them), about a city (Like Mecca) in which there is complete security, and its residents have happy and orderly lives, while they receive many blessings from every side" (Nahl: 112). Immediately after building Kaaba, Ibrahim (p.b.u.h) asked Allah to establish security in that land. He said, "Oh, God, Create peace and quiet in this city", (Baghareh: 126). Also Allah mentions himself as worthy of worshiping because of giving security to humans and says: "And they should worship me because I gave them food when they were hungry, and secured them when they were in dread", (Ghoraysh: 3-4). In another place, the provision of security is introduced as one of the goals of Islamic government: "God informs the believers and benefactors that undoubtedly they will become the rulers of the earth, just as he gave this leadership to

their ancestors. God will stabilize the religion than he has chosen for them and will change their fear to peace and quiet, such that they worship only him, and those who become pagans after this, they are evildoers. (Noor: 55).

In a classification, security can be put forward in three individual, national, and international levels, and there are verses about all of them in the Holy Quran:

3-2-1. Individual Security

In the realm of individual security, the Holy Quran seeks to create a place in which the mental and physical calmness of Muslims can be easily established. A believer person should enjoy both, economic welfare, and mental tranquility. Ibrahim (p.b.u.h) asks Allah to give both of them to the city of Mecca. He wants Allah to increase that city's sustenance and livelihood, and to destroy idol-worshipping that is the origin of all miseries. He says: "Oh, God, Give security and fruits to these people." (Baghareh: 35). He also says: Oh, my God, Secure this city and keep my children away from idol-worshipping," (Ibrahim: 35).

Among other individual requirements are life security and freedom from dread. The Holy Quran points to these individual requirements in some verses. From the Quranic point of view, the human essence is so important that if somebody kills a person unjustly, it is equal to killing all human beings, (Maedeh: 32). The Quran wants the residents of Mecca to thank God for the security and livelihood that God has given to them, (Ghoraysh: 4). In another place, Allah says to Moses (p.b.u.h): "Don't be afraid; you are under my protection", (Ghesas: 31), when he got afraid of see-

ing his walking stick change into a snake. Security in assets is another feature of individual security, to which the Holy Quran has pointed. For example it says: "The hand of the thief should be cut in order to create asset security", (Maedeh: 38).

Protection of people's reputation also is part of individual security. Refraining from faultfinding (Homazeh: 1), refraining from backbiting and ridiculing others (Hojarat: 11-12) are among issues to which the Holy Quran has pointed in the direction of protection of people's individual security. Thus, individual security includes life, asset, and reputation safety from the Quranic viewpoint that creates tranquility in people's lives. This tranquility is so important that even in relation to God and devotional cases, Islam seeks the peace of mind. Allah says in the Quran:

"Say your prayers to remember me" (Taha: 14). This shows that saying prayers is an instrument for filling our heart with the memory of God. It helps us achieve peace and quiet through remembering Allah. God says in the Holy Quran: "Beware! Only by remembering Allah your heart will relax" (Ra'd: 20). Of course this is not the end, because Allah says in another place: "Oh, Confident soul, Return to your God, Come to my heaven among my righteous servants" (Fajr: 27-30).

From the above, it can be concluded that the Almighty Allah encourages his servants to reach tranquility and obtain a lot of qualifications in the light of this tranquility. Therefore, individual security is the first step in the path of getting social security and in the Islamic society; one can get collective security only through obtaining individual security.

3-2-2. Collective Security

Among other aspects of security, is its collective feature which is related to the society and includes the public security of the members of the society, protection of social independence on hegemony of outsiders, economic, cultural, military security and so on. Social life without order and security is meaningless. Order is provided through enactment of the law, and security is promoted by the provision economic, cultural, political and social independence, and protection of community-agreed-upon values, which in a Muslim country, is their religion. In the Holy Quran there are verses about all of these features. The Holy Quran considers the cruel government as the origin of corruption and disorder: “And when they rule upon the earth, they will corrupt people, and Allah doesn’t like corruption” (Baghareh: 205). In another place the Quran introduces the government of justice as the origin of welfare and peace: “God has promised to give authority to benefactors on the earth, just as he gave authority to their ancestors. He has promised to change their fear into security provided that they don’t become pagans”, (Noor: 55). Therefore from the Quranic view point, one of the Islamic government’s duties is to provide inner and public safety for citizens. The leader of such a government should be kind to people and avoid violation and cruelty: “Then, in the light of kindness, people were attracted to you, and if you were not so kind they would scatter” (Aleomran: 159). The leader should consult with his people: “And consult with them on affairs”, (Aleomran: 159). According to the Quran the superiority of people should be determined based on the degree of their piety not based on their race and tribe: “Oh, people, we created you from a male and a fe-

male, and then put you within branches and tribes so that you find out that the best of you in front of God is the most pious of you", (Hojarat: 13). The leader should encourage Muslims to resort to God's "rope", that is, the Holy Quran, to have unity so that they can defeat the enemies of Islam" "And resort to God's rope and don't scatter and remember God's blessings when you were enemies toward each other. God established kindness among you and rescued you from the fire of the hell," (Aleomran: 103). Economic safety of Muslims is another aspect of collective and national security leading to protection of dignity of the believers,: "And dignity is allocated to Allah, and his Prophet, and the believers, but the seditious don't know", (Monafeghoon: 8). In fact through economic welfare for people, we can prevent pagans from pillaging the asset of Muslims: "And Allah won't let pagans dominate the believers", (Nesa: 141). If the internal security of a country is protected, the people of that country will live in economic safety with plenty of blessings, : "And Allah gives them kinds of benefits", (Baghareh: 125), and they won't have any fear from enemies, "And Allah rescues them from fear", (Ghoraysh: 4). Donation, "Magnanimity will be obtained only through conferring what you like very much, (Aleomran: 92), "And confer what we gave you, covertly and publicly", (Ra'd: 22), and prevention from usury, "Allah declares trading as legitimate, while he declares usury as illegitimate", (Baghareh: 275), lead to the economic security in the Islamic society.

Political security is another aspect of national security with two internal and foreign realms, including how to treat the believers, pagans, the perverted, and other countries. The believers are brothers and peace should be established among them, "The be-

lievers are brothers, then establish peace among your brothers and be pious toward Allah to be forgiven by him” (Hojarat: 10). The seditious are evildoers, and you must fight against them, because they have an illness in their mind, and they are the disruptors of the social security (Baghares: 8-12). “Enemies are not allowed to dominate Muslims” (Nesa: 141), “And you should exonerate from unbelievers” (Towbeh: 30).

Judicial security is another branch of national security and the Holy Quran has mentioned it for several times. If an individual is treated unfairly, he has the right of litigation, and the criminal should be punished, and the judge should treat fairly. Sometimes it is necessary to exact retribution in order to establish security: “Oh, the believers, Retribution is your duty, and you should Retaliate free for free, slave for slave, female for female, but if you forgive, it is magnanimity, “(Baghareh: 178).

Another feature of collective and national safety is its military aspect which is more familiar than the other types. The Holy Quran wants Muslims to fight against enemies: “Fighting is required of you”, (Baghareh: 218), and wants them to prepare instruments and equipment for fighting in order to frighten the enemies of Allah: “And make ready what is in your ability in order to frighten the enemies of God”, (Anfal: 60). “Muslims are stronger than their enemies because of their trust in God, but if enemies ask for peace, Muslims should accept it” (Anfal: 61).

Finally, religious security is another branch of national security mentioned by the Holy Quran. It means that Muslims should feel security about their religious values so that they can defend them against enemy, and this, consists part of the security of a country.

Accordingly, “it is necessary to Muslims to investigate on their religion, as well as taking part in Jihad for God, in order to promote and protect their religious values”, (Towbeh: 122).

3-2-3. International Security

International security refers to provide security for all countries who live in the international environment. Under the coverage of respect to bilateral or multi-lateral commitments and their enactment, those countries can observe justice, and refrain from violation to each other's lands.

The Holy Quran has pointed to these issues in different places:

“When you came to an agreement with pagans, observe that agreement, during the time that they don't break it and don't help anybody against you, because Allah loves the virtuous”, (Towbeh: 4). In another place, God considers agreements as a general command for Muslims and says”, Oh, believers! Remain faithful to treaties”, (Maedah: 1). Here, being faithful to treaties is a general command because it includes both, internal and foreign treaties. Thus, since enactment of international agreements guarantees the international security, it is a part of types security, and simultaneously its observance contributes to the national security of countries. For this reason the Holy Quran encourages Muslims to be loyal toward it.

3-3. Security in Islamic Tradition

In Islamic tradition, security is one the two blessings that human beings won't realize their value until they miss them. Imam Sadiq

(A. S.) quotes from the Holy Prophet Mohammad (p.b.u.h) and says: "There are two unknown blessings, health and security"¹³.

Imam Ali considers the purpose of government as the establishment of security for people in the country. In his opinion, this contributes to the tranquility of the oppressed as well as to the emergence of the signs of religion in the society:

"Oh, God! You know that what I did, was neither because of my interest in power, nor in wealth, but it was because I wanted to show the signs of religion and to establish public welfare in your cities in order to return safety to your oppressed servants and to enact your commands that had remained incomplete"¹⁴.

As it can be seen in Imam Ali's words, the traditional understanding from the concept of security, that is, lack of intimidation and oppression in the community of Muslims were his points of view. That is why he had nothing to do with enemies unless they interrupted the public order and security. Therefore, he didn't fight against the Companions of Jamal until they began to disrupt the social order, and after their practical action, Imam Ali began to fight against them. In fact, for him government was an instrument for creating security for residents, in roads, and waging was against enemies, and gathering treasury and supporting the oppressed and the disposed", he says in Nahjolbalagheh.¹⁵ In another place, in a letter to Moavieh, Imam Ali reminds him that the duty of government is to take the right of the oppressed from tyrants, and to protect the borders of the country from the violation of enemies.¹⁶

In a recommendation to Malek Ashtar in the direction of protection of social security, Imam Ali wrote: "War is not always the final resolution. Sometimes you should establish peace and quiet

in the country through signing peace treaties with the enemy, because peace leads to calmness of your military and brings security to your cities. This was what the Holy Prophets did by signing a treaty with unbelievers of Hadibieh in Mecca¹⁷.

Imam Sajjad (A. S.) allocates one of his praying to border guards and asks God to engage pagans in their own troubles so that they can't violate the borders of Muslem countries. In fact, with this praying, Imam Sajjad asks God to establish security for Muslems against their enemies.¹⁸

3-4. Security in the Prophet Mohammad and Imam Ali's (A. S.) Seerah

The provision of security is one of the most important duties of the Islamic government. Immediately after entering Medina, the Holy Prophet Mohammad attempted to declare the protection of security and confronting the threats of enemies as his agenda. To do so, he created a strong intelligence service and military to do identify the troublemakers. He employed Hazifeh Ibne Yaman and his assistant Ammare Yaser and Zeid Ibne Hareseh for this task who were skillful in this field. Also according to his orders, Abbas Ibne Abdolmottaleb who had become a Muslem before the capture of Mecca, and had hidden his religion, gathered the information of pagans for him. Talhatebne Obeidollah was assigned as the head of a group of the Holy Prophet's friends to burn the house of the Jew Sovailem, who had made a center to weaken the Holy Prophet's intelligence service. In order to form an army to protect Muslems against foreign enemies, the Holy Prophet attempted to organize a military force and reinforcement of defensive power of Medina

from his first year of Hijrat. His defensive organization had a clear work sheet, and he managed 27 battles and 66 Sariyeh (Ayati, 1359: 220).

The army consisted of several parts such as the commander, the gatherer of members, organizer of the army, logistics, information, arms supplying, publicity agent, spies, and persons in charge of war booties. In this way a systematic military was made to protect the safety of citizens. In the Prophetic and Alavi manners also the process was followed in order to defend Muslims against enemies. The provision of security was so important to Imam Ali (A. S.) that he became very angry when he heard that in his government some of his men had taken the anklet of a Jew woman out of his foot, so he reprimanded those men¹⁹.

Unlike the manner of many kings who treated people oppressively when necessary in order to protect order in the society, Imam Ali never sacrificed justice for security. He wrote to Malek Ashtar who was assigned as the ruler of Egypt: "The best thing for rulers is the administration of justice across the country, to attract the hearts of their people, and this will be achieved only by the kindness of the rulers."²⁰

Imam Ali (A. S.) considered justice as the factor of duration of governments²¹, order of societies, welfare of people²², and prosperity countries²³, all of which contribute to the establishment of security. The public satisfaction toward the government and rulers leads to the legitimacy of the diplomacy, and promotion of security. Imam Ali (A. S.) in his letter to Malek advises him to treat people kindly and create a relationship between himself and people like the relationship between a father and his children²⁴. He also

considers the enactment of advising people to do right and to avoid sin as the factors of establishment of internal security (Koleini, 1411: 6), and fighting against enemies as the guarantees of foreign security. Like a door to the heaven, while he considers disregarding of Jihad for Allah as the origin of abjectness and suffering for people²⁵.

Imam Ali, like the Holy Prophet Mohammad gave priority to the intelligence service and powerful military, and allocated many letters and lectures to them.²⁶ From another point of view, in the manner of all Imams and religious leaders, security appears in the frame of Taghieh (to hide one's religion) which was used in a strategic framework by Imams and Shiites in order to prevent from pointless instability of Muslim society and endangering people's lives and belongings. Imam Moosa Kazem (A. S.) advised Ali Ibne Yaghtin to hide his religion in the court of Haroon Abbasi and employ his influence to decrease Haroon's pressure upon Shiites. The principle of Taghieh has been followed during the time. It has come in our religious texts as an important strategy to protect Shiite community.

Conclusion

Order and security are among concepts required by human societies. Man, inherently needs individual, social, and international security to have a secure and calm life beside other humans. Order and security are interdependent; social order is created and continues by security. The Almighty God in his Quran, and religious leaders in their practical life style and traditions have paid much attention to this basic individual and social need, and have pre-

sented necessary recommendations about its different aspects. The Holy Quran points to the order existing within the nature to teach the best style of individual and social life. Allah as the creator of the universe who knows every need of humans doesn't see security only in social and international tranquility and elimination of foreign enemy dread, but considers even saying prayer as a means of establishment of mental calmness of humans: "Beware! Only with the memory of Allah will hearts relax" (Ra'd: 28).

Allah addresses his servants and says, "Oh relaxed soul, Return to your God, while he is pleased with you, and you are pleased with him. Come among my servants and enter my heaven" (Fajr, 27 – 30). Thus the order and security that Allah represents to his servants has two worldly and other worldly dimensions. This is different from the order and security offered by Western humanist schools that emphasize only on its worldly, physical dimension. In this paper, it was tried to explain the different dimensions of order and security from Islamic and Quranic point of view, and Prophetic and Alavi tradition, encompassing both, worldly and otherworldly aspects of order and security.

Notes

1. Imam Ali (A. S.) said: No one deprives people of their certain rights and interests, except hostile disbelievers and perverted hypocrites (Nahjolbalagheh: 242)
2. Order in the universe can clearly be seen; for example, the Earth orbits around itself every 24 hours, and around the Sun every one year. A year consists of four seasons. Every day the Sun rises from the east,...
3. Among their goals is achieving their interests and benefits.

4. Sometimes, when goods become expensive, the order of the society becomes disturbed because it threatens the benefits of some groups.
5. Refer to Mohammad Mohammadi Reyshahri, Mizanolhekmah, Ghom, Darolhadith, Volume 4, page 3306, appendix the term "order", hadith 20336
6. Nahjolbalagheh, Ghom, letter 47
7. Nahjolbalagheh, Sobhi Saleh, Letter 53, page 444
8. Nahjolbalagheh, lecture 40, page 82
9. Abdolvahed Ibne Mohammad Tamimi Amedi (1360) Alghorar valdorar. report
10. It has been narrated from the Holy Prophet that he said: "Two blessings are unknown: health and security", Baharolanvar, vol. 81, 9 170
11. Imam Ali (A. S.) said: "There is nothing better than freedom", Amedi, Ghorarolhekmah and Dorarolhekmah, vol. 6, page 435
12. The word security and its derivatives have been used in the Quran for 879 times, 358 of which is Makki suras and 521 of which in Madani suras. Refer to Bahram Akhavan Kazemi, Security in Political System of Islam, Tehran, Kanoon Andished Javan 1385, p 151
13. Baharolanvar, vol. 87, p: 17
14. Nahjolbalagheh, lecture 131, p: 129
15. See Seyyed Razi, Nahjolbalagheh, Hejrat., Ghom (1414), pp 244 and 337
16. Nahjolbalagheh, lecture 40, p: 82
17. Alnoori Altabarsi, Mirza Hossein. Mostadrekolvasael va Mostanbetolmasael, Alal-bit institution (p.b.u.t), section 30, vol. 2
18. Sahifeh Sajjadih, praying for frontier guards 27
19. Nahjolbalagheh, lecture 27
20. Feizolism, Nahjolbalagheh. Letter 53, p: 988
21. Tamini, Amedi, 1360. P: 355, vol 15
22. Ghazvini, 1371 p: 175
23. Ghazvini, 1371: 193
24. Feizolislam, Nahjolbalagheh, letter 53, p: 996
25. Feizolislam, Nahjolbalagheh, lecture 196, p: 657
26. In relation to the importance of the intelligence service refer to letters 45 and 53 and for reinforcement of military power, refer to letters 12, 16, and 53 and lectures 10, 12, 63 Nahjolbalagheh

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Strategic Requirements of Islam in Political Sciences' Field

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Abstract

The expression of the reality that there is a relationship between the political system and the knowledge type in all societies that contributes to the establishment and continuity of power, guides us to discuss the ideal political knowledge in Iran, appropriate to the Islamic strategic teachings. In other words, Islam has its own requirements impacting all scientific realms including political science. From this viewpoint, the major question is: "What is the strategic requirement of Islam in political realm"? To answer this question, the researcher has tried, using the comparative method, to clarify the differences between the Islamic policy and the secular policy, and then to suggest a new political model. This new model is under the influence of the Islamic teachings from four aspects, namely: first ontological aspect which compares the two-dimensional Islamic viewpoint with the one-dimensional viewpoint of secularism; second, epistemology that compares the software approach of Iranian culture with the hostile one; third, providence that considers salvation as a substitute for hegemonism; and forth, methodology that suggests morality as an alternate for instrumentalism.

Keywords

Political Science Discipline, Islamic, Iran, Secularism, Power, Benefit.

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Introduction

Politics has several meanings such as protection of the country, ruling the citizens, kingdom, management upon social affairs (Derakhsheh, 1386: 141), powerful distribution of values and resources among members of the society (Easton, 1979: 57-69), regulating the relation of power, or the manner of power distribution (Schewartzmantel, 1987: 2-7). But by a glance at these definitions, it seems that “power” is the common phenomenon among all of them, having a specific position in the political science, as the major column of knowledge and definition of politics. This is while Islam, for the reason of change of bases and framework, criticizes the above-mentioned principle (hegemonism), and, as a result, we can witness a new approach in the science of politics. From this viewpoint, it can be said that any consideration of politics will be dependent on the attitudes of individuals toward extensive realms of ontology and epistemology. In other words, our manner of looking at the world impacts on our perception of politics and its duty. This is because of spatial nativism of politics that necessitates the influence of environmental conditions of politics (see Khajeh Sarvi, 1389: 35-36). This case becomes more important about the Islamic revolution. Derakhsheh et al., pointing to the civilizational nature of the Islamic revolution, concluded that the occurrence of revolution in Iran influenced on political equations in two levels (see Derakhsheh, 1390: 25-56). First is the software level, covering the reformation of philosophic feature of politics and finally leading to the Islamization of politics. Second is the hardware level of politics which involves the modification and improvement of the performance of politics, representing the Islamic-Iranian politics

model. Regarding the above-mentioned analysis, we are going to identify the layers forming politics in the Islamic Republic of Iran, appropriate to Islamic nature, and accordingly, introduce the important principles that contribute to the foundation of the native politics in Iran. To do so, we employed the comparative method, trying to introduce politics within the Islamic framework in four major levels of ontology, epistemology, providence, and methodology, differing from the Western secularism.

1. Analytical Framework

The understanding of characteristics of all scientific schools depends on the designing of an analytical framework so that it can indicate similarities and dissimilarities among them. It is only in such a case that weaknesses and strengths of different ideologies can be shown and finally an accurate conclusion can be obtained. To do so, the research will suggest a theoretical framework with two major columns:

First column: Islamic and the relationship between power and knowledge:

The investigation of relationship between power and knowledge is important because it eventually changes the mechanism of the foundation and continuity of political systems in practice. From this viewpoint, three approaches can be distinguished:

a. The superiority of knowledge to power:

In this regard, a political action is considered as dependent on the rationality through the changing of which, the improvement of political systems becomes possible. And it is just for this reason that the science of politics has declined to the understanding of

viewpoints and conceptual systems, and we can see the emergence of theoretical and ideological studies.

b. The superiority of power to knowledge:

In this approach, knowledge is considered as a product of power. In other words, knowledge is the full-faced mirror of power during any era (see Firahi, 1378: 13).

c. Interaction between power and knowledge:

Regarding that both of the above-mentioned approaches represent some part of reality, the interaction model can be regarded as the base in which, knowledge and power complete each other. This base is more consistent with the Islamic world (see Rezvan, 1986).

Thinking about the above-mentioned approach, it can be concluded that political power is the need of accuracy and consideration on the type and nature of political knowledge for different reasons including:

- 1. Knowledge represents a specific image of political system that can impact its establishment and continuity.*
- 2. Knowledge defines a specific life style that can impact the interaction model between governments and nations.*
- 3. Knowledge influences on social expectations, and thereby impact the political stability.*
- 4. Knowledge represents specific cultural indexes and evaluating criteria that can impact the future of political systems.*

To be brief, Islam as the founder of a new system in the realm of management of societies, needs to be sensitive toward the type and nature of political knowledge, because the type of political

knowledge can, via a mutual correlation with political system, contribute to its strength and continuity as well as its decline.

Second column: Islam and cultural structure of political knowledge:

Political knowledge has four cultural and methodologic layers according to the Islamic worldview as follows:

First layer: *Political ontology*

The word “ontology” means the science or philosophy of study of existence (High, 1385: 106). It refers to specific procedural assumptions or claims in social studies on political or social nature; claims about what exists, what it looks like, what components it has, and what kind correlation exists among those components (Blaikie, 1993: 6).

Generally, the aim of ontology is to answer the important question about the scope of political action. Accordingly there can exist two major approaches:

a. One-dimensional ontology:

In this approach, existence is limited to the material world; therefore, scientific politics is defined in the scope of effect of worldly affairs, and clearly is disconnected from spiritual affairs. The result of this traditionalism is secularism which is presents in the common political science of the West (see Novak: 1385).

This ontological approach is rejected from Islamic viewpoint and the Holy Quran says in this regard: “These are those who lost their afterlife, and bought the worldly life; their sufferings won’t reduce, and no one will help them.”¹ In other words, this approach

is considered as being incomplete because of paying mere attention to material dimensions of politics, and it is not able to manage all aspects of politics.

b. Two-dimensional ontology:

In this approach, life has two dimensions:

This worldly and next worldly. And any action has two simultaneous outcomes. In this approach, the issue of getting retribution for one's good or evil deeds is very important, and its index has been sent to man through a specific charter and with the hands of a specific messenger by Allah. The consequent of such an approach is formation of some kind of politics science relative to the ideal management of worldly affairs in relation to normative principles. Normalization of politics science is the product of choosing this approach. Thus it can be concluded that political science moves in a continuum of one-dimensional attitude rather than a continuum of two-dimensional attitude (see Khosrowpanah and Panahi, 1389). Accordingly, Imam Khomeini's idea becomes meaningful suggesting that man is a two-dimensional creature able to experience either the highest or the lowest ranks of existence. In other words all features of man's life, including politics, can be understood through two models (either one-dimensional, based on worldly prosperity, or two-dimensional, based on human prosperity).

Second Layer: Political epistemology

Epistemology studies the nature of obtaining knowledge by man about his surrounding world. Epistemology is important because it represents a philosophic base to identify the potential knowledge

to researchers. In addition, it gives some standards to evaluate the valid knowledge (Crotty, 1998: 8). To be brief, ontology asks about what there is to identify, while the epistemologist asks about the conditions of obtaining knowledge about the existing subjects. In other words, ontology pays attention to inherent components of the politics science, while epistemology describes their objective impression in the world, which is often referred to as power. From this viewpoint, two images of power are identifiable:

a. Hardware approach (policy based on force)

“Force” is a kind of power depending on “coercion” and “imposition”. In this model, power in its classic meaning is that someone forces another one to do something that if conditions were otherwise, the latter would not do it (see Dall, 1364).

On this base, force is considered as the origin of power and it confirms the model of “right belongs to the dominant side” in the political realm.

b. Software approach (policy based on capabilities)

Capability is a kind of power associated with willingness and cooperation. Thus it is considered as an ideal source of strength. Contrary to the above-mentioned model. Here, someone attempts willingly to do something, and another person asks him to do for the benefit of something regarding his interests and capacities (as a legitimizing factor).

As it seems, the political science moves within a continuum from force to capabilities, (Nai, 1387: 42-51). Imam Khomeini's suggestion in this regard is illustrative. He says: “If rulers of Islamic countries were real representatives of believers and enforced

Islamic orders, they would put aside trifle disputes and would get united ... Then a few abject Jews who are all servants of America and England could not become so aggressive” (Mousavi Khomeini, Bita: 33).

Third layer: *Political teleology*

Here, the final and comprehensive end is regarded, within which all other small and middle size goals of actors are defined (see Altahanavi: 1996).

Within the above-mentioned ontological framework, the final end of political science can be described in the frame of two main concepts:

a. Profiteering:

Traditional approaches toward politics, regarding the Creation system's perception of man, eventually put forward some kind of humanism, in which, the provision of concrete and worldly profits of man is of the highest priority. As a result of this approach, political science has the duty, regardless of moral or normative obligations, to prepare the ground for the realization of this end. Since in this trend, only material has authenticity, spiritual affairs become important only when they can facilitate the achievement of materialistic goals. Thus, they don't have any value by themselves (see Jones, 1383: 481-502). Accordingly, morality also, as the center of humane action, loses its importance and can be used only as an instrument for achieving material interests.

b. Salvationism:

In non-traditional approaches (and specifically in Islamic normative approach), the political power is supposed to provide peo-

ple with both, worldly and other worldly interests, and to prepare the appropriate atmosphere for political-social growth of citizens, so that there exists the possibility of prosperity for individuals (see Morad, 1992). In this approach, power has no value by itself and gets enough importance, and it only serves as contributing to the prosperity of citizens. This is because submission to Allah and the obedience of his orders which is the final end of Creation, become possible only through correct use of political power (see Eftekhari et al., 1392: specially section 1 and 2).

Imam Khomeini says in this regard: "In fact the most important duty of Prophets was to establish a social righteous system through enactment of laws according to teachings sent by Allah" (Mousavi Khomeini, *Bitā Alaste Faghīh*: 77).

Fourth Layer: Political Methodology

In this discussion, we refer to methodology as a means by which we think about realization of capability of getting knowledge about what exists using appropriate procedures (High, 1385: 109). Here, method refers to techniques taken by agencies or society or other social institutions in order to achieve the goals defined by the policy. Thus, those techniques can be divided in two major groups:

a. Non-moral technique:

In the realm of epistemology and teleology, our choice of approach will impact the choice of methodology. Therefore, in force-based and profiteering approaches a system will rule the theoretical and practical policy which considers "achievement of benefits" as the standard for evaluation of theories and behaviors. This sys-

tem (comparing with the principles of normative schools in the political realm) is in fact some kind of immorality, because it devotes everything to provide material interests through employing every possible means. It is necessary to note that in this approach, spiritual means also sometimes is used to achieve materialistic goals and some politicians misuse religion in order to realize their own intentions (see Makiavelli, 1377 and 1388).²

b. Moral technique:

this technique has in fact been derived from theories of capabilities and salvationalism within the scope of epistemology. In this technique the essence of moralities and spiritual principles and their consideration are in the center of attention. Meanwhile, the goals and political instruments should be confirmed by the realm of moralities (see Motahhari, 1370). In other words, in this technique, the employment of immoral manners is forbidden even if the final goal is moral (see Kiani, 1388). Imam Khomeini says in the regard: “My dears, I don’t give priority to leadership; what is important to me is brotherhood; Allah has addressed us as brothers in his Holy book. You had better call me as your servant, not your leader”, (Imam’s Sahifieh, Vol. 11: 352. See Ghadre Velayat. 1393).

2. Islam and the Separation of Political Science

Here the researcher’s aim is to represent premises that prepare establishing the Islamic political science according to above-mentioned details. In other words, the political science should be freed from principles and bases of the Western politics science in four realms so that it can have a positive and generative interaction with

the Islamic revolution:

2-1. Separation of Politics from Secularism

This principle refers to the necessity of association of religion with politics; so that politics accepts its obligation to principles of religion. Seyyed Hossein Nasr, emphasizing on the strategic role of “endless reality” in fact, suggests that politics cannot be the more obedient to transitory and changing intentions of individuals, or even the elites: “Today, everyone is speaking about evolution and change. Some try to change affairs according to their own time... [for them] man should submit all realities to intentions and interests of this era-even though those intentions may be wrong... [but] man is a creature who has not basically changed and the depth of his spirit-like that of his ancestors-is involved in an endless reality. Thus, he himself has to find the concept in these transitory days of life” (Nasr, 1371: 249-251). Accordingly, “religion” and “secularism” shouldn’t be considered merely as two extensive concepts, even though very important in human life, but, they are the basis of two different atmospheres in human life only because they represent two different concepts for man. In other words they can be considered as the producer of two types of policy-one this worldly and the other, the spiritual worldly (see Kamali Ardakani et al., 1386: 3-38 and 317-356).

Thus, regarding the experiences of the Islamic government during the times of the Holy Prophet and Imam Ali, it can be claimed that the liberation of politics from the prison of secularism is considered as the first step toward the ideal political stage in the Islamic scope (see Derakhshah, 1386: 137-180). This attempt is called

“the legitimization of politics” as opposed to the conventionalization of politics (see Eftekhari, 2014).

2-2. Separation of Political Science from Hegemonism

The most important feature of politics criticized by Islam is hegemonism. While the conventional politics is formed with the centrality of power, and as seen by realistic interpretation. Politics reduces to being the technique of achievement, maintenance, and development of power. (Holsti, 1383: specially 12-40); in the Islamic discourse, power has basically no strategic value and it is often represented to realize the strategic goals (Mahdavi, 1392: 79-83). Thus it can be claimed that according to the experience of Islamic revolution, the system of political science education needs to be reviewed so that it can find its native form and obtain practical value (see A group of writers, 1389: 3-18 and 241-258). It is because firstly, the Islamic policy is not dependent on hegemonism, and thus, the Islamic political theory should be defined via substitute concepts. Secondly, the meaning of the present premise is to reject hegemonism and not to emphasize on invalidity of power. In other words, the instrumental role of power has been accepted by the Islamic policy.

Based on this insight, only that power is valuable that is committed to religious principles based on wisdom and knowledge. This is contrary to the power produced by force, which is able to impose itself, but the addressees do not accept it intentionally. In fact the Islamic policy is understandable in this framework and not with the theory of power based on forcing the addressees.

2-3. Separation of Politics from Profiteering

Although philosophic discussions on the final goal of politics are several and various (see Queenton, 1371: sections 6, 9, and 10; Hampton, 1380: sections 2, and 3), it seems that uncontested importance of benefits is more welcome, so that, within the scope of internal and foreign policy, the provision of benefits is considered as being the final goal of diplomacy (see Clinton, 1379: specially section 2). This providence is based on some kind of anthropology, within which, man is considered as a selfish creature who is always seeking his own benefits, and to success, shows interest in individual as well as collective attempts involving his own profits. This consideration which seeks simple and one-dimensional benefits of man is completely different from the Islamic perspective that gives importance to interests and well-being of man, observing two major dimensions (see Derakhshah, 1387: specially section 3 and 7) as follows:

a. The well-being produced by regulating the relationship between man and Allah that appears in the frame of submission to Allah, dominating upon all political features. In fact, politics should contribute to enhancement and development of religious devotion and commitment to Godly orders. Therefore, the management of social affairs without religion, is not considered as politics from Islamic viewpoint because it doesn't lead to the major well-being that is the satisfaction of Allah.

b. The benefit produced by the regulation of relationship between individual and others, and political and social institutions within the society. This feature of Islamic policy is outwardly similar to the conventional politics, in which, the goal is prosperity of

the society. Of course the purposes in this dimension of politics are not the same, but their foreign outcome looks similar.

As a result of this evolution, it seems that the Islamic diplomacy has a collective nature, that is, the public well-being, which has centrality. In this definition, politics in Islam, the dominating attitude is the prosperity of all individuals of a society. In other words, what people should do in order to achieve prosperity is not the subject of politics, but what the government should do so that all individuals become prosperous, is of importance.

According to this interpretation, some kind of responsibility toward public welfare (All of you are responsible for each other's deeds) is the subject of the Islamic diplomacy and completely different from mere benefit of individuals, groups, or parties.

2-4. Separation of Politics from Immorality

The contemporary world's problem in the binary of morality-immorality, as a result of which, some themes belong to the realm of morality while some others such as politics belong to the realm of immoralities (see Simbar, 1390: section 7 especially 207-213). This consideration of politics has contributed to several harms including positivism of politics and transformation of cultural principles and norms. It should be noted that in this type of policy, the basic principles and norms are not essentially rejected, but it is emphasized on their complying with political goals. In other words, politics produces morality, while morality cannot produce politics. Thus, immorality refers to a state in which, morality is dependent on political goals, and this state is contrary to the Islamic discourse in which, morality stands in the center and

politics depends on it (see Eftekhari, 1390).

Conclusion

Since the Islamic revolution is highly influenced by the common political science, sensitivity to requirements of diplomacy in Iran with the aim to guarantee a promising future for the Islamic Republic is of high importance. In this relation, the existing viewpoints can be classified to two groups:

1. Thinkers who believe in reading out the conventional political theories in the framework of the Islamic revolution's discourse. As a result of this attempt, Islamic versions will be produced in the framework of the conventional political science, contributing to the crisis of proficiency of the Islamic Republic in long term.

2. Thinkers who represent Islamic documented reasons for the conventional political theories. As a result of these suggestions we will experience the expansion of Western ideologies with Islamic feature, and it will lead to the transformation of the Islamic Republic in medium term.

It must be said that we consider none of these two suggested groups as comprehensive. We believe that the major difference of the Islamic Revolution from other existing discourses necessitates the production of new knowledge with the ability to have a creative interaction with the political system in Iran. For this reason, a comparative study has been conducted in order to clarify the differences between these two groups. The comparative study of Islamic and Western worldview indicates that we are facing two

different political sciences. In fact, contrary to apparent similarities, there are some epistemological and anthropological principles that prevents us from equating the Iranian political science with the conventional politics. Regarding what was represented in this paper, it can be concluded that, under the influence of the Islamic Revolution, politics in Iran has undertaken some conceptual evolution leading to the change of its emphasis from power to prosperity. In this new approach, politics is in the service of public prosperity and power is merely an instrument for achieving this worldly and the other worldly salvation. Accordingly, in order to get to the native politics in Iran, the conventional politics needs to separate itself from the common discourse in four dimensions:

1. separation of politics from secularism; 2. separation of politics from hegemonism; 3. separation of politics from profiteering; and 4. separation of politics from immorality.

It is only in the light of experiencing these four strategic principles that the Islamic Republic of Iran will be able to guarantee its strong future, otherwise, it can be said that the political knowledge will change to a negative system toward power that can endanger the future of our country.

Notes

1. Holy Quran, Baghareh sura: 86

2. see Ibne Asir, vol. 8. 1380: 3744-3745, and Tabarsi, 1373: 356-359 for additional information "Abbasids and misuse of religion to legitimize their power"

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The Philosophical, Political and Economic Thought of Dr. Muhammad Iqbal: A Brief Reappraisal

Rizwan Hussain¹

Abstract

This paper discusses some key points in the philosophical, political and economic thought of the famous Indian Muslim poet Dr. Mohammad Iqbal. Iqbal sought to reform the Muslim identity and the wider Islamic world in order to deal with the Western challenge. He was deeply perturbed by the ideological domination of the East by the West in the political, cultural and social spheres. His political and economic perceptions, as indicated in his poems, seek to revive the self-confidence and creativity in the Muslim Ummah (Community). Iqbal exhorts the Muslims to realise their identity and selfhood (Khudi) to confront the Western challenge. Iqbal's politico-economic thought is tinged with his dislike of capitalism and colonial rule. As an anti-dote to these elements, Iqbal speaks positively of socialism and its main proponents in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century although he rejects the atheistic form of socialism. Iqbal also purposes a reconstruction of Islamic thought in order to make it compatible with the demands of the modern world. All in all, Iqbal's philosophy reveals an eclectic mixture of Islamic modernism, anti-imperialism, pan-Islamism and a desire for a socially equitable society within an Islamic framework.

Keywords

Khudi, Ego, Islam, Imperialism, Colonialism, Western Civilisation, Equality, Quran, Democracy, Socialism, Caliphate.

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Introduction

Dr Muhammad Iqbal¹ (b. 1877–d. 1938) was a preeminent Muslim poet, thinker, and statesman of India in the early twentieth century. Allama² Iqbal was born in Sialkot, Punjab province, British India (present-day Pakistani Punjab). His ancestors were Kashmiri Brahmins. He was educated at Lahore, Cambridge, and Munich. Iqbal travelled to Cambridge (1905) to study Neo-Hegelian philosophy and law. In the summer of 1907, he went to Heidelberg to learn German and submitted a thesis on “The Development of Metaphysics in Persia” at the University of Munich in November 1907.

Iqbal’s eloquent writings in Urdu, Persian, and English were aimed at reconstructing Islamic thought in the modern age and galvanising into action the dormant Muslim communities of India and other Islamic lands under Western colonial control. He was well-versed in Islamic philosophy and had extensively studied Ibn-i-Arabi and Al Ghazzali. His poetry is based on Indian and Persian literary tradition reflecting his deep understanding, and his attempt to arrive at a creative synthesis, of the Islamic and Western intellectual and literary heritage. Dr Iqbal’s vision of a separate homeland for India’s Muslims makes him the spiritual father of the state of Pakistan carved out of Britain’s Indian empire in 1947.

Essentially, Iqbal was an eclectic thinker but who propounded an ecumenical version of Islam compatible with modernist ideas but based on the foundation of its traditional spiritual heritage. In fact, it is impossible to cover the vast scope and philosophical depth of Iqbal’s works in one essay. This essay, therefore, only gives an outline of Iqbal’s perceptions on philosophy, politics and

economics. It is organised as follows: Section I gives a summary of Iqbal's philosophical ideas which had a profound impact on his politico-economic thought. Section II deals with his political thinking while Section III gives an exposition of his economic ideals. Section IV briefly outlines of some criticisms of Iqbal and Section V concludes the essay.

1. The Philosophical Foundations of Iqbal's Thought

Muhammad Iqbal was perhaps the greatest of all Islamic modernists. His level of mastery of Western philosophy, in addition to his knowledge of the Islamic tradition, was unparalleled by other great Islamic modernists such as Syed Ahmed Khan (Nationality: Indian. 1817-1898), Jamal al-Din Asadabadi – Iranian- Known widely as *Al-Afghani* (1838-1897), Muhammad Abduh (Egyptian. 1849-1905) and Syed Ameer Ali (Indian. 1849-1928).

For Iqbal, as was the case for all Muslim reformers, there was a deep sense of disquiet regarding the political and economic ascendancy of the West over the Muslim world, manifested in the colonisation of vast swathes of Muslim lands beginning in the 18th century. The main question troubling Muslim thinkers were “what had gone wrong?” India of Iqbal's period was no exception. It was the ‘Jewel’ in Britain's colonial empire in Asia. For many Western-educated Muslim intellectuals, the Islamic world's civilizational inferiority was due to the West's embracing of reason and the Muslim world's ostensible discarding of it. However, unlike the mainstream of Muslim reformers, Iqbal did not advocate a wholesale adoption of Western thought and reason to improve the abysmal condition of the Islamic world. Instead, he proposed the

adoption of Western reason and education, but within the philosophical foundations of the spirit of Islam.

Iqbal is the only Muslim philosopher of the twentieth century who made an attempt to understand the modern Western philosophy within an Islamic context. He was an admirer of German philosophy. German philosophers such as Hegel, Kant, Leibnitz, Fichte, Nietzsche and Marx and several other Western philosophers had a profound influence on him. But, out of all Western and Eastern philosophers and mystics, the maximum influence and affinity on the ideas of Iqbal came from Maulana Jalal-ud-Din Rumi, whose *Mathnawi* is an immortal classic of Persian mysticism.

Iqbal is a critic of the West's domination of the Islamic world. The centrepiece of Iqbal's anti-Westernism is his critique of Western imperialism and Muslim society's subjugation to Western culture by losing its traditions, identity and honour. He envisaged that through his poetry he could assist in resistance to colonial hegemony and facilitate the empowerment of the Muslims. In addition, he sought to revive the humanistic spirit of Islam based on love and affection which in his mind had been corrupted by the rigid interpretation of past Arab/Islamic scholars. He wants to propound a humanist³, non-sectarian and modern Islamic spirit within a pan-Islamic framework. In fact, Iqbal's pan-Islamic bent had great impact on Islamic modernists of the late twentieth century including prominent thinkers such as Dr Ali Shariati of Iran (1933-1977), the famous Turkish poet Zia Gokalp⁴ (1876-1924) and many others

Foremost in Iqbal's endeavour to improve the Muslim condition is for them to realise their real self or *Khudi* (in Persian and Urdu). Iqbal perceived that Muslims lacked self-realisation of their

identity and value and, as a result, their character and morality had become debased. They were either living in ignorance and simply following rituals often misinterpreted, especially in the context of India, by semi-literate clergy or were becoming slaves of Western culture by blindly emulating the West without any critique or reservation. In Iqbal's assessment Muslims lacked any sense of unity of purpose, empathy for their co-religionists or a direction in life. His famous poem '*Ghulamon ki Namaz*' (Prayers of the Slaves), written in 1935, depicts his helplessness and disappointment through his sarcastic mockery of Indian Muslims' satisfaction in rituals and lack of struggle against foreign rule. In 1911, Iqbal had elaborated this psyche in the Urdu poem '*Šhikwā*' (Complaint), in which Muslims' complain to God that he has forsaken them. A year later in '*Jawāb-i Šhikwā*,' Iqbal gives the God's answer that the indolent Muslims have brought misfortune upon themselves with their forsaking the spirit of the message of God given to the Holy Prophet Muhammad (May the blessings of Allah be upon Him and his family). This sorry state of affairs was due to the Muslim's lack of understanding of the true nature of Islam which in turn had led to the debasement of his *Khudi*.

Iqbal's attainment of *Khudi* revolved around the theme of reviving the spiritual powers of resistance necessary for self-ascertainment and regaining dignity. Thus, his poetry emphasises that the Muslims can only reach liberation from the enslavement of Western culture if they know their Self (*Khudi*) and in turn foster their ego to new heights. Consequently, the attainment of *Khudi* and realisation of an eternally powerful ego would lead the Muslim, in Iqbal's vision, to attain the status of *Mard-i-Momin*, or *In-*

san-i-Kamil- a complete moral human being with the virtues and character of the Prophets. This is the embodiment of that perfect selfhood (*Khudi*) that is embellished by the attributes of God—not an easy status to attain.

For Iqbal, ethically, the word '*Khudi*' means 'self-reliance, self-respect, self-confidence, self-preservation, even self-assertion when such a thing is necessary, in the interests of life and the power to stick to the cause of truth, justice, duty ...' (A.M. Schimmel, 1963 :42). Iqbal thought it necessary also to warn the readers "that '*Khudi*' is not used to mean pride as in the common usage of the word in Urdu, but is inked with the building of a powerful ego- which Muslims lacked due to colonial subjugation. In his view, a Muslim's purpose was to discover his *khudi* by demolishing obscurantism, dogmatism and inertia. He was then to inspire *khudi* in his community, which, in turn, would inspire the community to turn itself into a polity driven by a dynamic, evolving and progressive Islam. This process will lead to the creation of a powerful nation of forward-looking and motivated Muslims who would be able to convincingly and effectively challenge European colonialism, economic exploitation and Western political ideas, which, to Iqbal, had become 'morally bankrupt'.

The cultivation of *Khudi* and, as a result, the ego, in Iqbal's verses, is the reactivation of desire, truth, love, courage, honesty, honour, perseverance, morality and spiritual resilience in the Muslim character. All these were necessary to rejuvenate the indolent Muslims from their slumber and self-resignation. The cultivation of *Khudi* was regarded as vital to building a character strong enough to confront Western imperialism and realise God's promise

to Muslims that one day they will be the leaders of humanity. In this context, it is essential to note that the concept of *Faqr* (poverty) is also an essential theme of Iqbal's works. *Faqr* in his poetry is not the economic poverty faced by the individual but the strength to resist the lower temptations of the world. To cultivate *Faqr*, Iqbal points out that the Holy Quran provides the main guide. He observes in the *Javid Nama* that:

Without the Quran, the lion is a wolf;

The poverty of the Quran is the root of empire.

The poverty of the Quran is the mingling of meditation and reason.

I have never seen reason perfect without meditation. (Arberry, 1966 Trans: 89)

In Iqbal's perception '*Faqiri*' and *Faqr* (Poverty) is the urge to inculcate the inner detachment and moral self-control which can enable a person to be a part of the world and yet not serve any god but God. Iqbal associated a true Muslim was imbued with the spirit of *faqiri*- he was otherworldly in his soul, but in this world he was a man of action who cultivated his/her ego. To his son, he wrote:

My way lies not in wealth but in 'Faqiri',

Your Selfhood (Khudi) do not sell - in poverty make a name (Iqbal, *Bal-i- Gibril*: 189)

In 1915, Iqbal's first major Persian work *Asrār-i khudi* 'The Secrets of the self' was published. In this work, written in the style of Rumi's *Mathnavi*, he preaches the strengthening of personality, activity, honour, self-respect and courage- it rehashes his main

theme of building *Khudi* and dynamism/ action as the essence of Islam's principles (A. M. Schimmel, 2002). Later, in *Ramuz-i BeKhudi* 'Mysteries of selflessness,' Iqbal explained the individual's duties in the ideal community of Muslims and the role of this community in the world: as the 'seal of communities.' Muslims should act, following the Prophet's example, as 'mercy for the worlds' (The Holy Quran, 1969, Pickthall trans: v 21:107).

A recurring theme in Iqbal's Urdu and Persian poems is his love of the Prophet (Peace be upon Him and his family). His numerous poems idolize Imam Hussain's (A. S.) sacrifice in Karbala as the ideal symbol of revitalized *Khudi* and an example of struggle against evil of a true *Momin* (*Mard-i- Khoda*). Similarly, he gives the example of Hazrat Fatima Zahra (A.S.) as the ideal woman's example to humankind. In a similar vein, he eulogises Imam Ali Ibn Abi Talib (A.S.) as the symbol of courage, love, humility and faqr. In *Asrar-i-Khudi*, he had expressed his respectful love and admiration for Imam Ali (A.S.) which he considers as the repository of Muslim knowledge and values imbued with *Khudi* and the true spiritual ideals of Islam.

2. Iqbal's' Political Thought

Iqbal political perceptions are complex and often difficult to interpret. However, there are certain consistencies which one can detect in his views. Iqbal is an anti-imperialist as well as anti-capitalist. He was indebted to Western thought but criticised everything Western. He was a political poet because his aim was to awaken the self-consciousness of Muslims, primarily in the Indian subcontinent but also in general. One can also call him as an Islamic poet,

because of his firm belief in the Quran and the deep and sincere love of the Holy Prophet as an eternal model for mankind. Muhammad Iqbal's political thought was essentially an extension of what he had asserted in his Persian and Urdu poetry. It revolved around developing a political system for the Muslims which was compatible with the ethical and moral principles of Islam yet based on modern lines.

Iqbal's political thought is not systematic but is contained in the entire corpus of his Persian and Urdu poetry. His Persian answer to the German poet Goethe's *West-Östlicher Divan* (*West-Eastern Divan*), the *Payām-i Mašhreq* 'Message of the East,' written in 1922 contains not only quatrains in the classical style but many interesting remarks about European philosophers and politicians. One year later, a collection of Iqbal's Urdu poetry appeared, called *Bāng-i- Darā* 'Sound of the caravan bell,' which further give insights on Iqbal's political thought. His other works *Arghaman-i- Hejaz* (Gift of Hejaz), *Pas Che Bayad Kard Ay Aqwam -i-Sharq* (What Should be done o' People of the East), *Bal-i- Gibril*, all contain political perceptions.

Politically, Muhammad Iqbal perceived Islam, not in terms of the details of *Sharia* (Islamic law), but in three broad and interrelated levels: (1) Islam as a faith, a religious and moral system whose cardinal beliefs mark its adherents as Muslims; (2) Islam as a culture, a way of life that would integrate Muslims into a nation state; and (3) Islam as a political-ideological system whose set of values could socialize Muslims into a viable, separate political community. This conception contrasted with that of many religious scholars, especially those of the Indian Deobandi school [influenced by the

Wahhabi doctrines prevalent in present-day Saudi Arabia] in the United Provinces of India, who envisioned an Islamic state where Islamic law would be strictly implemented (Hussain, 2006).

Islamic modernism found expression in the works of Iqbal. His vigorous pleas to reactivate the ‘principle of movement’ in Islam—*ijtihad*—to reinterpret the foundational legal principles of Islam in the light of modern conditions and ideas, and to work toward the reconstruction of Islamic religious thought have been a driving force for Islamic modernism in South Asia. Nonetheless, Iqbal is not an admirer of the Western political system or even the Western political doctrines such as Liberalism⁵. His disdain for these systems can be gleaned from his famous poem written in Urdu in 1936 called *Iblees Ki Majlis- i-Shura* (The Parliament of Satan). *Iblees Ki Majlis- i-Shura* is a scathing criticism of the major socio-political and economic systems offered by the West.

In *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, six lectures given by Iqbal at the University of Allahabad in the early 1930s, the poet’s political thought is more clearly delineated. In these lectures, Iqbal emphasises that a political system of Islam should be based on knowledge, humanity and reason. The ruling elites should govern on the basis of trust given to them by God. He quotes the Quranic verse, ‘Verily We proposed to the Heavens and to the earth and to the mountains to receive the trust, but they refused the burden and they feared to receive it. Man alone undertook to bear it, but hath proven unjust, senseless!’ (The Holy Quran, 1969 Pickthall trans: v. 33:72). Here Iqbal interprets ‘the trust’ as the trust of personality (self/ego), while historically it was

interpreted either as the trust of *Tawhid* or obedience to God. Iqbal makes a fundamental break from the traditional interpretation in an effort to revitalise Muslims towards action. For Iqbal, the discovery and cultivation of the ego marks the pinnacle of religious life. The strengthening of the ego with the divine principles is the true end as it allows man's fulfilment of his God-given role as His vicegerent on earth.

Iqbal rejected Western democracy as in his view this was a cover for many injustices. It was a tool in the hands of imperialism and capitalism: He observed in a poem in *Bang -i- Dara* that:

*The democracy of the West is the same old organ,
Which strikes the self-same note of Imperialism:
That which thou regardst as the fairy Queen of Freedom
In reality is the demon of autocracy clothed in the garb of deception.* (Hassan, 1971:155)

Iqbal also criticised Western democracy in which persons are 'counted' not 'weighed' according to their character, morality and ethics (Hassan, 1971: 155). He sought a political system in which educated leaders and enlightened persons should be elected or selected to legislate for the community.

He generally supported a republican form government based on the Islamic principles but which would give considerable personal freedom to the citizen. He had noted that the essence of Islam's basic principle of *Tawhid* was based on implementing the notions of 'equality, solidarity, and freedom'. A Muslim state's 'endeavour' is 'to transform these ideal principles into space time forces, an

aspiration to realise them in a definite human organisation' (Iqbal, 1982: 154). In addition, the needs of the individual are subordinate to the needs of the community in an Islamic order. At the same time, Iqbal is not averse to a dictatorial form of government as long as it serves the interests of the community. This can be detected from his ambivalent attitude towards dictatorial statesmen of his period such as Benito Mussolini of Italy, Mustafa Kemal 'Ataturk' of Turkey and Vladimir Lenin of Russia.

Muhammad Iqbal was a supporter of the Sunni Ottoman Empire which in his perception had kept the unity of the Muslim world for a long period. However, he also endorsed the republican style of government introduced in Turkey after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire in 1918. He, in fact, backed the Turkish dictator Mustafa Kemal 'Ataturk's' reforms of Turkey's societal, cultural and educational spheres. The movement of reform initiated by Mustafa Kemal, Iqbal believed, despite many flaws that it may encompass, was wholesome in general and to be encouraged as an illustration of how Muslim thought might be reactivated in the modern era. In Iqbal's view, these reforms may have been necessary to save Turkey from further dismemberment by the West. Intriguingly, Iqbal believed that Turkey had exercised *Ijtihad*- independent reasoning on Islamic issues- under its post-Ottoman leadership and thus its action should be understood in this context.

It should be made clear that Iqbal never endorsed all the contributions of the Kemalist secular experiment, as is sometimes thought, in its anti-clergy and anti-Sufi interpretations of Islam. However, Iqbal's qualified support for Turkey's so-called secular reforms overlooked the fact that the Kemalist leadership was trans-

forming Turkey into pro-Western client state - a situation the country still faces. Hence, it can be asserted that Iqbal may have been too optimistic about Turkey's supposed *Ijtihad* or misunderstood the nature of the post-Ottoman Turkish state. All facts suggest that the Turkish leadership at that juncture was leading their country towards an ill-planned, secularist model and had little interest in exercising *Ijtihad*. Their 'reforms' were creating a cultural and religious confusion in the Turkish national identity.

The Islamic state in Iqbal's view is to be based on consensus and should empower to exercise *Ijtihad* in order to 'reform' Islamic practices. Iqbal saw his project as being one of redefining Islam in response to colonialism and cultural imperialism. Islam for him was a means of achieving the freedom, independence and self-creation. Iqbal had a pan-Islamic vision. Overall, he advocated the somewhat Plutonian enactment of a 'spiritually enlightened' and learned assembly of men who would decide the political, economic and legislative fate of the Muslims. Iqbal called this 'spiritual democracy' (Iqbal, 1982: 180).

Dr Iqbal's thought emphasised that the traditional aversion to legal innovation in Islam has been due to conservative fears of social fragmentation. This fear has caused Muslim conservatives, primarily from the Sunni school of thought, to resort to an increasingly systematic and puritanical understanding of Islamic law. By rejecting the use of reason to interpret *Sharia* according to changing contexts, Iqbal argued that the 'unthinking masses' were left by Muslim elites in the 'hands of intellectual mediocrities' and that this compelled them to adhere 'blindly' to the most dominant schools of jurisprudence. (Iqbal, 1982: 174). He observed that Is-

lam's laws and practices must reflect its universality and remain in harmony with the times by carrying forward the principle of evolutionary thought within the Quran. Iqbal emphasised that Muslims should reinvigorate the Islamic principle of *Ijma*, or consensus, as well as *Ijtihad* which constituted major sources of Quranic jurisprudence to reformulate Islamic political thought.

Iqbal's poetry also indicates his considerable interest in the international issues pertaining to the Islamic world of his time. He was particularly interested in developments in Turkey, Iran, Palestine and Afghanistan. His doctoral thesis titled *The Development of Metaphysics in Persia* is a comprehensive survey of Iranian philosophical thought over the centuries – from Zoroastrian times to the Islamic period. In fact, he believed that the most important event in the history of Islam was the conquest of Iran as it played a major role in the subsequent intellectual, political and cultural development of the religion.

He wrote in an Urdu poem:

Tehran ho gar aalam-e-mashreq ka Geneva

Shaayad kura-e-arz kee tadqeer badal jaae

[Trans. If Tehran could become the Geneva of the Orient, the fortunes of this hemisphere might change - Iqbal in his poem *Jamiyat-e-Aqwam* or League of Nations in *Zarb-i-Kalim*]

As observed in this paper, Dr Muhammad Iqbal was a fervent opponent of imperialism. In this context, he had denounced the 'Balfour Declaration' of 1917 in which the British government gave its permission to Zionist European Jewry to establish their state in mainly Arab-Muslim Palestine. He noted before his death

that: 'The Jews also have no right over Palestine. They had bid farewell to Palestine willingly long before its occupation by Arabs. Zionism also is not a religious movement in addition to the absence of any interest among religious Jews in Zionism' (Lone, 2012). In a poem in the *Zarb-i-Kalim*, Iqbal advised the Palestinian Arabs to cultivate *Khudi* to struggle for their rights as their salvation did not lie in 'London or Paris' (Iqbal, *Zarb-i-Kalim*, 1977:75).

Iqbal was also quite severe in his criticism of the Arab elites of his time, particularly the Hashemite dynasties imposed by Britain on Jordan and Iraq. He condemned them over their treachery to the Ottoman Empire by siding with the British in First World War. He was scathing in his criticism of Arab Kings and Sheikhs who had 'sold' their religion to the British and stabbed their Ottoman brothers.

3. Iqbal's view on Economics and Social Inequality.

Dr Iqbal's views on economics were greatly influenced by his concern over social inequality. This prompted him to be influenced by the philosophy of socialism which was becoming the prominent social concept amongst many Asian and Middle Eastern intellectuals at the dawn of the early twentieth century. Socialism, as understood by Iqbal, was the system of social organisation that calls for public ownership of key instruments of production and equitable distribution of wealth and property. Iqbal tried to find a *modus vivendi* between the precepts of Islamic *Sharia* and socialism.

Iqbal's views on socialism were multifarious and complex as were his thoughts on social revolution, Marxism and Bolshevism.⁶ He perceived Islam as compatible with socialism. In his

well-known Urdu poem *Karl Marx key Awaz* (the voice of Karl Marx), he has Marx assailing European economists who intentionally conceal the predatory and oppressive structure of capitalism and imperialism. He declares in this poem that the world has run out of patience with the capitalist economists' theatrical show of 'flowing curves' and exploitation of economic science to 'serve only the interests of the ruling classes'. (Marek, 1971)

Iqbal was very critical of what today is called neo-liberal capitalism, the idea that the market should be allowed to make major social and political decisions; the idea that the State should voluntarily reduce its role in the economy, or that corporations should be given total freedom, that trade unions should be curbed and citizens given less rather than more social protection. Hence, for Iqbal, Karl Marx is an admired person, but at the same time, his atheism deeply disturbs the poet. In a very well known Persian poem 'Communism and Capitalism' in the *Javid Nama* Iqbal called Marx⁷ '*Sahib-e-Sarmaya az nasl-e-khalil: yani a'an paighambar-e-bi-Jibraeel*' [Trans. The master of the book "The Capital" who was from the family of Abraham (Marx's Jewish heritage)], He was a messenger without a Gabriel] (Vahdat, 2015:80). He further stated that Marx's heart is of a *Mumin* but his mind is of an infidel (*Kafir*). He concluded the poem by condemning capitalism (*mulukiyat*) because of its materialism but even Marxism for its atheism!

Even in his final lectures, Iqbal had questioned the philosophers of his time over their assertion regarding the 'finality of the present capitalistic structure of society' (Iqbal, 1982:111). Iqbal saw in socialism, a ray of hope in a dark world of greed and inequality. He appropriates Marx to highlight the exploitative role of

capitalism but imbues his socialistic ideas with an Islamic spirit. Marx's Influence on Iqbal, however, is undeniable and becomes obvious in many of his poems. Some of his Persian poems about workers in *Payam-i- Mashreq* are obviously Marxist in their tone. His sympathy for socialism was, in part, due to the fact that he had seen the destructive impact of the imposition of capitalism by the British in India. The colonisation of India by the British had destroyed local industry and created a class of usurious money lenders, landlords and commercial traders who exploited India's extremely poor workers and peasants. Socialism to Iqbal was the answer to eradicate feudalism, tribalism and capitalism in India.

The Socialist Revolution in Russia in 1917 had a great influence on Indian Intelligentsia, and particularly Iqbal. According to him, it would 'open a new era of the workers.' It sent out a message to the Indian people and intelligentsia that masses can play a significant role in liberation movements. However, Iqbal's philosophy reflected that the Islamic states of the East should develop in their own distinct way, but could borrow ideas from the socialist order being built in Russia. An interesting approach towards the socialist revolution was shown in Iqbal's poem *Ishtirakiyat* (Socialism) where he exclaimed that the progress of Russia actually was a proof that time has come to implement and establish the Quranic principle of 'spend. Say whatever is superfluous.' (The Holy Quran, 1969 Pickthall trans: v. 2:219). However, Iqbal was opposed to Russia's godlessness and saw it as the chief flaw. In his poem 'Bolshevik Russia,' he declared that the failure and corruption of the Russian Orthodox Church was mainly responsible for the 1917 October Revolution. Nonetheless, in a letter to Sir Francis Younghusband,

a British officer in India, he writes, 'Bolshevism (Soviet socialism) plus God is almost identical to Islam.' (Hassan, 1971:154).

Being an idealistic, Iqbal may have overlooked or was not cognisant about the totalitarian aspects of socialism imposed on Russia by Lenin and his associates which resulted in gross violation of human rights and the democratic ethos. Nevertheless, in his famous Urdu poem *Lenin Khuda Kay Hadhur Mein* (Lenin before God) Iqbal has Lenin protesting to God against Western civilisation and capitalism: Lenin states in the words of Iqbal:

What they call commerce is a game of dice:

Profit for one, for millions swooping death.

Their (West's) science, philosophy, scholarship, government

Preach man's equality but (instead) drink man's blood (Kiernan, 2004:35)

The famous Canadian scholar W. C. Smith had noted that Iqbal's writing were 'throughout tinged with socialism but he did not know what socialism was.' (Smith, 1946: 64). However, this was a totally wrong assertion. Iqbal completely knew what socialism was and at the same time had a deep understanding of the Quran and Islamic history. His interpretation of socialism was that this social order, at least in theory, gives humanity the best option to create an equitable and just society devoid of exploitation - to this day this is one of the goals of socialist philosophy.

Despite admiring certain aspects of the socialist experiment in Russia, Iqbal also predicted that the experiment could fail if it negates religion (Vahdat, 2015: 48) and this is what eventually hap-

pened in 1991 with the ignominious collapse of the Soviet Union. Thus, in this sense, Iqbal had also showed his profound understanding of the inadequacy of socialism if implemented without a religious or moral foundation. Nonetheless, the socialist ideal, in Iqbal's interpretation of Islam corresponded to true Islamic ideals-the annihilation of exploitation of man by man and the liquidation of kingship and autocracy. (N.P. Anikeyev, 1971:277). At the same time, Iqbal's works clearly indicate that he was opposed to secular socialism and liberal capitalism as both perpetuated the separation of the church and the state. In Iqbal's view, Islam combined both. Thus, a system based on spirituality and combining some of the key economic principles of socialism was in his perception close to the ideal Islamic system.

It appears from a careful examination of Iqbal's' economic thought that his sympathy for socialism came from his deep dislike for injustice and despotism. He detested capitalism as it was based on profit, war and imperialism. Capitalism's basic ethos was against Iqbal's quest for the just humane order in society. Iqbal was a practising Muslim with a deep sense of humanism and sensitive to human suffering. He wanted justice for all humans whether they be Muslim or non-Muslim. However, it should be emphasised that Iqbal completely rejected the atheistic socialism and, thereby, Marx's materialist interpretation of history. Nonetheless, he accepted many major goals of socialism primarily aimed at alleviating social inequality.

4. Some Paradoxical Elements in Iqbal's Thought

It cannot be denied that Iqbal's works do contain contradictions

and paradoxes. While backing some aspects of Kemal ‘Ataturk’s’ secular reforms in Turkey, he argues for *Sharia* law in Muslim society albeit in ‘reconstructed’ manner which is compatible with contemporary period. However, Ataturk was not too keen to retain the *Sharia* as the foremost legal system for Turkey. Thus, it appears that Iqbal seems to have misunderstood the secular aims of the post-Ottoman Turkish leadership. He naively believed that this leadership may retain the trappings of an Islamic framework in the new state structures. This was not to be. Moreover, post-Ottoman Turkey also failed to forge an independent stance in the area of foreign policy. Its leadership had closely tied Turkey with the Western European powers of the time and, hence, forfeited claims of keeping Turkey fully independent. In this context, it certainly appears that Iqbal failed to appreciate the true nature of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk’s policies.

Iqbal’s philosophical beliefs also appear sometimes to be confused and contradictory. In the *Reconstruction of Islamic Thought in Islam*, he writes rather positively about certain ‘orthodox’ Sunni Ulema like Ibn-e-Taimiyya (1262-1327 AD) who was extremely sectarian in outlook. Ibn-e-Taymiyya was against Shi’ism, Sufism and Greek philosophy! The writings of Taymiyya and his students provide the core of so-called contemporary Salafi theological corpus. Later significant Salafi thinkers came from the Wahhabi movement, a pseudo-Sunni sect founded in the Arabian Peninsula by Muhammad ibn ‘Abd al-Wahhab (d. 1792). Salafism focuses on eliminating idolatry (*shirk*) and affirming God’s Oneness (*tawhid*). Salafis view themselves as the only true Muslims, considering those who practice so-called ‘major idolatry’ to be outside the bounds of the Islamic faith.

Interestingly, Iqbal writes ambivalently about Mohammad Ibn 'Abdul Wahhab as a 'great puritan reformer' of Najd whose 'movement had immense potentialities' although he recognised that this phenomenon was 'conservative' and 'uncritical of the past' (Iqbal, 1982:152). In reality, Abdul Wahhab was a rabidly anti-Shi'a character whose rustic, sectarian-oriented teachings are even today causing sectarianism and discord in Arab/Islamic societies. Wahhab's teachings are iconoclastic, parochial, and retrogressive. This contrasts with Iqbal's own humanist, non-sectarian and modernist interpretation of Islam. Hence, in this respect, Iqbal was certainly off the mark as he initially clearly misunderstood *Wahhabism* and its bigoted and perverse interpretation of Sunni Islam.

To a *Wahhabi-Salafi*, all those who differ with them, including Sunni Muslims, Shi'ite Muslims, Christians, and others, are infidels. All this is a far cry from Iqbal's pan-Islamic vision encompassing all Muslims irrespective of sect. It seems Iqbal was oblivious to such grossly perverted teachings which have nothing to do with the philosophical foundations of Islam. In addition, writing in the 1930s, Iqbal probably did not know the role played by imperial Britain in sponsoring the Wahhabi movement against the Ottoman Empire (Leatherdale, 1983). However, Iqbal did later acknowledge the retrogressive nature of Wahhabism, albeit indirectly, as he severely criticised the political perceptions of Deobandi school of thought in India which derived some of its philosophical inspiration from the Wahhabi doctrines. In fact, a short period before his demise in 1938, Iqbal was engaged in fierce debate with a leading Deobandi cleric, Hussain Ahmed Madani (1879-1957) over issues related to Islam's compatibility with nationalism and other issues

(Sevea, 2012: 1). Thus, it appears that by the end of his life, Iqbal had recognised the reactionary and retrogressive nature of Wahhabism and affiliated schools of thought.

Nevertheless, it should also be stressed that Iqbal was not a sectarian philosopher/ poet. Not a single work of Iqbal critiques or disparages Shi'a Islam or any other sect. In all of his poems, he appeals to Muslim unity and for Muslims to rise above their petty sectarian, ethnic or linguistic differences.

Iqbal is also cited as the foremost advocate for the creation of a separate state for India's Muslims although he never made his position very clear on the issue of the partition of British India. However, the state which Iqbal envisaged for the Muslims of India which today is called Pakistan has had a profoundly pro-Western character contrary to the poet's vision. It also continues to face political instability, sectarian violence and extreme socio-economic inequality. Moreover, it remains debateable whether Iqbal would even have endorsed the bloody outcome of the partition of India which resulted in communal violence between Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs leading to the killing of over one million people in 1947-48.

The late Annemarie Schimmel, the most prominent Western scholar on Iqbal, admitted that 'it is difficult to build up a system from Iqbal's works' (Schimmel, 2003: 223). However, despite the various paradoxes in Iqbal's vision, one can detect a sense of consistency in his thought even if it is put to a deconstructive⁸ critique. He remains a strong opponent of injustice, capitalism, exploitation and imperialism and these are the recurring themes in his political and economic thought, while at the same time, his poetry under-

lines a humanist mindset aimed at alleviating the sufferings of human beings.

Conclusion

Iqbal largely succeeded in conveying his real message- to awaken the Muslims, particularly of India, in the early twentieth century as his works became widely used in the political and educational discourse of India from the 1920s onwards. However, as pointed out in this paper, Iqbal's political ideas and interpretation of Islam are not without their problems. Iqbal is often contradictory. He supports *Sharia*, albeit, in a modern re-constructed manner while partially backing Western models of socialism. He supports socialism and praises its founders, but rejects absolutely the atheistic interpretation of this philosophy. He is often ambivalent towards rather sectarian minded Sunni clerics, but appeals for sectarian unity!

Nonetheless, in spite of the paradoxes in Iqbal's philosophical, political and economic vision, the questions he faced regarding reinvigorating Muslim self-consciousness and dignity in an age when the Islamic world was under colonial subjugation and social decay are still very much relevant. By and large, his poetry and perceptions on the condition of Muslims remain as true today as it was 80 years ago. The Muslim *Ummah* is still threatened by the same 'idols' of liberal-capitalism, Western neo-imperialism as well as cultural imperialism. Most Muslim societies continue to face the issue of creating a Muslim identity rooted in Islamic ethics and morality, but strong enough to confront the economic, political, cultural and social challenges posed by the West. A subject which Iqbal had confronted in depth almost a century earlier.

Notes

1. Dr Iqbal was knighted by the British Indian Government in 1923. The Knighthood gave him the title “Sir” to be cited along with his name.
2. *Allama* is not a part of Iqbal’s name but is traditionally used as an honorific with the names of scholars both in classical Persian and Urdu.
3. *Humanism* is a progressive philosophy of life that affirms an ability and responsibility to lead ethical lives of personal fulfilment that aspire to the greater good of humanity. Humanism is also a philosophical and ethical stance that emphasizes the value and agency of human beings, individually and collectively, and generally prefers critical thinking and evidence (rationalism, empiricism) over acceptance of dogma or superstition.
4. Gökalp’s work was particularly influential in shaping the reforms of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in the 1920s; his influence figured prominently in the development of Kemalism - the ideas of Atatürk, and its legacy in the modern Republic of Turkey.
5. *Liberalism* in this essay is identified a strand in Western political thought as being *individualist* and based on Universalist libertine ideas. The individualist element avers the ethical primacy of the human being against the pressures of social collectivism. In the economic sense, liberalism here denotes a philosophy which has encouraged free-market capitalism and associated capitalist elitist democracy in the West.
6. Bolshevism here refers to the interpretation of Marxism as followed by the majority (*Bolshevik* in Russian) faction of the then Russian Social Democratic Labour Party (RSDLP) led by Vladimir Lenin. Later, the RSDLP transformed itself into the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). The CPSU effectively ruled Russia from 1922 to 1991.
7. Karl Marx (1818-1883) came from a Jewish family which had converted to Christianity. In fact, Marx himself was critical of the Jews and the Jewish religion. His earlier works critique the Jewish psyche which is centred on the love of this world and money.

but also went on to attack the Talmud as ‘the relation of the world of self-interest to the laws governing that world.’ His review titled ‘On the Jewish Question’ published in 1843 indicates Marx’s critical approach towards the Jews.

8. Deconstruction denotes the pursuing of the meaning of a text to the point of exposing the supposed contradictions and internal oppositions upon which it is founded—supposedly showing that those foundations are irreducibly complex, unstable, or impossible. It is an approach that may be deployed in philosophy, in literary analysis, and even in the analysis of scientific writings.^[30] Deconstruction generally tries to demonstrate that any text is not a discrete whole but contains several irreconcilable and contradictory meanings; that any text therefore has more than one interpretation; that the text itself links these interpretations inextricably; that the incompatibility of these interpretations is irreducible; and thus that an interpretative reading cannot go beyond a certain point.

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Freedom in Allameh Tabataee's Point of View; Emphasizing on Two Concepts of Freedom of Thinking and Freedom of Idea

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Abstract

This paper intends to define and delimit the freedom of thinking and freedom of idea in Islam, emphasizing on Allameh Tabatabaee's viewpoint and employing the technique of text-based, methodical interpretation data analysis through library referral to his works and pointing to freedom, its types and limits in Islam, its legitimacy and illegitimacy, and also the requirements of thinking freedom. To do so, after enumerating anthropological and ontological bases and defining the limits of freedom, the central topic of the paper, "the freedom of thinking" and "freedom of idea", and their relationships and differences will be discussed, and finally this conclusion will be obtained that according to Allameh Tabatabaee, in Islam, the freedom of idea without pondering, is forbidden because it is opposed to freedom of thinking and is the origin of blind and causeless dogmatism, in spite of some recommendations represented in favor of it.

Keywords

Islam Religion, Allameh Tabatabaee, Freedom of Thinking, Freedom of Idea, Human, Society.

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Introduction

For a long time, freedom, as an important topic of discussion, has formed the oldest spiritual and inherent demand of humans. Specifically its social dimension has a close relationship with the element of society and the quality of its formation. Freedom is correlated with such concepts as autonomy, willpower, independence, human community, justice, law, and government, and associated with them forms an assembly encompassing the entire dimensions of human social life. Accordingly, there are several classifications for freedom. One of them is the classification of freedom to individual and social, spiritual, and social, formative and legislative thinking and speech, and One of important types of freedom is its classification to “freedom of thinking” and “freedom of idea”. Regarding the importance of this classification in social life, it has always been the topic of disputation among the thinkers of social sciences. Also discussion on freedom of thinking and freedom of idea is one of important debates of human rights emerging in the 18th and 19th articles of the world declaration of human rights, (The world declaration of human rights, Movahhed, 1392: 610-611). Thus, this topic is considered as one of basic themes of law philosophy and politics philosophy.

Allameh Tabatabaee as the most famous contemporary philosopher in Islamic philosophy created several works on the Islamic social subject and different social topics emphasizing on Islamic bases. He also debated freedom, its types and its limits as well as its relationship with other dimensions of social life, all of which indicate the importance of that concept in his thought. As mentioned before, the freedom of thinking and freedom of idea are

among remarkable topics relative to freedom, and their relationships and differences. But no exact inventory and organization has been conducted on Allameh Tabatabaee's works. For this reason, this paper is intended to gather the matters related to above-mentioned topics in his works through library referral, and then, to conduct a written, exact organization on his works related to freedom using the technique of analysis of text-based methodical interpretation, in order to represent their relationship according to Allameh Tabatabaee's ideological bases. To do so, after pointing to the bases of freedom in two anthropological formative and legislative freedom), and ontological (society formation from ontological bases point of view) dimensions in Islam, emphasizing on Allameh Tabatabaee's thought, the topic of freedom itself will be studied, and its meaning and limits will be discussed. In the next step, the main topic of the research, that is, freedom of thinking and freedom of idea, will be discussed and it will be concluded that in Allameh Tabatabaee's opinion, in spite its praiseworthiness, the freedom of think is allowed only in the case of profiting by intellectual and thoughtful requirements. Finally, the prerequisites of freedom of thinking from Allameh Tabatabaee's point of view in Islam will be represented.

1. Principles of Freedom

What contribute to the meaning, limits, and types of freedom, and the difference between freedom in Islam, and other human schools, are freedom bases, and for this reason, freedom has got different meanings in different cultures. Therefore in order to know the meaning of freedom in Islam according to Allameh Tabatabaee

and also identification of freedom of thinking. First of all the bases of freedom in his thoughts will be discussed.

1-1. Anthropological principles of freedom

Allameh Tabatabaee believes that the ration of a person before starting a task, to the accomplishment and non-accomplishment of that task is equal to zero. Human is inherently a sensible and determined creature, and only *he* can choose every job for himself. In other words, when a person encounters an action and becomes informed of its quality, he can decide to do it or leave it. That is why actions are attributed to individuals. In fact, humans are empowered to do or not to do an action, and no factor is effective in this regard other than the individuals' willpower. For this reason, it is said that humans are inherently free creatures. Man's free will is attributed to an action only when that action is done by man's willpower and consequently, willpower means the selection of the best from among all options (Allameh Tabatabaee, 1374, vol. 14: 579).

Of course this freedom necessitates another freedom, that is legislative freedom which is used in social life of individuals. A man chooses his favorite style for social life from among different ways and nobody is allowed to dominate, or subjugate him or impose their will on him. Thus Allameh Tabatabaee explains the anthropological bases of freedom on the base of two types of formative and legislative freedom.

1-1-1. Formative freedom

Formative freedom means that in the Creation system there is no force in the selection of thinking way and idea because man is a

creature having common sense and willpower. As a results, he can decide to do or not to do something. Allameh Tabatabaee gives explanation about the 256th sura of Baghareh: "...".

This shows that forced religion is rejected, because religion consists of a set of scientific cultures that together constitute "beliefs". Beliefs and faith are among heartfelt issues that force and reluctance have no relationship with them, because reluctance has usage only in superficial affairs such as physical gestures, while heartfelt belief requires other stimulus of the same quality as comprehension and trust, and it is impossible for ignorance to lead to knowledge.

In this verse, there are two probabilities: (1) the sentence may be predicative ,and (2)it may be compositional. If it is predicative, it wants to represent the state of formative and explains that God has placed no force and reluctance in religion, and consequently from the religious injunction point of view, it is said that force and reluctance in religion are rejected. If the sentence is compositional, then it says that individuals should not be forced to select a specific belief or faith. In this case also, this prohibition refers to a formative reality, meaning that in the case of exertion of any force, it can lead only to physical, foreign gestures not heartfelt, internal trust (Allameh Tabatabaee, 1374: Vol. 13: 420, and Vol. 20: 196-198).

1-1-2. Legislative freedom

This kind of freedom means that no one has right to dominate others or to employ others as slaves, or to take the belongings of other people, or to impose his withes on others, because in this system all people enjoy equal rights and nobody has superiority upon oth-

ers. Of course, man has no freedom on causes and instruments consisting his specific characteristics,, because those factors bring him into being with their power and encompass his existence, and equip him with the equipment necessary to state his requirements and weaknesses, and help him to do actions that contribute to his prosperity. Therefore, man is not able to have any intervention in the function of those causes and instruments. Man is empowered only toward his own affairs. This means that he can accept whatever he likes and reject whatever he doesn't like to do. To say more exactly, he accepts and likes what he is supposed to accept and like. In fact he is not completely free even within the realm of his optional actions that are the stage of his freedom. His freedom is Limited in the framework of the above-mentioned causes and instruments Therefore, he is not so empowered to do whatever he wants (Allameh Tabatabaee, 1374, Vol. 10: 73-75).

Those cases make some things obligatory to all humans according to a legislative command, representing some real interests. Nobody can either reject those interests, or disobey the legislative command. For example no one can say: "I don't want to eat or drink", (Allameh Tabatabaee, 1374, Vol. 10: 555). The commands related to equipment of man with different organisms that guide him to remove his flaws and fulfill his requirements and continue his permission. Therefore, God is the owner of everything and man has nothing other than absolute submission to him. In fact, man has nothing and God's ownership to everything divests any kind of freedom that man imagines for himself. In fact, it was this absolute ownership of Allah that freed humans from slavery of others and prohibited the domination of any individual upon others (Allameh

Tabatabaee, 1374, vol. 10=557). In figure (1) the anthropological base of freedom is represented emphasizing on the relationship between formative freedom and legislative freedom.



Figure (1) the anthropological base of freedom emphasizing on the relationship between formative freedom and legislative freedom.

1-2. Ontological principles of freedom

Causes and instruments mentioned in legislative freedom contribute to another factor in the nature of human in addition to formative guidance and issue of legislative commands, somehow pointing to ontology of the society in Allameh Tabatabaee's thought.

He believes that man cannot continue living by himself and has to live in the society together with other people. In his opinion:

“Among all other animals, man has to live socially and this, doesn't need much discussion, because the nature of all human beings is like this. In fact all humans naturally understand this concept, and as long as the history shows, man has always been living in communities. Ancient relics (obtained from the oldest times of

human life) also confirm it”, (Allameh Tabatabaee, 1374, Vol. 4: 144).

Therefore the quality of being sociable is a characteristic that ontologically forms the basis of man's social life and has never been separate from him, but man usually doesn't realize this fact, because he selects the social life under the influence of genetic and environmental factors, without paying attention to the manner of formation of society, (Allameh Tabatabaee, 1391: 51).

According to Allameh Tabatabaee, the answer to the question about the existence of society comes from “the desire to exploit everything”. Man, inherently likes to employ everything in the nature, (Allameh Tabatabaee, 1374, vol. 2: 175). This is the original quality of man, and is so strong that encourages him to dominate other individuals. For Allameh Tabatabaee, the principle of exploitation is the most important principle of formation of societies. Man is inherently inclined to exploit and this inclination can be seen in all aspects, because the idealist man wishes to reach perfection very soon. That is why he looks at the world around himself and the individuals as instruments for reaching perfection, (Allameh Tabatabaee, 1387: 203-204). As a result, the conflict of interests emerges, and people have to treat each other peacefully and observe the rights of others in order to eliminate the conflict of interests, (Allameh Tabatabaee, 1374, vol. 2: 175-176). Thus, it can be said that the formation of society is in fact some kind of agreement on exploiting each other, because each individual employs others to fulfill his demands and in return, is employed by them to fulfill their needs, (Allameh Tabatabaee, 1387: 206). In fact, it is due to the influence of “desire to exploit others” that man,

based on his needs, attempts to form societies, or else, no one is willing to limit the realm of his freedom. Thus, it is based on his secondary nature and not his first nature that man is freedom-loving and profiteer, (Allameh Tabatabaee, 1374, Vol. 10: 388).

Consequently it is clear that the formation of society is the result of urgency and requirement, while man is naturally interested in rupturing all chains that have limited his discretion in the society. Thus, the formation of society limits individual freedom and this limitation is the inevitable product of society formation. It can be concluded from the above-mentioned that even though man has been created free, in the context of the society, he loses some of his freedom toward many social problems and benefits of individuals living with him. Therefore, if the society makes obligations for social life, it should not be considered as the elimination of freedom, and man should observe those limitations to maintain his social freedom.

In figure (2) the anthropological bases of freedom from Allameh Tabatabaee's point of view is represented emphasizing on the ontological expression of the society.

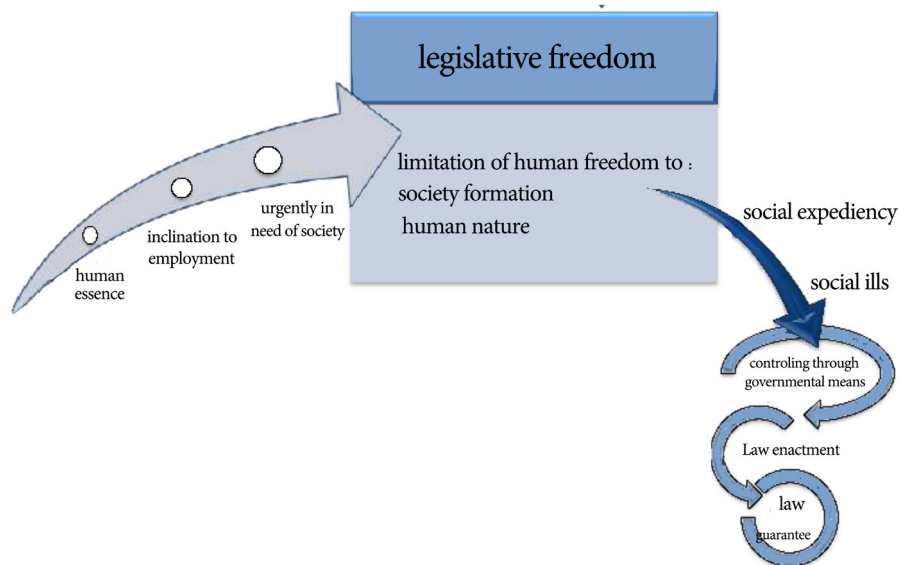


Figure (2): Ontological bases of freedom, ontology of society from Allameh Tabatabaee's viewpoint

2. Freedom

After discussing freedom bases from Allameh Tabatabaee's viewpoint, now we can draw his freedom system with the centrality of "freedom of thinking" and "freedom of idea". To do so, we will explain briefly the meaning and limits of freedom, and then discuss the two types of freedom, their relationship and differences, as well as their requirements in Allameh Tabatabaee's thought.

2-1. The meaning of freedom

For Allameh Tabatabaee, freedom is such a self-evident concept

that everyone realizes its meaning inherently. Therefore, he considers it not in need of explanation, and starts discussion on this topic with the state of formation of voluntary actions within individuals. He highlights the role of human willpower in this regard and considers it as a formative principle in human essence from which, freedom originates, (Allameh Tabatabaee, 1374, Vol. 4: 183). He introduces will power as an internal and physical condition emerging under the influence of inward senses, so that in their absence, human common sense disappears. Therefore, determination to do an action ,which always results from some kind of desire and enthusiasm ,forms in individuals, when they consider it as the supporter of their perfection, having more benefits than its harms, (Allameh Tabatabaee, 1342, Vol. 2: 263).

Regarding the above-mentioned points and clearness of freedom concept in Allameh Tabatabaee's thought, the relationship among willpower, freedom, and desire can be represented as in figure (3)

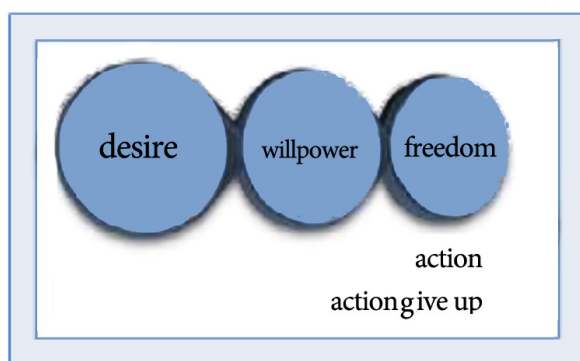


Figure (3): The relationship among willpower, desire, and freedom

2-2. Limits of Freedom

So far it was known that in Allameh Tabatabaee's viewpoint, man is formatively and legislatively free. He believes that the scope of freedom is to the extent that one's worldly and otherworldly real prosperity depends on the performance of a voluntary action. Of course in his opinion, man is not absolutely free from the formative dimension, rather, his freedom is a component of the major factor of action performance, (Allameh Tabatabaee, 1432, Vol. 2: 256). Accordingly, he suggests that Islam pays homage to formative freedom, because it is a religion, based on human instinct, and supports it. But as mentioned before, formative freedom necessitates legislative (legal) freedom, in which, willy-nilly, there are some limits. Therefore, the freedom given to man means freedom from the chain of domination of other individuals, and it shouldn't be considered as opposed to the sovereignty of God, rather, it means that only those individuals are absolutely free who fully accept the submission to Allah, (Allameh Tabatabaee, 1374, Vol. 16: 98). This submission eliminates all other constraints, so that individuals become free from the domination of others and can have an independent life. In fact, man's real freedom happens when he can free himself from his internal limits too, and all of these, originate only from submission to God.

Meanwhile, as mentioned before, social life causes man to coordinate his willpower with others and consequently, accept some limits in his discretion, (Allameh Tabatabaee, 1374, Vol. 4: 183). That is why Allameh Tabatabaee believes that there is not "absolute freedom" in any society, and the existing freedom in all societies is of relative type, because the existence of society and the

absolute freedom may not come together. Of course it does not mean that people are not independent in the society, but their independence is to the extent that it doesn't disturb the freedom of others. Meanwhile, if a law is enacted for the management of the society, it mentions many cases in which, people are not free, and this, again indicates that social life brings some limitations for human, (Allameh Tabatabaee, 1374, Vol. 10: 554-555). In fact this limitation is a path to obtain other freedoms.

Therefore, in order to establish human societies, individuals should accept and observe the urban life principles and obey regulations. Allameh Tabatabaee believes that Islam pays special attention to every aspect of society such that it represents its recommendations based on society, (Allameh Tabatabaee, 1391: 24), and forms human society and gives its regulations regarding its own principles and according to its goals for humans and the Islamic society, (Allameh Tabatabaee, 1391: 25).

In a society like this, the final goal is the prosperity of individuals and following the path of reality. On the other hand, human prosperity also depends on coordinate growth of his different dimensions through employment of material demands to achieve spiritual goals. According to Allameh, in order to achieve these goals, the base of the Islamic society should be on benevolence, and adherence to Allah and Divine commands, while its rules should be based on monotheism, belief in the Judgment Day, morals, and wisdom, (Allameh Tabatabaee, 1374, Vol. 4: 171-172).

He suggests that such regulations give the color of faith to the life and considers the satisfaction of Allah as the final goal of society members. In fact, Islam has primarily started its work with

convoking people toward monotheism in order to achieve a secure social life based on submission to Allah and social justice in order to obtain worldly and otherworldly prosperity. Then it has completed its regulations based on legislature, employing devotional rules, and adding moralities to them, (Allameh Tabatabaee, 1391: 32).

In such a society, there is a strong relationship among its all components:

“The soul of monotheism is circulating in the moralities that Islam represents to individuals, and the moralities are present in the actions of individuals”, (Allameh Tabatabaee,, 1374: vol. 4: 172).

For this reason, the borders of freedom are determined in such a society according to its goals and regulations, such that no individual disturbs others’ prosperity in order to achieve happiness in his own life. Of course, this is possible only when all members of the society follow the rules in order to observe the freedom of others. But it is clear that this may not be agreeable to all members of the society, since carnal desires prevent many people from employing their wisdom and encourage them to disobey the rules. That is why Allameh Tabatabaee believes that Islam firstly entrusts the Islamic government and members of the society to enact the rules, and secondly helps people to obey the rules through two ways: publicly (representing reward for good deeds and punishment for evil deeds), and secretly (stimulating moral motivations in people), Allameh Tabatabaee, 1391: 85-86).

Allameh Tabatabaee believes that the regulations of a society can be effective only when there is enough punishment in order

to guarantee their observance, so that offenders avoid violating others' privacy for the fear of being punished. Another factor to create this guarantee is the government, ruling the society which should act based on equity and justice, and having enough strength to continue its way, (Allameh Tabatabaee, 1393, Vol. 2: 225-226). Of course the constraint implemented to the society by the government is necessary to maintain the society and the Islamic society is not an exception to this rule, (Allameh Tabatabaee, 1374, Vol. 6: 507).

Clearly, this doesn't mean that the members of the society originally have a freedom which was eliminated by the government; it conveys that man is free in his personal affairs, but social issues always have priority to individual cases:

“Man, in comparison with other humans, is free in the cases directly related to himself, but in the cases related to the society and the general public, he is not free at all, Allameh Tabatabaee, 1374, Vol. 10: 557).

Therefore, in such a society, the rule has the authority to limit the freedom of offenders to the extent that they break the law. In fact in the Islamic society people have freedom, but the extent of their freedom differs based on their usefulness or harmfulness in the society. Also, if an individual considers an action as harmful to the society, or doesn't see any benefit in it, and consequently avoids it and warns other people about its harmfulness, not only he doesn't restrict others' freedom, but also he helps them to make a safe and secure society. On the other hand, if a person encourages others to obey the law and offers good reason for it, he shouldn't be accused to oppression, or restriction of others' freedom. It is

because individuals are not free in relation to cases related to the general public and vital interests of the society, (Allameh Tabatabaee, 1374, Vol. 10: 556-557).

2-3. The Freedoms of Thinking and Idea

2-3-1. The Freedom of Thinking

As it was mentioned, Allameh Tabatabaee believed that man is not free to the extent that he can act in any manner that he wishes. In fact he is surrounded by some restrictions that contribute to his prosperity. Therefore, one of the problems that can be discussed, is the starting point of paying attention to human freedom within the scope of thinking. In this way we want to answer the question whether man is completely free in relation to thinking, or he is restricted to some limits in this regard. The ability to think is specified to human that shows his essence. This formative superiority is the origin of a “natural right” and offers the right of thinking to all humans. For Allameh, thinking is a potentiality originating from wisdom because human is an intellectual being who can find out realities by thinking about problems. In other words,, thinking is an instrument to explorer unknowns, (Allameh Tabatabaee, 1374, Vol. 4: 191).

In Islamic society also, the natural right of thinking has been offered to individuals and it has even been considered as one of required actions, in life, and some kind of prayer. Thinking freedom is so important in Islam that Islam doesn't accept ideological principles without thinking and assiduity, (Allameh Tabatabaee, 1393 b: 52).

The Holy Quran says in Zomar sura 17-18: "Give the good news to my servants (and advise them) to listen to utterances and to choose the best of them...". And Allameh Tabatabaee in his interpretation of this sure reminds that if anyone wants to understand the truth, he should not reject any utterance merely because of its disagreement with his own inclinations; he should think about it, maybe he can find some rightful words in it, (Allameh Tabatabaee, 1374, Vol. 17: 380).

According to Allameh Tabatabaee, it is reasonable that in Islam, great importance is given to thinking freedom and the growth and perfection of man is dependent on it and the proselytization and training is based on it because thinking freedom originates from human ability to ponder over problems, (Allameh Tabatabaee, 1393, Vol. 1: 92).

Of course, he believes that in spite of high importance given to the freedom of thinking, there are some restrictions to it as follows:

a) ignorance and lack of knowledge that prevent individuals from finding out the whole dimensions of problems and realizing the reality and coming to correct conclusion, and

b) worldly attachments and following carnal desires that stop individuals from understanding the correct preludes and reasons, and consequently non-acceptance of the truth, (Allameh Tabatabaee, 1393, vol. 1: 116).

2-3-2. The Freedom of Idea

Regarding the importance and the centrality of the freedom of thinking, discussed above, and the barriers to it, (specially the sec-

ond barrier), one can easily find out the reason why according to Allameh Tabatabaee, only thinking freedom based on pondering is the natural right of every individual, while it is not allowable without pondering. Since idea means “whatever an individual believes in and trusts in” and also “something that individuals join it”, (Dehkhoda, 1377: 380). Thus, the concept obtained from “somebody’s opinion” is the religion to which he has converted. Ideas also refer to “what we believe in, regardless of enactment”, (Anis, 1372: 614). Therefore, everybody has some kind of attachment to his opinions that ties them to his human attitudes.

Therefore, Islam primarily allows individuals to choose their religion by pondering and studying on it. In fact, according to the Quranic sura of Baghareh (256) that says: “No idea will be imposed on anybody without pondering”, people should think about problems and blind imitation is not allowable even in ideological bases of religion.

Allameh Tabatabaee suggests in the interpretation of the above-mentioned sura that it explains a formative reality indicating that faith and trust are among internal and heartfelt issues that can never be obtained by force or reluctance, because force and reluctance can contribute to apparent actions and physical behavior. Thus we cannot force anybody to accept an idea or religion, (Allameh Tabatabaee, 1374, Vol. 2: 523-524). In fact, it can be said that the opinions of individuals about something, originate from the reason they represent for it. Therefore, they will continue while that reason exists, but if that reason vanishes, the opinions won’t continue and new ones will take their place. For this reason, neither Islam nor other systems can have a specific law on opinions,

because behavior and social relationship define the scope of legal laws, while an opinion is a heartfelt, personal case, but if it changes to speech to attract others, it enters the scope of social behavior and the enactment of legal laws on it becomes possible, (Mesbah Yazdi, 1381: 53).

Regarding this point, and the importance of the freedom of thinking, it can be seen that for Allameh Tabatabaee, Islam considers thinking-based belief as different from baseless belief and treats them differently. Some opinions have no correct, reasonable origin, and most of them come from a set of habits, imitations, and dogmatism. This kind of opinion is not only harmful, but also leads to restriction of thinking because it originates from emotions and such factors as imitation of parents, impressiveness of the surroundings, personal interests, and individual likes and dislikes may influence it. Such beliefs penetrate one's soul without having any relationship with his thinking. They create dogmatism and stagnancy in individuals and stop them from the activity of reflection and freedom of thinking and employment of wisdom. In such a state the freedom of thinking not only is not helpful but also it may lead to the most harmful impacts to individuals and the society, (Allameh Tabatabaee, 1393, vol. 1: 118).

The Holy Quran tells the story of Ibrahim's (p.b.u.h) argumentation with his tribe after breaking idols by Ibrahim (p.b.u.h) and says "They became alert", (Anbia: 64). This, conveys that the argumentation caused them to become alert.

For the Holy Quran, the real self of an individual is his pure wisdom and thought and his correct reasoning which pagans had forgotten them. That argumentation caused them to return to them-

selves and employ their ability of thinking, (Allameh Tabatabaee, 1374, Vol. 14: 425), while the action of Ibrahim (p.b.u.h) was against the freedom of idea, in its common use that says, "Everybody should be free in his idea".

There is difference between the freedom of idea, based on thinking and freedom of idea without speculation, because without thinking, the freedom of idea is the futility of wisdom and thought, and it is clear that the freedom of thinking does not apply to this type of freedom. Accordingly, any ideology that has faith in its manner, should be a proponent of the freedom of thinking, while any ideology that doesn't have confidence in its teachings will reject the freedom of thinking. That is why Allameh Tabatabaee believes that man is not allowed to choose any doctrine that he wishes. Of course, this lack of freedom shouldn't be mistaken for preventing him from getting familiar with other schools of thought. Allameh Tabatabaee suggest in this regard:

"Belief is not an optional action such that it can be discouraged or allowed. No one should dominate others. What is discouragible or allowable, is the attempt to accomplish a series of actions originating from a belief, such as inviting others toward an ideology, publication of an ideology through writing about it, or foiling people's attitudes by resorting to tasks that opponents of public ideas do. These are cases that can be prevented or allowed", (Allameh Tabatabaee, 1391: 105)

Allameh Tabatabaee specifies that:

"God is so compassionate that he doesn't consider it justifiable that some people impose their ideas on others of suppress their

instincts through resorting to force, or by using arms, or excommunication and disaffiliation”, (Allameh Tabatabaee, 1391: 137).

In Allameh Tabatabaee's opinion, this is the manner of non-genuine Christianity. He points to several domineering behaviors existing in the history of churches, never seen even in the government of the most cruel rulers, and introduces the school of Islam as opponent to such cruel actions toward humans. At the same time, he regrets that some Muslims are interested in the methods and conventions of the church, (Allameh Tabatabaee, 1374, Vol. 4: 207-208).

Generally it can be concluded that in Allameh Tabatabaee's opinion in Islam the freedom of thinking has been absolutely emphasized, but the freedom of idea is accepted only when it is based on speculation and pondering, because baseless freedom of idea encourages the idleness of thought which ends to some kind of slavery. In figure (4) this has been represented according to Allameh Tabatabaee.

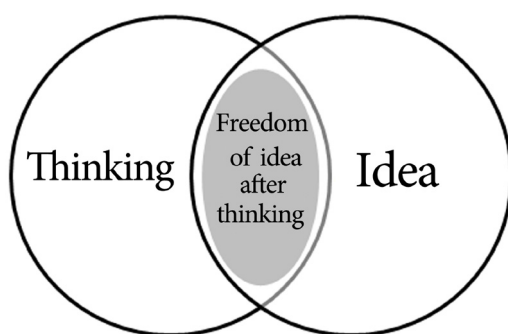


Figure (4): The relationship between thinking and the freedom of idea

2-4. Prerequisites of the Freedom of Thinking

The freedom of thinking has some prerequisites without which it becomes a meaningless slogan in the direction of obliteration of intellection. Any ideological system paying homage to reflection, should prepare its background and support it in the cultural and social atmosphere of the society. According to Allameh Tabatabaee, these prerequisites are as follows:

2-4-1. The Opportunity of Inquiry

Inquiry is the starting point and the origin of intellectual progress. In fact, thinking contributes to asking questions, and without asking questions, thinking would not happen. Asking questions needs courage, and courage needs a suitable foreign atmosphere in addition to internal bravery. When the cost of asking questions goes up, the level of thinking comes down and this, causes many people not to ask their questions in order to avoid its probable risk.

On the other hand, it should be accepted that there is no forbidden question, and human common sense does not confirm any delimitation in this regard. There are a lot of diverse questions in our religious literature to which, our religious leaders have given clear answers patiently, and without considering a red line in this regard, unless the inquirer didn't have enough capacity to understand the complete answer, (Allameh Tabatabaee, 1374, Vol. 4: 185).

Meanwhile, a school nurturing the thought of absolute righteousness, should not leave the competition field and repeat its superiority claim in an atmosphere where it is peerless, having taken the power of maneuvering from other competitors.

“Any school, having faith in its ideology, inevitably should be component of the freedom of thinking. On the contrary, the school having no faith in its ideology, would reject that freedom. Such schools keep people in a specific thinking confine to prevent their thoughts from expanding. This is exactly what today can be seen in communist countries. In such countries, due to their fear of vulnerability of their ideology, even the radio receivers are made in such a way that their people cannot hear the voice of other countries, and consequently remain one-dimensional and stereotyped, just as their rulers wish, (Allameh Tabatabaee, 1374, Vol. 1: 25).

Within the above-mentioned analysis, it is clearly seen that any rationality-based school should remain in the competition stage and if they accept the freedom of thinking, they should prepare its prerequisites in the society. Among Muslem thinkers, usually no one is opponent to the necessity of those prerequisites, and occasionally confirm it seriously, specifically, since they are sometimes accused of irreligiousness.

“But unfortunately we, Muslems, have lost the blessing of the freedom of thinking just like other blessings and the church conventions are ruling upon our societies” (Allameh Tabatabaee, 1374, vol. 4: 131).

Conclusion

This paper indicated that from Allameh Tabatabaee's viewpoint the freedom of thinking is the natural right of every human, so that everybody can freely attempt to think about different problems. In Islam also, people are allowed to think and even choose ideas based on pondering and speculation. This principle is applied even in the

selection of religion. Therefore, in Allameh Tabatabaee's opinion, there is no limit to thinking, and its scope can extend to different ideological, social, political realms and so on. Meanwhile, in Islam no ideology is imposed on anyone and people are encouraged to think about different topics and avoid blind imitation even in religious principles. For Allameh Tabatabaee, this is a formative principle that thinking, and the thinking-based faith is considered to be among heartfelt, internal cases that is never obtained through exertion of force and reluctance, because force and reluctance can only contribute to apparent actions and no one can be forced to accept an idea without pondering on it. Therefore it can be concluded that an individuals' opinion is the product of the reason that he has for it, and if that reason forms based on correct and rational thinking, it may not be criticized. Also for Allameh Tabatabaee, in Islam, the freedom of thinking is not only the certain right of everybody, but also it has been emphasized seriously as a requirement of every Muslem. The reason for this claim is the numerous teachings existing on this theme in Islam, emphasizing on the necessity of the freedom of thinking as a religious requirement.

Therefore, the course of debate on the freedom of thinking from Allameh Tabatabaee's viewpoint can be represented as shown in figure 5:

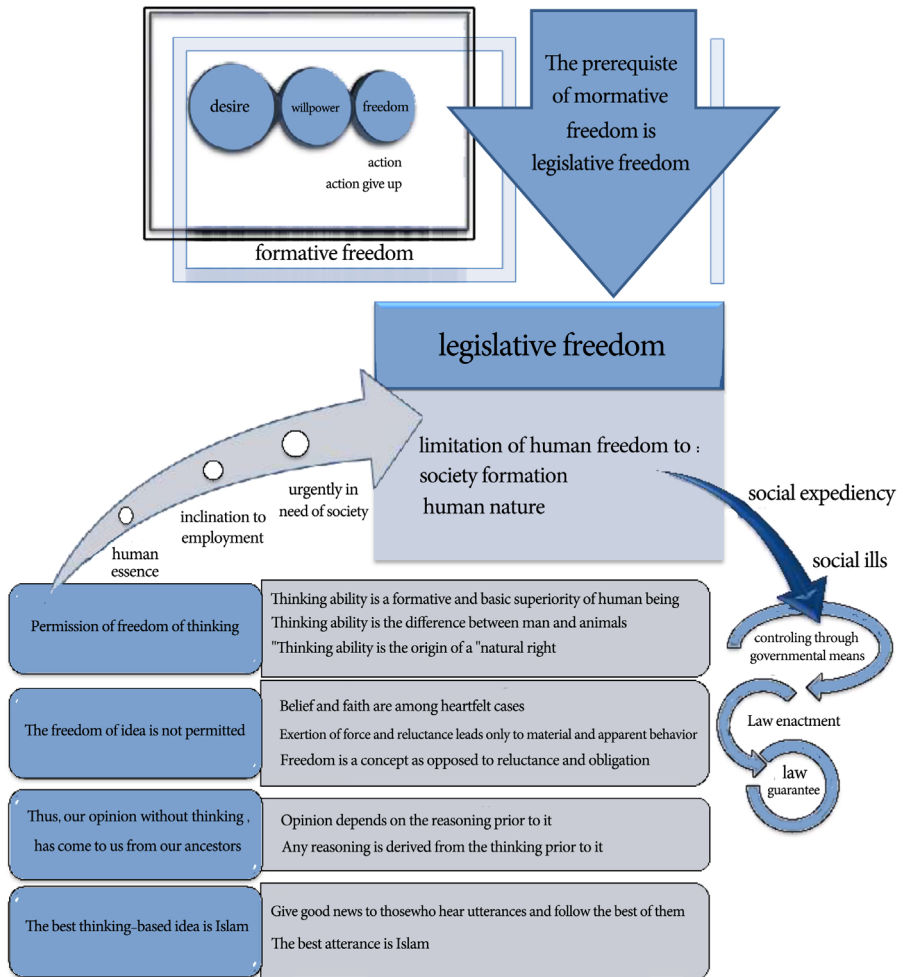


Figure (5): The thinking system of Allameh Tabatabaee about freedom, emphasizing on the freedoms of thinking and idea

Of course from Allameh Tabatabaee's viewpoint it is based on this high respect toward the freedom of thinking that Islam doesn't

allow man to follow any idea without thinking. In Islam, adherence to any idea should be based on correct thinking, and everybody should try to achieve it. Correction and change of an incorrect idea and adherence to a correct belief is possible through investigation and analysis of their prologue and reasoning and argumentation. That is why in Islam, more than every other thing, the emphasis is on the freedom of thinking, pointing its barriers and restrictions. For this reason, the freedom of idea, in the form of admission of all ideas is not accepted, contrary to the freedom of thinking.

Allameh Tabatabaee's reminder is completely timely that the freedom of thinking has some prerequisites, ignorance of which, can contribute to the failure of free thought and emergence of perversity. For this reason, in different opportunities-and not continuously-points to the requirements of the freedom of thinking, most important of which, are "the opportunity to inquiry" and "the opportunity to represent opinions and thoughts". Paying attention to these components as appropriate model for preparing necessary backgrounds to promote free thought, and at the same time, to facilitate problem solving in the Islamic society is of great importance.

Notes

1. This classification is very common and has been used in several philosophical and social works especially in the West after Renaissance, (For more information refer to Mousavi Gharavi, 1377: 323-325).
2. This classification was represented by Martyr Motahari according to which the spiritual freedom which is equal to piety, is the precondition of the social freedom, (for

more information refer to Martyr Mtahhari, 1385, 433-442).

3. This classification which is frequently used by Muslim philosophers, in this paper was used from Allameh Tabatabaee's viewpoint. (For more information refer to Mehrpour, 1370).

4. This classification shows the difference between having an idea and explanation and promotion of it.

5. The purpose of employment of "methodical, text-based interpretation" is to show the centrality of intention of the research to emphasize that each has a real and main meaning; that is a meaning "specified" through the intention of the researcher. This specified meaning is the scope of the real meaning of the text which should be considered as the main purpose of interpretative dealing with the text, because the denial of a link between the real and main meaning and the intention of the researcher, is in fact the lack of the real and main meaning, and the intention of the researcher, is in fact the lack of the real and main meaning, and it allows the probable meanings, and optional interpretations instead the "specified" meaning. Therefore, the methodical text-based interpretation is indeed a knowledge which is not relative, and recognizes the authenticity of the text. For this reason, this style was used in this paper in order to analyze data and understand its results. Since this style doesn't allow the meaning to be unknown, and also avoids the philosophical hermeneutic relativism, it can be employed in Islamic studies. The characteristics of this style are as follows:

a) the necessity of distinction among different ways of dealing with the text; understanding its meaning which is the central purpose of referring to the text. Interpretation is in fact the clarification of the writer's intention from putting the words together and conveying the meaning;

b) the necessity of centrality of the writer's purpose of linking all meanings to the text;

c) avoiding the free conclusion from the text, and commitment to a systematic interpretation;

d) the necessity of observance of the rules relative to differences in understanding;

e) the prohibition of investigation on the exact texts;

f) the necessity of preference of more evident to evident;

g) the necessity of adhering to authentic perception;

h) the necessity of abstaining from construal and algorism in the text;

i) the necessity of resorting to truisms and conveying the meaning of uniformities observing truisms. (For more information refer to Nostratepanah, and Derakhsheh: 1393; also: Sobhani: 1385; Aikhani et al.: 1386; Vaezi: 1390).

6. Quran verse

7. Quran verse

8. Quran verse

9. Other components of complete case for an action to be done by individuals are: lack of barriers, presence of inclination to do an action, (For more information refer to Allameh Tabatabaee 1432, Vol. 2: 256-257).

10. Hereby, one can find out the difference between Islam and Christianity as well as other religions. It is just the opposite in Christianity, that is, the religious principles in Christianity are considered to be above wisdom and intellect. They have also made a special expression and claim that it is the realm of faith, and not the realm of intellection. It means that there is a special scope for faith, and another for wisdom and intellection. One doesn't have the right to think in the realm of faith and vice versa. (For more information refer to Martyr Motahhari, 1384, vol. 24: 370-371).

11. Quran verse

12. Quran verse

13. Quran verse

14. In Islam, the freedom of idea is equal to leading people astray and not to represent them freedom. In the history of Islam, the Holy Prophet didn't leave the idols after conquering Mecca, instead, he broke all of them because he considered them as the factors of public ignorance, (Martyr Motahari, 1384: 122).

15. Martyr Motahari tells a story about freedom, asking questions, and the manner in which our Imams dealt with them as follows:

"Mafzal was one of Imam Sadegh's (p.b.u.h) friends. One day he was praying in the mosque of the Holy Prophet. Once, two materialist persons entered and started to loudly speaking beside him. They spoke about the Holy Prophet as a genius who wanted to create an evolution in his society through religion. They claimed that Mohammad (p.b.u.h) himself didn't believe in the Resurrection Day, but he used religion as an instrument to achieve his goal. Mafzal became angry at them and protested to them. They answered: "If you are a friend of Imam Sadegh (p.b.u.h), you should know that we can tell this story to him, and we are certain that he won't get angry, but he will remain calm and will listen to us patiently, and will give his response reasonably and will correct our mistakes, (Martyr Mohtahari, 1374: 129).

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Principles of Islamic Jurisprudence of Foreign Policy in Imam Khomeini's Thought

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Abstract

Imam Khomeini's political thought as the architect of the Islamic revolution had a great influence on the formation of the Islamic Republic of Iran's foreign policy. What exists of his political thought also, is not out of the framework determined by Islam, a great part of which can be discussed within Shiites canon law. The main question in the present research is about the religious foundations of Imam's political thought, the most important of which consists of "denial of domination of unbelievers upon believers", "the principle of con-vocation to jihad", "the principle of religious esteem", and "com-mitment to international treaties" which will be discussed in this research.

Keywords

Imam Khomeini, Foreign Policy, Islamic Jurisprudence, Islam, Iran.

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Introduction

Imam Khomeini, as the architect and the ideologue of the Islamic revolution is counted as the interpreter of teaching and techniques of the Islamic government in two internal and foreign realms. He, as the founder of the system relying on people's protection of the government, believed in its dynamics of foreign policy emphasizing on development-based discourse, because he considered the internal and foreign policy as the various techniques to achieve the reformist goal. In other words, regarding the abundance of procedures and unity of value, he emphasized on the theory of unity, and abundance. In fact he considered the interaction between internal and foreign techniques as the factor of advancement of Islam in the world. Therefore in his opinion the link between the internal and foreign policy would be realized as a bilateral relationship between two dependent variables in the direction of the independent variable of publication and revival of regenerative teaching of Islam throughout the world. The study of Imam Khomeini's thought as the architect of Islamic Republic of Iran in the realm of foreign policy is also derived from Islamic perspectives. Also his foreign political principles originate from his religious viewpoints. For this reason, the study of his religious principles, on which he emphasizes in the foreign policy realm, is highly important. In this paper, we will try to study some of Imam Khomeini's religious principles within the foreign policy realm.

1. The Foreign Policy in Islam

The foreign policy consists of a set of political issues correlated with the foreign realm classified to two relatively fixed and varia-

ble parts. The fixed part explains the general framework of foreign policy making, within which the guidelines and strategies of the foreign policy are adjusted. This part is mainly based on theoretical teachings and the value system and the ruling value system and ideology. The variable elements of the foreign policy determine the strategies that are set and formulated according to the existing conditions. The Islamic Republic of Iran is among countries in which, after the triumph of the Islamic revolution a government was formed based on Islamic ideology and its foreign policy also is influenced by the same ideology. In Islam, political principles originate from the teachings of the Holy Quran. In the Holy Quran the political issues have been explained within the macro-framework, and the strategies have been left to temporal conditions. These Quranic principles are the base of formation of religious commands is Islamic thought, especially the Shiites canon law. These general principles have come in the foreign policy under the titles of “denial of domination of believers upon unbelievers”, “the principle of revocation to jihad”, “the principle of religious esteem”, and “the principle of commitment to international treaties”. These principles organize the framework of foreign policy making of the Islamic government, and the Islamic government cannot neglect them in its policy. Foreign policy principles refer to a set of religious teachings forming the framework of foreign policy of the Islamic government. This set enjoys some kind of stability and permanence, In fact, in interpretation, it is superior to other foreign policy issues. A Muslim researcher suggests in definition of foreign policy principles, “Foreign policy principles refer to the base of the relationships of the Islamic government with other countries, and religious resources represent those principles as the

framework of regulation of those relationships. (*Nadieh Mahmood Mostafa, 1996, Cited from Sajjadi P.P 182.169*)

2. Foreign Policy Principles from Imam's Viewpoint and Their Religious Bases

Imam Khomeini's religious viewpoints in the realm of foreign policy can be classified to four general groups of the principal of struggling against oppression, and denial of domination of unbelievers upon believers, the principle of revocation to jihad, the principle of Islamic dignity, and the principle of commitment to international treaties. (*Ibn Hisham, , Cited from Sajjadi P.P 182.169*)

Beside the above-mentioned principles, Imam Khomeini puts forward other cases such as "friendliness toward Imam Ali (A. S.) and his progeny and enmity toward his enemies", "unification of hearts, "admonishing people to do right and to avoid sin". But it seems that the former four principles include the others, and there is no need to mention them separately. Regarding the unification of hearts it must be remembered that, although it has been discussed within the principles of foreign policy of Islam, it can be understood that it agrees with the foreign policy instruments rather than principles, because, today, it is more similar to what is discussed within the economic instruments of foreign policy and humanitarian assistance. In fact, the Islamic government employs the unification of hearts in order to attract non-Muslims and to reduce their degree of enmity. For example, in the Ta'if war, the Holy Prophet (p.b.u.h) granted some money to the nobles who had recently joined Islam, and unbelievers who had helped him in that war in order to attract them to Islam. (Ibn Hisham, vol. 2, p. 314 cited

from *Sajjadi P.P* 182.169)

3. Denial of Domination of Nonbelievers upon Believers Principle

This title has been taken from the Holy Quran: “Allah won’t let unbelievers have domination upon believers.” This sura is a basis for a religious rule known as the rule of denial of domination of nonbelievers upon believers. Of course the interpreters have given different suggestions about the word “domination”. Some believe that it means reasoning and proof and this sura emphasizes that believers have a stronger reasoning rather than the reason of unbelievers. Others emphasize that the meaning of this sura is the denial of domination of unbelievers upon believers in the resurrection day. Among Shiite jurists, Imam Khomeini the founder of the Islamic Republic, emphasizing on the Islamic nation’s comprehensive independence argues about this subject as follows:

“The Holy Quran says that Allah never allows nonbelievers to have domination upon believers, so unbelievers shouldn’t find such a way at all. Pagans and these corrupt powers... upon Muslims(Nesa sura (4), 141.)

In addition to being paid attention in diplomatic discussions and foreign relations, this principle has been associated with specific manifestations. Among all, the historical religious decree of Mirzaye Shirazi to forbid the use of tobacco, and Imam Khomeini’s decree about capitalization are some practical examples during the contemporary history. Imam Khomeini, focusing seriously on this principle, refuses any international relationship or treaty leading to disregard it and forbids the signing of such treaties. Thus, beyond

a political idea, he considers this principle as an essential decree within foreign relationships.(Khomeini, 1380, vol. 3, p. 4.)

From his viewpoint any relationship contributing to the dominance of others, is rejected. On this case he says: “If any commercial relation leads to the fear of the Islamic territory, all Muslims should cancel it.(Khomeini, “*Tahrirolvaseleh*”, vol. 1, p. 485) He adds: “Here, there is no difference among political, cultural or spiritual dominance of enemies; if political relationships are established between the Islamic nation and other countries and those relationships lead to the domination of pagans upon Muslims and their property, then, the establishment of those relations will be religiously prohibited and should immediately be canceled. In fact all Muslims are supposed to induce their rulers to leave and cancel them even though through passive residence. “(*Sahife Noor*”, vol. 10, p. 352) “ He continues, “If the law changes to an Islamic law, and the Islamic republic comes to work, there won’t be a path for oppressors. They don’t know the power of Islam. They don’t know the power of a nation.(Khomeini, “*Tahrirolvaseleh*”, vol. 1, edition 1, p. 485.) “ You should act in such a way that gradually this revolution can be exported to other countries. Moralities have such characteristics that if somebody follows them, they can spread to others, because people are inherently interested in moralities. (Khomeini, 1380,1360/3/24, vol. 15, p. 109)

“We will cancel all treaties that are against the benefit of our nation, and if there is a benefit in a treaty for us, we will keep it. (Khomeini, 1380, 1359/10/16, vol. 13, pp. 260-264.)”We certainly have relationships with the industrial world, but the right of decision making to choose the best way to sell our oil and gas belongs

to ourselves. “(Khomeini, 1380, 1357/9110, vol. 3, pp. 273-277.)

“Iran proved that it resists against offense of aggressors. Our people resisted against that aggressor regime. Therefore, if the transactions between Muslims and pagans are not allowed because of their domination upon us, any other thing that ends to this domination will be forbidden... Accordingly, the principle of denial of domination of nonmuslems upon Muslims is considered as the base of establishing relationships between Muslim nation and nonmuslems. Of course, this principle applies to other suras of the Holy Quran. For example if the Islamic country signs a treaty with a non-Muslim nation, according to Quranic rules, it should remain committed to it.(Khomeini, 1380, 1357/9/11, vol. 4, pp. 6-8.), but if that agreement leads to the cultural and political hegemony of pagans, Muslims should immediately cancel it.(Refer Shakoori, “, vol. 2, p. 384.) “ The denial of dependency, politically means to refuse any kind of dictatorship and colonialism, and to prevent outsiders from interfering in private issues of Muslim nations and political decision makings. From military point of view also, Muslims should not be dependent on any other nation. Cultural, and commercial realms also are not exceptional to this rule. Therefore, this principle has two features of negating and demanding. Its negating feature rejects any interference of outsiders in Muslims’ political and social affairs while its demanding feature clarifies the duty of all Muslims to protect the political independence and to eliminate any kind of dependency.(14- Asra’ (7) 34.)

4. The Principle of Islamic Dignity and Interest

This principle expresses the superiority of Islamic teachings and

thus, the superiority of Islamic societies in foreign relationships. There are several suras in the Holy Quran pointing to this superiority as well as the well-known tradition of superiority (Islam glorifies and nothing can overtake it) which are among well-documented reasons supporting this superiority. (*to Nesa sura (4) 138 and Monafeghoon (63) 8*). This principle shows the perfection, and ideality of Islam as a religion given by Allah emphasizing on unacceptability of other religions. Thus the Islamic government should not behave in its foreign relationship in a way that this principle may be neglected. In the Holy Quran there are some suras pointing to the dependence of Muslims on pagans to get worldly dignity. The Holy Quran blames them and recalls that the true dignity belongs only to Allah and his Prophet and the believers. In a sura Allah tells to his Prophet: "Inform the seditious, individuals who consider pagans as their friends and leave Muslims because they seek for dignity and glory in the shadow of association with pagans, that they will be seriously tormented, and dignity is absolutely in association with God". The principle of Islamic and religious dignity is the base of our religious leaders' teachings. For example Imam Ali (A. S.) advises Muslims to behave peacefully toward nonmuslems and at the same time not to forget the principle of religious dignity in their foreign relationships.

In this regard, Imam Khomeini emphasized on two foreign policy principles, and believed that Islamic dignity and interest should be protected in foreign relationships. Also Islamic Republic of Iran's constitutional law emphasizes on these two principles. In fact the principle of Islamic dignity, like the principle of denial of domination of pagans upon believers, monitors the treaties and behavior of the government toward other countries and forbids any

foreign treaty and behavior if they are against the benefit of the Islamic nation. Today, different definitions are given with diverse scopes about the word “Islamic interest”, therefore, it is necessary to clarify Imam Khomeini’s definition in this regard.

4-1. Islamic Interest in Foreign Policy from Imam’s View-point

The word “interest” can be meant either as the place of advisement as apposed to corruption, or as the singular form of “interests”. Some linguists believe that it means the protection of religion, protection of lives, property, wisdom, and generations. Some others also add the protection people’s respect to them. In another definition it means to attract benefits, and eliminate harms so that religious intention can be protected. Imam Khomeini has always emphasized on both, the dignity and interest of Muslims. In fact all ways in his ideology end in the provision of national interest and glory of Iran and Islam. Therefore it is not right to claim that he dealt only with a new introduction of Islam, because he constantly emphasized on long-term national and Islamic benefits, self-sufficiency in all fields, and independency on the West or the East, denial of others’ domination on Muslims and also hegemonism, peaceful coexistence, and bilateral respectful relationships. One of the greatest teachings of Imam Khomeini to Iranians and Muslim all over the world was the lesson of ambition and protection of dignity throughout foreign policy so that no international decision making should contribute to the abjection of Muslims. Thus in his viewpoint, the consideration of national interests and the principle of “no West, no East” and protection of independency should not

make Muslims neglect social benefits. Muslims should pay attention and be careful to use subtle strategies in order to protect their benefits and goals. Imam believed that we are supposed to plan to advance the goals in the direction of our deprived people's interests, and he repeatedly reminded it to our statesmen.

The above-mentioned were general framework of deliberation in foreign policy taken from Imam Khomeini's ideology. But it must be remembered that deliberation in foreign policy is not so easy that we can choose the interests of our nation only by knowing these frameworks and introduce it as our foreign policy. It is because these principles, sometimes, conflict. As mentioned before, in the case of confliction of principles, the protection of Muslims' dignity is of the highest importance comparing to others. But the main question raises about the time when the dignity of the country conflicts with the dignity of Islam. Which of them should be preferred in this case? In political linguistics, the word "nation" refers to individuals living within a known geographical international territory and here, just this meaning is taken from this word. But the word "ommat" has sociological different meanings. Here we take the very Islamic ommat which is something above geographical borders and ethnical and linguistic differences, gathered under the title of Muslims. The answer to this question depends on the way of thinking of the person who replies. Imam Khomeini's response to this question is in fact his doctrine about foreign policy. Regarding what is observed in Imam's words and his deeds, he considers the extension and penetration of Islam throughout the world as a duty and a great strategy in foreign policy. In fact he always gives priority to the interests of ommat (Muslims all around the world) rather than the interests of the nation. Of course this

priority has a basic and important precondition. If a country is the model and ringleader of other Muslim countries, and its interests faces a danger, then, exceptionally, its interests are preferred to the benefits of others, and other Muslim countries are supposed to help it and prevent from its instability. In return, that ringleader country also has the responsibility of solving the problems of other Muslim nations and support them against enemies. Imam Khomeini considers this responsibility as a permanent principle in foreign policy and says, "We must attempt to solve the problems of Muslims and support deprived, hungry people, this is our foreign policy." "We announce that the Islamic Republic of Islam is a shelter and supporter for all Muslims of all the world." "We will prepare their needs like a military fortress. We will make them familiar with the methods of fighting against pagans".

Thus, a country like Iran which is the pioneer in the battle line against pagans should have a strong military so that it can help other Muslims when necessary.

5. The Principle of Commitment to Political Treaties

The principle of remaining committed to agreements is one of emphatic orders in Islam, and several Quranic verses have advised it. (*Some of suras emphasizing on remaining committed to agreements are as follows: Asra' (17) 34, Baghareh (2) 177, Mo'menoon (23) 8, Maarej (70), Maedeh (15) 1, Aleomran (3) 76.*) Remaining committed to treaties is among foreign policy principles of the Islamic government. The Islamic governmental is supposed to respectfully observe the rights of other countries in relation to treaties established with them. In some Quranic verses it has absolutely

been pointed, while in others it has been mentioned as a duty and responsibility. Of course some verses have reminded Muslims to cancel and not to remain committed to harmful treaties. All interpreters are in agreement about the principle of remaining committed to treaties with other nations and prohibition of tricking other Muslims and even nonmuslims(Refer to Nadieh Mahmood Mostafa, 1996, p. 103)

As mentioned before, most interpreters believe that this principle includes all written and oral agreements, and all economic, security, and political agreements. The Holy Prophet also observed this general framework in his behavior toward Muslim and non-muslim nations. There are several narrations in which the Holy Prophet has advised Muslims to remain committed to their agreements with others.

Imam Khomeini, believing in a strong link between the law and ethics, emphasizes on the observation of humanely standards and norms in agreements, and international treaties and advises Muslims to make their internal and foreign rules according to fair distribution of rights. He believes that this will contribute to the enactment of the law based on human nature and equality of rights of nations in international level, so that, in addition to institutionalization of equality of rights other nations, it ends to the recognition of their territorial sovereignty by others. Of course, he believed in the necessity of some preconditions in international treaties, and didn't accept those agreements harmful to the benefits of Iran because, in his opinion, most treaties accepted by the Pahlavi regime had been imposed on it and were not useful to our interests. Thus, the signing of any previously made agreement should be in the

direction of benefits of the newly established regime, or else it will be canceled. Of course, regarding the observance of diplomatic rules by the Islamic government, Imam Khomeini permits them according to a principle in Islam which requires other nations to observe some international rights and standards. Thus, in the case of observation of bilateral rights among nations, people can feel the impacts of justice and mutual respect in the world of peaceful coexistence. On the other hand, if anarchism and international disorder is eliminated around the world, and legal power is justly distributed among nations and the rights of the indigent are not misused by bully superpowers, Muslim countries can receive their rights in the international level, and regional symbols will be realized by them and in return, this will contribute to legal jurisdiction of the self-sufficient Islamic society in micro level. Thus, we can see that a narrow link of macro, micro, and middle levels can be established in the legal dimension in the form of a mutual relationship. Of course, the relative situation of foreign policy in Imam Khomeini's thought can be investigated from his legal ideological point of view. From one side, the foreign policy is considered as some kind of internal policy comparing to international policy, running within Islamic, indigent, and so called insider nations, and from the other side, in comparison to the policy of the ringleader country, it is an foreign policy having interaction with the internal policy. For this reason, regarding Imam's viewpoints, we can analyze such a mutual link as follows:

Regarding the impact of middle level on the micro level, or the influence of foreign policy on the internal policy, Imam Khomeini considers the observance of respect of Islamic nations by others as

leading to the observance of respect of other nations. In fact, in his opinion, their non-intervention in internal affairs of the ringleader nation necessitates the respectful behavior toward them in their internal policy stage: “We will behave respectfully toward all nations conditioned that they do not intervene in our internal affairs and have a mutual respect to us. “ (Khomeini, 1380, vol. 4, p. 38)

If other countries observe our respect, we also, will have a similar behavior toward them, but if they interfere in our affairs we won't tolerate. We will neither treat other nations oppressively, nor tolerate their oppression. (Khomeini, 1380, 1357/8/15, vo3, p. 31)

6. The Principle of Convocation to Jihad

Within Islamic foreign relationships also, the principle of convocation has been emphasized as a major principle. Allah addresses his Prophet in a sura of the Holy Quran and says: “Tell believers to turn toward the word which is common between us and you. Don't worship anyone except the One God and do not imagine a partner for him. No one can rule you except Allah”. This sura and many others clearly indicate that the Holy Prophet was supposed, before any other things, to convoke individuals toward Allah. This, can be seen within the Holy Prophet's behavior; he never convoked people to jihad before inviting them toward Allah. Now a question comes to the reader's mind: Which is the base of Islamic government? War or peace?

To answer this question it must be said according to the verses of convocation, the principle of peace has been emphasized. Now the question is how to interpret the Quranic suras about jihad. Many point to such suras as “Kill pagans sufficiently”, “Kill them

wherever you find them”, and “Kill them till the time there would be no sedition on the earth”, to show that Islamic emerged based on war regarding its foreign policy.

Regardless of interpretive discussions, two points are important to mention:

Some researchers emphasizing on peace-based quality of foreign policy of Islam, introduce jihad as a requirement to establish social justice and eliminate oppression in human societies. Islam emphasizes on the centrality of peace and says: “Start your relations completely peacefully”. But regarding foreign policy’s influence on international policy or the interaction between the middle level and macro level, Imam Khomeini believes that Islamic nations should protect their rights in the international stage to obtain their legal status. He reminds that through the legal unity of Islamic countries in the framework of multi-lateral institutions, their status will be promoted throughout the world. He gave great importance to the ringleader in this relation: “In the 15th century after the emergence of Islam Muslims should gather under the flag of Allah and their rights. They should cut the hands of Western and Eastern superpowers from their rights.(Khomeini, 1380, 1358/11/15, vol. 11, pp. 258-259) “They don’t know or don’t see that with the help of Allah, the Islamic revolution has been exported or is being exported throughout the world and in a near future the flag of Islam will be fluttering all over the world.” Regarding the macro level influence on middle level, or the impression of international policy on foreign policy, Imam Khomeini believed that if legal standards are established on the base of legal equation among countries, and the oppressive rules are replaced by Islamic principles, then we

can see Muslem and indigent nation having a peaceful coexistence with other countries. For this reason, legal principles ruling the international system should change in a just form and on the base of equality of rights of all individuals. "We live in an era when the destiny of oppressed people is determined by a group of criminals. In this era and other eras, the world has been cursed with lawless governments who have committed many atrocities to people. We are living in an era when criminals are encouraged instead of being reprimanded. Today, so called human-rights organizations are protecting the oppressive benefits of criminals and their relatives"(Khomeini, 1380, 1362/3/28, vol. 18, pp. 23-24). That is why Imam Khomeini recognizes only those international treaties which are not in the direction of dictatorial relationship and unilateral sovereignty of superpowers, and interference of outsiders in the affairs of indigent nations. He suggests", According to international agreements, spies work in other countries under the title of ambassadors. What Carter did to us was against international laws. Criminals should be returned to their own countries and be sentenced in their own countries. No country is allowed to keep a criminal from other countries; it is against international law. This is Carter who acted against international laws, not us. .(Khomeini, 1380, 1358/8/28, vol. 22, pp. 259-261)

Conclusion

Imam Khomeini's foreign policy principles are a set of political cases in relation to the foreign realm consisting of two fixed and changing parts. The fixed part represents the general framework of foreign-policy making within which policies and strategies of

foreign policy are regulated. This part is mainly based on theoretical teachings and value system and dominating ideology. The changing part consists of policies that are regulated according to the conditions of the present time. The fixed part of foreign policy has been taken from religious bases including the principles of “denial of domination of pagans upon believers”, “convocation or jihad”, “religious dignity”, and “remaining committed to international agreements”. Being inspired by these principles, Imam Khomeini represents his foreign policy and strategy in order to ensure the glory of Islamic societies.

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Liberalism of Skepticism and Fear, and Islam

Mohammad Reza Taheri¹

Abstract

Skepticism and fear caused serious flaws in liberalism. Skepticism made liberalism resort to reason as an Archimedean point for resolving disagreements. But reason like opinions and affections is subject to social contingencies. Liberal fear of human nature has led it to a negative notion of rights that is harmful to social solidarity. Islam can help liberalism resolve these problems.

Keywords

Islam, Liberalism, Skepticism, Fear, Rights.

1. Ph.D in Polical Sciences Graduated from Imam Sadiq University.

Some scholars such as Ernest Cassier (1946), Oestreich (1982), Tuck (1993:1999) and Brooke (2012) have emphasized on decisive role of neostoics, particularly Lipsius, in formation of modern state. As Oestreich states, Lipsius's book entitled *Deconstantia libri duo qui alloquium praecipue continent in publicis malis*, found a wide and surprisingly rapid response among contemporary readers and proved to be an international best-seller. It was printed forty-four times in the original Latin, fifteen times in French translation, and it was also translated into Dutch, English, German, Spanish, Italian and Polish. (Oestreich, 1982, 13)

like his ancestor, Machiavelli, and his descendant, Thomas Hobbes, Lipsius was child of fear; he witnessed European civil war, and his primary problem was "conflict" and "disagreement". However, his particular place in political thought is due to his neo-stoic *temperament, which, like his contemporary thinker, Montaigne, was accompanied by skepticism. As Tuck points outs, scepticism in both Montaigne and Lipsius was not merely an epistemological conceit; it was part of a moral package. Ataraxia, the life of detachment from passion and from the beliefs which cause emotion, was the central aim of both of them.* (Tuck, 1993, 51)

Similarly, Charles Taylor believes that Lipsius invented a sort of Christianized Stoicism which leans to the Stoic side. As Taylor states, there are two striking differences between Christianity and Stoicism in ethical realm: 'a) Christianity sees us as in need of God's grace. As needing God help to liberate the good will which is potentially ours; where Stoicism appeals purely on our powers of reason and self-control; b) Christianity sees the fullest realization of the good will in us in agape, our love for our neighbor. Sto-

icism sees the wise person as having attain *apatheia*, a condition beyond passion.’ (Taylor, 2007, 115)

Innovation of neostoics, such as Lipsius, was that they define God’s grace in terms of reason. As Cassirer stated, the stoic conception that all men are free because they are all endowed with the same reason found its theological interpretation and justification in the added dictum that this very reason is the image of God. (Cassirer, 1946, 104) As an example, Seneca extolled reason as a part of the divine spirit implanted in man: Reason comes from heaven, from God himself. (Taylor, 2007, 115) but “opinion” which comes from the earth and the body, misleads us; foreign calamities, loss of fortune, health, even life, only affect changeable things, which have of necessity to pass anyway. Therefore as Lipsius said, you should ‘Transfer your love to something permanent, something celestial’, and there is the central view of Lipsius: ‘Constancy denotes the proper and immovable strength of the mind that is neither elated nor downcast by outward or fortuitous circumstances. Strength is a firmness implanted in the mind, not by opinion, but by judgment and right reason.’ (Taylor, 2007, 116)

Considering liberal tradition of social contract, e.g. Rawls’s original position and the veil of ignorance, we can see the influence of stoicism and neostoicism, particularly Lipsius’s thoughts. As Cassirer pointed out, Stoics never denied that, in a physical sense, there are innumerable differences between men; differences of birth, rank, temperament, intellectual talents. But from an ethical point of view all these differences are declared to be of no account. What matters alone, what determines a man’s personality is his judgment about things. These judgments depend upon a free act which creates a world of its own. The Stoics draw a sharp line between what is necessary and what is accidental in human

nature. Only those things are necessary that regard the “essence,” that is to say, the moral value of man. Whatever depends on foreign circumstances, on conditions that are not in our own power, is to be left out; it does not count. (Cassirer, 1946, 101)

Getting rid of social contingencies, arbitrary distribution of natural endowments, and nature’s lottery, Rawls has resorted to reason. Like Lipsius, Rawls directed skepticism solely towards opinions, affections, and contingencies of the foreign world, and reason is immune to it. Morality is also minimized and made thinner to secure unity in the condition of plurality and disagreement. However, Rawlsian project is doomed to failure; how disagreements can be resolved by human beings who are themselves the cause of disagreements? Rawls is going the wrong way and Islam can help Liberalism; Islam teaches us that “how many reasons which are slaves to desires!” there are master reason and slave reason as well as right opinions and affections and wrong ones. Rawls’s Archimedean point can not be rationality or reasonableness. The story of “An elephant in the dark room» is a helpful example; divine light is the only way to resolve the disagreement. There is an instructive parable in Quran: “The lightning almost takes away their vision. When the lightning brightens their surroundings, they walk and when it is dark, they stand still. Had God wanted, He could have taken away their hearing and their vision. God has power over all things.”(2:20) This verse allegorically shows the condition of human beings separated from God. Any light, except for divine light, is a flash of lightening, though it can lighten for a fleeting moment, suffers from two serious problems: first, like reason and senses separated from divine revelation, it can cause blindness; and second, this light is unable to guide people and can not help

them reach their destinations. On the contrary, divine light is described as follows:

Allah is the Light of the heavens and the earth. The Parable of His Light is as if there were a Niche and within it a Lamp: the Lamp enclosed in Glass: the glass as it were a brilliant star: Lit from a blessed Tree, an Olive, neither of the east nor of the west, whose oil is well-nigh luminous, though fire scarce touched it: Light upon Light! Allah doth guide whom He will to His Light: Allah doth set forth Parables for men: and Allah doth know all things. (24:35)

Based on this verse, divine light has two characteristics: being guiding and free from social contingencies. Unlike a flash of lightning which lighten a small area for a fleeting moment, Divine light, like a star, shows the way to the people who went astray. And it is neither of the east nor the west, i.e. a vantage point which is free from social contingencies, the one which Rawls was desperately looking for in the original position. Quran says: "And he [Abraham] said: have taken (for worship) idols besides Allah, out of mutual love and regard between yourselves in this life; but on the Day of Judgment you shall disown each other and curse each other, and your abode will be the Fire, and you shall have none to help." (29:25) According to this verse, it is possible to create idols for securing unity in this world, but its inner reality, as it will be revealed on the Day of Judgment, is nothing more than enmity. *Awthan* (idols) as Tabatabaie states, is nothing but human's constructions: "its divinity is a mere claim, beyond which lacks any truth." (Al-Mizan, vol. 16, 115)

Fear, or in Quranic terms *hazar al'mawt* (fear of death), is another main feature of liberalism. Hobbes did, **more than any other thinker, to focus attention on it**. It is also a key feature of liberalism of other liberal thinkers, such as Kant, Mill, and Rawls. Hobbes is not alone in his well-known allegory that likened man to wolf, Mill has also likened man to vulture. (Mill, 1978, 2)

Self-preservation as a thin and minimized morality, is an important consequence of this liberalism. Self-preservation as a right of man leads to self-preservation as a right of government or sovereign. Self-preservation for government was translated to the autonomy of an absolutist state, and then, give it back to the man. In other words, state took the right of self-preservation and transformed it into the autonomy and gave it back to the man. As Mill stated, to prevent the weaker numbers of the community from being preyed upon by innumerable vultures, it was needful that there should be an animal of prey stronger than the rest, commissioned to keep them down. (Mill, 1978, 2)

To put it differently, when Renaissance humanists had resorted to Leviathan to resolve conflicts of wolves, in the second phase, they gradually decreased the power of Leviathan to protect the subject. Liberal strategy in this regard employed Ideas of autonomy and liberty as basic human rights. Hana Arendt, for instance, believes that freedom is actually the reason why men live together in political organization at all, and without it, political life as such would be meaningless. In Arendt's view, the *raison d'etre* of politics is freedom. (Arendt, 1991, 58) In the same way, Rawls mentioned liberty as his first principle of justice.

This fear has led liberalism astray into giving priority to neg-

ative liberty. Liberal freedom in this sense, i.e. determining a private sphere for individuals, within which no one can interfere with, is a modern one. As Coleman stated, Greek freedom (*eleutheria*) meant (1) not to be slaved, not to serve another man; (2) that the community was not to be dominated by another, a freedom of *polis*, whatever its constitution (be it democracy or oligarchy); a distinctive democratic understanding of freedom which as a constitutional concept, was associated not only with freedom factionalism but also with freedom of political participation in the public sphere where the law, rather than an individual or factional group, were sovereign. (Coleman, 2000, 34-35)

Coleman believes that what was not emphasized in any of these ideas of freedom is the modern liberal democratic notion that the individual lives of citizen, determined by uniquely personal preferences, however acquired, were to be protected or enhanced by setting limits to collective, community control. (Coleman, 2000, 36)

The same is true for Roman idea of freedom. As Richard Tuck stressed, for neither the Romans nor the early medieval lawyers, could not liberty be *ius*, a right. And even they contrasted *libertas* with *ius*; as Florentinus said in a famous remark, later incorporated in the *Institution*, liberty is the *facultas* to do what one wants, unless prevented by force or *ius*. (Tuck, 1979, 26)

Islamic teachings prefer to consider rights more in its responsibility than claim aspect, i.e. rights as responsibility of people towards each other rather than their claims against one another. Considering rights in this view, Islam has encouraged social bonds and solidarity. Imam Ali, for example, says: "O people! I have rights

over you, and you have rights over me... .”¹ The terms “my rights over you” and “your rights over me” are used to emphasize “your responsibility towards me” and “my responsibility towards you.” There are numerous hadiths that speak about rights in this way. Consider following example:

Fear Allah! And give his rights which is in your hands²

One of guest’s rights is to provide him/her toothpick³

One of rights of who have knowledge, is not to ask him/her questions repeatedly⁴

What is rights of Allah over his creation? [Imam] said: rights of Allah over his creation [human bring] is to say what they know, and avoid saying what they do not know⁵

If these kinds of hadiths be studied carefully, two of their characteristics would be revealed: firstly, positive aspect of rights, which is strongly emphasized, whereas rights in liberalism strongly imply non- interference; in other words, its implied responsibility is rather negative than positive; secondly, rights are attributed to human beings, not only by considering them as merely human beings, but also by observing their existential grades.

Islam has a broader notion of rights which are assigned according to grades of existence. Therefore, all creatures have rights. However, as creatures have different grades of existence, they enjoy different rights as well. Should we extend the idea of existential grade, and employ it in social relations, we would get closer to the Islamic notion of rights. For example, Islam, as a whole, do not speak of rights of human beings as human beings, but rights of human beings, based on their existential grade, including their

social place, such as God's rights, parent's rights, child's rights, neighbor's rights, guest's rights, muslim's right, rights the of People of the book, rights of the poor, rights of the captive, rights of human's body, and so on.

Obviously, this notion of rights is employed to clarify human responsibilities (in relation to God, to himself, to other people, and to nature), and to promote social bonds, aiming at human growth and perfection.

Even in occasions that rights means a legitimate claim, Quran prefers to use notions other than rights. For example, in *Qisas* (retaliation-in-kind) that *Vali* (heir) has to claim, Quran employed the notion of *Sultan* (authority): "Nor take life - which Allah has made sacred - except for just cause. And if anyone is slain wrongfully, we have given his heir authority" (17:33)

Difference between giving priority to the positive aspect of rights in Islam and to the negative aspect in liberalism is apparent in the rights of human body; for example, rights of body organs such as rights of eyes, ears, tongue, hands, and legs are among rights which Imam Sajjad (the fourth shiite Imam) enumerated in his Treaties on Rights (*Resalat al-Huquq*). It is obvious that what was intended here by notion of rights is not their claims, but the responsibilities of human beings towards them, since body organs (at least in this world) are unable to claim their rights.

One of the effects of prioritizing the negative aspect of rights in liberalism can be seen in the doctrine of double effect, according to which actions that causes a serious harm, such as the death of a human being, are permissible as a side effect of promoting some good end. Rawls, though he is a philosopher of justice, had committed to a variation of

this doctrine, when he talked about rules of wars; he believes:

Even in a just war certain forms of violence are strictly inadmissible; and where a country's right to war is questionable and uncertain, the constraints on the means it can use are all the more severe. Acts permissible in a war of legitimate self-defense, when these are necessary, may be flatly excluded in a more doubtful situation. (Rawls, 1991, 379)

As Michael Walzer pointed out, Rawls's suggestion implied that 'The greater the justice of my cause, the more rules I can violate for the sake of the cause -though some rules are always inviolable.' (Walzer, 2006, 229) Double effect doctrine leads Rawls to the idea of *Supreme Emergency Exemption*, according to which it is permitted to kill civilians in certain circumstances. He justifies Britain's bombing of Germany upon Supreme Emergency Exemption:

Britain's bombing of Germany until the end of 1941 or 1942 could be justified because Germany could not be allowed to win the war, and this for two basic reasons. First, Nazism portended incalculable moral and political evil for civilized life everywhere. Second, the nature and history of constitutional democracy and its place in European history were at stake. (Rawls, 1999, 98)

One of important bases of double effect doctrine is a distinction between act and omission (for example, killing a person is different from letting him die). Obviously these two are different, but from legal not moral point of view. The main point is that negative view of rights, which emphasizes on non-interference, weakens

moral responsibility as well. To give an example, consider a dying accident victim and the crowd around him that do nothing to save his life (omission). Legally, they are not responsible, but morally, they are. It is evident that in this situation, the Ideal condition is that people save victim's life by acting. But, the question arise here is that which notion of rights can help realization of the ideal condition? The negative notion emphasizing non-interference or the positive notion emphasizing doing responsibility? The answer is clear, and liberalism needs to revise its conception of rights in the light of Islamic teachings.

To sum up, liberalism has greatly suffered consequences of skepticism and fear. It arbitrarily attributes skepticism to opinions and affections, and excludes reason. But, reason like opinions is not free from social contingencies, and can not provide an Archimedean point to resolve disagreements. Fear has led liberalism to a negative notion of right which undermine social solidarity and put walls between people, whereas Islamic notion of rights, employs it to promote social unity, and human perfection and decency.

Notes

1. Nahj-Albalaghah, s.44.
2. Feqh-Alreza, p.294.
3. Al-Mahasen, p.564.
4. Al-Kafi, v.1, p.37.
5. Al-Mahasen, p.204.

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