

Khomeini's Concept of *Wilâyat Al-Faqîh* and Its Influence on the Contemporary Indonesian Islamic Thought

Hasan Bisri

Universitas Islam Negeri (UIN) Sunan Gunung Djati Bandung
email: h_hasan_bisri@yahoo.com

Received: July 17, 2017 | Accepted: January 14, 2018

Abstract

The concept of *wilâyat al-faqîh* from Imam Khomeini was one of the products of Islamic thought. It has revive discourse on Islamic studies in various parts of the Islamic world. It is not only become a threat to the status quo of the Muslim rulers, in fact it has been raising the academic and scholarly discussion in the forums of national, regional, and international levels. The influence of the concept of *wilâyat al-faqîh* from Imam Khomeini to contemporary Islamic thought in Indonesia looked on discourse about the relation between religion and state. Indeed, the debate on religion-state relations have long occurred in Indonesia, but in academic discourse becomes increasingly crowded since the concept of *wilâyat al-faqîh* serve as the basis for the establishment of the Islamic State of Iran by Imam Khomeini. Effect the concept of *wilâyat al-faqîh* in contemporary Indonesian Islamic thought encouraged by the publication of books about Imam Khomeini and about Shia in general and the development of Shi'i institutions in Indonesia.

Abstrak

Artikel ini berusaha menelusuri pengaruh konsep *wilâyat al-faqîh* Imam Khomeini dalam pemikiran Islam Indonesia kontemporer. Konsep *wilâyat al-faqîh* Imam Khomeini yang kemudian menjadi landasan sistem ketatanegaraan Republik Islam Iran telah memperkaya pemikiran Islam kontemporer di Indonesia, khususnya tentang hubungan negara dan agama. Memang perdebatan tentang relasi agama-negara telah lama terjadi di Indonesia, tetapi diskursus secara akademik menjadi semakin ramai sejak konsep *wilâyat al-faqîh* dijadikan sebagai dasar pembentukan Negara Islam Iran. Pengaruh konsep *wilâyat al-faqîh* dalam pemikiran Islam Indonesia kontemporer didorong oleh penerbitan buku-buku karya tentang Imam Khomeini dan tentang Syi'ah pada umumnya serta berkembangnya institusi-institusi Syi'ah di Indonesia.

Keywords: *Wilâyat al-faqîh*, *imâmah*, sovereignty, religion-state relations.

Pendahuluan

Khomeini's concept of *wilāyat al-faqīh* is one of the products of Islamic thought that has enlivened Islamic discourse and studies in many parts of the Islamic world. The concept is not only a threat to the status quo of the ruling power of "Islamic" states, but it also enriches academic and scientific discussions in national, regional, and international forums.

When Islamic world was searching a new formula regarding the relation between Islam and the state, a number of Muslim leaders led by Khomeini of Iran were managed to formulate the relation between Islam and state political system, which was, then, implemented in modern political system after the Islamic Revolution.

Islamic Revolution of Iran 1979, which ended the absolute monarchy of Pahlavi dynasty, is one of the most spectacular phenomena in the twentieth century. It tried to liberate the dominance of the United States in the Islamic world. This phenomenon had become a subject of interest of the socio-political experts in the world, especially the Western world. One of experts on Middle East politics, Richard Cottam, stated that Iran's Islamic Revolution is one of the greatest populist Explosions in human history¹. The revolution was the result of a process of accumulated discontent of the Iranian people against the Shah Reza Pahlavi's policies, in economy, politics, religion, and social culture, especially his policy on restricting scholars on political and social culture.

According to Mohsen M. Milani, there are four factors causing the Islamic Revolution. *First* is the success of the anti-Shah Pahlavi movement. *Second* is the emergence of *Shi'ism*, a revolutionary ideology that provides justification for struggle against the Shah Pahlavi, which was able to unite different opposition groups and to promise a bright future for all people. *Third* is the success of the revolutionaries in attracting international supports by showing stoicism and vision. *Fourth* is the failure of Shah Pahlavi in managing his repressive tools effectively, such as bureaucracy and security forces².

Meanwhile, Jerrold D. Green said that Iran's Islamic Revolution was the result of a clash between economic and political development undertaken by Shah Pahlavi that resulted in the emergence of a counter-mobilization, the mobilization of the Iranian opposition group against Shah Pahlavi. In this case, the Shah Pahlavi mobilized people to gain support by pressuring Iranian people to be members of the National Awakening Party (Rastakhiz), a party affiliated to the Government of the Shah, and the only party authorized to live at that time while the opposition,

¹Richard Cottam, "Inside Revolutionary Iran", dalam *Iran's Revolution: The Search for Consensus*, Editor: RK. Ramzani (Bloomington: Indiana University, Press, 1990), 3

²Mohsen M. Melani, *The Making of Iran's Islamic Revolution: From Monarchy to Islamic Republic* (Boulder: Westview, 1988), 4-15

according to Green, mobilized the people with the main purpose to topple the Shah. This counter-revolution caused the Iranian revolution³.

In addition, the success of the Iranian Islamic revolution cannot be separated from the crystallization of Islamic political thought among the scholars of Iran represented by Khomeini with his concept of *wilâyat al-faqîh*. This concept, on the one hand, was regarded by Western countries a theological state controlled by oligarchic Islamic scholars (ulema), on the other hand, the concept, which refers to the sovereignty of God (al-dawla al-ilâhiyyah), contains a democratic political values as used in secular and capitalistic democratic countries.

This paper tries to answer two main questions, namely: How is the concept of *wilâyat al-faqîh* of Khomeini implemented in the political system of state; and how is the influence of the concept on contemporary Islamic thought in Indonesia.

The Concept of *Wilâyat al-Faqîh*

Before discussing further the concept of *wilâyat al-faqîh*, the first to be reviewed is a number of concepts that cannot be separated from the concept of *wilâyat al-faqîh*. These concepts include the concept of Imamate, the concept of state's purpose, and the concept of sovereignty.

The concept of 'Imamate' is etymologically derived from the word 'amma', which means to go, towards, or go to see⁴. The concept of Imamate among the Shi'ites interpreted as divinely position chosen by God for His servants by His preexisting knowledge just like God has chosen someone as His prophet. The God commanded the Prophet to appoint a successor and ordered his followers to follow the appointment. Shiites believe that Allah commanded the Prophet to appoint Ali ibn Abi Talib, as a guide and mentor for Muslims. Furthermore, Kâsyif al-Githa explains that God is never empty the earth of a proof (hujjah) of His servants, whether it is a prophet or a *washi*, clearly or even unseen. The Holy Prophet Muhammed has contended 'Ali as a *washi*, and he willed to his son, al-Hasan, and al-Hasan willed his brother al-Husain, and so on until the Twelfth leader (the Imam Mahdi, whose presence is waited at the end of time⁵.

Imamat theory states that the authority and sovereignty of the state is the prerogative of Allah, and then Allah delegates His rights to the Prophet. After the Prophet's death, the rights are transferred to the twelfth *imam*. When the twelfth *imam* is undergoing major occultation, then the authority (wilayat) of *Imam* was

³Jerrold D. Green, "Counter mobilization in The Iranian Revolution", in Jack A. Goldstone (ed.), *Revolutions: Theoretical, Comparative and Historical Studies*, (San Diego: HBJ, 1986), 6-17

⁴Abi al-Fadhl Jamâl al-Dîn ibn Muḥammad ibn Mukram al-Muhry, known as Ibnu Mandhur, *Lisân al-'Arab*, (Mesir: al-Mathba'ah al-Amiriyyah, 1302 H), 15-20,

⁵Muḥammad Ḥusain al-Kâsyif al-Githâ, *Ashl al-Syi'ah wa Ushûluha*, (Iran: Matktab al-Tsaqâfah al-Islâmiyyah, t.t.), 136

submitted to the qualified jurist (al-syarâ'ith jam'i) as the representative of him, until the *imam* comes back to the world⁶.

Therefore, the guardianship of the jurist was legalized and his authority is associated with the God's original and absolute authority. The authority of the *imam* is explicitly established by the Prophet, while the *Faqih* (jurist) gained the authority from the twelfth *Imam*, based on specific qualifications such as justice and broad knowledge of Islamic law. On this basis, the continuity of leadership from the days of the Prophet, the *Imams*, to the *faqih* is a religious necessity in order to maintain and implement *sharia* in the life of Islamic community and to realize the happiness in the world and the hereafter.

The theory of Imamate above generates some elements of Shiite leadership theory. *First* is the theory of *al-luthf*. This theory explains that Allah with His affectionate ('al-lutf) may not allow a community without a leader (Imam) who will be responsible of managing religious and political affairs. *Second* is the theory of *al-'adl*. This theory reveals that the life of human being in the world will run fairly if it is accompanied by His messengers to guide them to the right path, because the human's mind is sometimes influenced by the passions that drive him to the wrong way. *Third*, the theory of *al-Salah wa al-Ashlah*. This theory explains that God, with His graciousness and His mercifulness, has responsibility of doing His best for the benefit of His creatures in the world⁷. Therefore, the leadership of the people should be kept by those who have noble qualities and superior (al-Afdhal), ie 'Ali ibn Abi Talib and eleven descendants⁸. Because the twelfth *Imam* is in major occultation, then a qualified jurist becomes his successors.

Meanwhile, according to modern political terminology, 'caliphate' or 'Imamat' is synonymous with 'state', because the two terms are substantially relying on the country's sovereignty in order to achieve the desired goals of the people. Similarly, in the Islamic studies these terms mean the Caliphate, Imamate, *hukûmah*, *daulah*, and the sultanates. The term of 'imamate' refers to a state in Islamic studies⁹. Munawir Sjadzali as cited by al-Mawardi said that the priest (imam) was caliph, king, sultan or head of state. This generic term is acceptable to all Muslims, whether Sunni, or Shia¹⁰.

The second concept that cannot be separated from the concept of *wilâyat al-faqih* is the concept of the state's purpose. In Islamic thought, this concept, at least,

⁶Muhammad Husain al-Kâsyif al-Githa, *Ashl al-Syi'ah wa Ushûluha* (Teheran: Matkhab al-Tsaqâfah al-Islâmiyyah, t.t.) 136.

⁷Hamid Enayat, *Reaksi Politik Sunni dan Shi'ah: Pemikiran Islam Modern Menghadapi Abad ke-20*, (Bandung: Pustaka, 1982), 56-57

⁸Muhammad Abû Zahrah, *Ushûl al-Fiqh*, (Kairo: Dâr al-Fikr al-'Arabi, 1985), 277-278, See also, M. Khalid Masood, *Islamic Legal Philosophy: A Study of Abû Ishâq al-Syâthibî Life and Thought* (New Delhi: International Islamic Publishers, 1989), 149

⁹Abdulrahim Gavahi, *Islamic Revolution of Iran: Conceptual Aspects and Religious Dimensions*, (Sweden: Faculty of Theology Uppsala University, 1988), 56-58.

¹⁰Munawir Sjadzali, *Islam dan Tata Negara: Ajaran, Sejarah dan Pemikiran* (Jakarta: Universitas Indonesia Press, 1990), 42-45

suggested by some clerics (ulama), among others Ibn Abi Râbi'i, al-Mawardi, Ibn Khaldun, and Ibn Taimiya.

According to Ibn Rabi'i, the purpose of the establishment of a state is to enable people to run their lives well away from the dispute, and to prevent intervention of foreign parties¹¹. Al-Mawardi states that it aims to replace prophetic roles in order to maintain and manage the world¹². He, further, said that the state through its agencies has a common goals: (a) to maintain the religion; (b) to maintain the rights of the people and the laws of God; (c) to implement the rule of law between the disputing parties, and promote universal justice; (d) to protect the region and maintain the honor of the people of Islam; (e) to do the holy war (jihad) against those who oppose Islam; and (f) to establish a military force to confront the enemy¹³.

Meanwhile, Ibn Khaldun states that the purpose of establishing a state is to seek and realize the benefit of religion and the world that lead to the interest of the hereafter¹⁴, while according to al-Ghazali, it is to implement Islamic law, to realize the benefit of the people, and to ensure order of world and religion affairs¹⁵. In addition, Ibn Taimiya states that it is to implement Islamic law in a comprehensive way, to realize the welfare of the people, and to promote justice and trust in the community¹⁶.

The next concept which is also strongly associated with the concept of *wilāyat al-faqīh* is the concept of sovereignty. Sovereignty as the supreme authority in the country has been known since ancient Greece. It can be seen from the statement of Aristotle that "the government is everywhere. Sovereign in the state, and the constitution is the supreme authority in the state, must be in the hands of one, or a few, or the many"¹⁷. G.H. Sabine describes the concept of sovereignty by arguing that sovereignty is not limited by law since the king has become a source of law. The king is not accountable to its people, but is responsible to God and submits to the laws of nature¹⁸. In a further development, the doctrine of absolute power did not last. The sovereignty owned by a king is limited by constitution, even in a democratic country; the sovereignty is on the people hands.

Regarding the sovereignty, there are theories that are relevant to the sovereign (ruler) of state. They are the theory of state sovereignty resources and the theory about the legitimacy of power. The former is divided into four sections, namely: (1) the theory of the sovereignty of God, (2) the theory of the sovereignty of

¹¹Munawir Sjadzali, *Islam dan Tata Negara...*, 42-45

¹²Al-Māwardī, *al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭāniyyah* ..., 5

¹³Al-Māwardī, *al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭāniyyah*..., 5, see also Qomaruddin Khan, *Al-Māwardī's Theory of State* ..., 61-68

¹⁴Abd al-Rahmān Ibn Khaldun, *al-Muqaddimah*, (Mesir: Musthafā Muhammad, t.t), 124

¹⁵J. Sayuthi Pulungan, *Fiqh Siyāsah: Ajaran, Sejarah dan Pemikiran*, (Jakarta: PT Rajawali Press, 1997), 260

¹⁶Ibnu Taymiyyah, *al-Siyāsah al-Syar'iyyah fī Ishlāḥ al-Rā'i wa al-Ra'iyyah*, (Kairo: Dār al-Kātib al-'Arabi, t.t.), 29-30

¹⁷Deliar Noer, *Pengantar Ke Arah Pemikiran Politik* (Jakarta: Yayasan Risalah, 1983), 58

¹⁸Harold G. Laski, *A Grammar of Politics*, (London: George Allen dan Unwin Ltd, 1957), 45-46; see also G.H. Sabine, *A History of Political Theory*, (London: George G. Harahap dan Co. Ltd, 1951), 345-350.

the state, (3) the theory of people sovereignty, (4) the theory of sovereignty of law. And the later includes the three theories, namely: (1) the theory of the divine, (2) the theory of power, (3) the theory of social contract.

The Theory of Sovereignty of God

This theory asserts that God has the sovereignty of the state. All events in the universe occur because of God's will including the existence of state. God appointed a person among men who is under the power of the state to supervise and execute the law of God. The leader acts on behalf of God to rule the world and the country. According to this theory, a country would not have existed if God did not want it. This doctrine was derived from the philosophy and some are derived from religious teachings¹⁹. In a historical perspective of the government, the church itself is an absolute monarchy since it is regarded from *al-Masih*, who served as a source of law in the state political life. The main character of this is St. Augustine. According to him, the God state is based on God's love. God's love that is immortal is the glue that integrates the factors into a unified political entity, and it is inseparable because they come from God²⁰.

Theory of State Sovereignty

This theory teaches that the ultimate power is held by the state, so the state should determine the law, people obey the law because it is the will of the state. In its practice, the sovereignty is in the hands of kings, as it is known in Europe continent in the sixteenth century until the seventeenth century. The king had absolute power to make laws for the people. He is not bound by laws that restrict them from outside except by God's law of natural law, because the kings considered themselves the owner of a full power so they have right to make any laws²¹. The doctrine of state sovereignty laid by Jean Bodin in the field of political philosophy, and Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679), who is also one of the founder of the theory that the social contract that will be presented in the discussion later²².

¹⁹ Compare S.I. Bern and R.S. Peters, *The Principles of Political Thought* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2016), 302-208. "In Brief, sovereign may be an important and useful concept, at a least if sovereignty is understood to reside in determinant person or institution, because it suggest the wrong questions"; also see, Roger H. Soltou, *An Introduction to Politics...*, 17-20.

²⁰ For example Cicero (106-143 SM) who developed Panteism in Roman. He said that only a true law, for all human beings, unchangeable, and immortal, Tuhanlah who interprete and support the law. Man is manifestation of the One. See, G.H. Sabine, *A history of Political Theory ...*, 148-149, and Ahmad Suhelmi, *Pemikiran Politik Barat: Kajian Sejarah Perkembangan Pemikiran Negara, Masyarakat, dan Kekuasaan*, (Jakarta: PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2004), 80

²¹ G.H. Sabine, *A History of Political Theory*, h. 163, Bible, Rum, 3: 1-2., *Perjanjian Baru* (Jakarta: Lembaga al-Kitab Indonesia, 1960), 472. It says that god has a highest authority. See, Deliar Noer, *Pengantar Ke Arah Pemikiran Politik...*, 67-68. He asserts that a pious muslims return everything occur in the world to the God.

²² Agustin Fiche, "Religious Institution" in Edwin R.A. Seligman (ed), *Encyclopedia of the Social Science*, (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1959), 246; see also G.H. Sabine, *A History of Political Theory...*, 163

Theory of Sovereignty of the People

Based on this theory, the supreme power of the country belongs to the people. The will of the people in form of public will is the basis of state power. The government is the representative of the people to realize the good and the common prosperity. Government that acts in accordance with the will of the people can be replaced with a new government in accordance with the choice of the majority. This doctrine is a reaction to the theory of state sovereignty and is relevant to the theory proposed by John Locke (1632-1704) and Jean Rousseau (1712-1778)²³.

Theory of Sovereignty of the Law

The theory was developed by Hugo Krabbe (1857-1936) in his *Die Lehre Der Rechtssoveranimitat* and later by his disciple, R. Karenburg in his work *Algemene Statsleer* (1937)²⁴. Krabbe states that the law which has the highest authority in the state. All the activities of state agencies and other political tools should be based on and limited by law, so that this theory generates the concept of the legal state. Indeed, the law sovereignty has been found in the political thought of Aristotle²⁵.

In a modern political system, political power is not concentrated in one institution, but scattered and distributed to other institutions in accordance with its function in the administration of the state. The distribution of political power can be seen from two aspects. *First* is the division of powers between central government agencies and local governments, which are more quantitative. And *second*, the division of power among institutions of high-level state associated with state functions, which is qualitative. Technically, quantitative distribution is called a power-sharing, and a qualitative division called separation of powers.

The idea of sharing and separating power are found in political thought in the 17th, and 18th century, as proposed by John Locke and Montesquieu (1689-1755). Montesquieu's idea is known as the theory of "Trias Politica" which has a great influence in the world. This theory teaches that the power of the state consists of three kinds of power, namely: (i) the legislative power, (rule making function), (ii) executive powers (rule application function), and (iii) the judicial power (adjudication function). This theory is a normative principle that the powers (functions) should not be given to the same people to prevent the abuse of power in order that the citizen's rights are more secure and protected.

The Process of *Wilāyat al-Faqīh* Formation

In Shia terminology, *wilāyat al-faqīh* is a qualified Islamic jurist (jam'u al-syar'ith) who acts as the representative of the *Imam* during his major occultation in leading religious and political science, in order that the religious guidance and

²³ G.H. Sabine, *A History of Political Theory...*, 140-160, and F. Isjawara, *Pengantar Ilmu Politik...*, 116-118

²⁴ G.H. Sabine, *A History of Political Theory...*, 77-82. Here, found the description of the king's authority, "the authority cannot be given to someone else without his agreement. He cannot be executed. He is the only judge for everything; he is the only rule maker; and the supreme judge of all disputes.

²⁵ G.H. Sabine, *A History of Political Theory...*, 453, 497 and 499

management of Islamic society always run continuously to achieve the happiness of the world and the hereafter²⁶. The existence of *wilāyat al-faqīh* is the Shia doctrine that is supported by conceptual (naqli), and rational (‘aqli) arguments. By considering the premises of rational Islamic leadership held by the prophets and priests (imam), it is logic if the qualified jurist, *Faqīh* appointed directly as representative during the major occultation (ghaybah al-Kubra).

The establishment of *wilāyat al-faqīh* idea has begun since the major occultation (al-ghaybah al-Kubra) of the twelfth *Imam* in 329 AD or 940 H, in conjunction with the death of a special mediator (al-sufarâ) the latter Abu al-Hasan al-Samari²⁷. during major occultation, the communication between the *Imam* and his followers carried out by *al-ruwât*, people who carry out specific tasks of the priest *imam*, without representation, so that *al-ruwât* became deputy general (nuwwâb al-‘Amm) of the *Imam* who was in occultation. Then, the Shiite cleric (ulama) interpreted *al-ruwât* as jurists who have reached the *marja’ taqlid* and high spiritual degree.

Transformation of the institution into *nuwwâb al-khashsh* and then *nuwwâb al-‘Amm* held by the *faqīh* shows that the Shia require certain institutions to realize the socio-political and religious functions. On this basis, when the Imam was in occultation, a certain institution is necessary in order that the guidance and leadership of the Muslims run well. This institution is then, referred to the governance of jurist (*wilāyat al-faqīh*), by which the Shiite clerics gain legitimacy (al-masyrû’iyyah) to play a role in the socio-political and religious world²⁸.

At the beginning of the occultation of the twelfth *Imam*, the Shiite cleric dared not openly discuss clerical authority (*wilāyat al-faqīh*) in the political structure of the state because the socio-political situation at the time was not conducive. The government of ‘Abbasiyya acts repressively against a variety of activities and thoughts that lead to instability of the country and regarded as rebels, so strict security policy resulted in the delay of Shiite cleric politics thinking. After the government of ‘Abbasiyya’s authority began to decline, the Shiite clerics began to discuss social and political authority of the cleric in response to the socio-political situation that emerged at that time in a limited scope. The discourse of authority of the jurist in political power continues to grow, so they agreed that the qualified jurist guide and lead the Muslims community.

Shaykh Mufid (d. 1022 H), who was one of the Shiite *faqīh* of the 4th and the 5th century of Hijriya, describes a religious obligation for enjoining good (amar ma’ruf) and forbidding evils (nahi munkar). This obligation is addressed to the

²⁶Manzhamah al-‘Alâm al-Islâmi al-Jumhuriyyah al-Islâmiyyah fi Iran, ‘*Wilāyah al-Faqīh Baḥṡ min Kūtāb Awā’id al-Ayyām al-Mawlā al-Narāqī*, (Teheran: Maktabah al-Shadūq, 1990), 13-14, compare to Ayatullah al-Muntazhiri, *Dirāsāt fī wilāyat al-faqīh fī Fiqh al-Dawlah al-Islâmiyyah* (Teheran: Maktabah al-Shadūq, 1977), 11-12

²⁷Al-Nu’mâni, *Kūtāb al-Ghaybah* (Teheran: Maktabah al-Shadūq, 1977) 138-139

²⁸Abdul Aziz Abdulhusein Sachedina, *Islamic Mesianism: The Idea of the Mahdi in Twelver Shi’ism* (Teheran: Maktabah al-Shadūq, 1993), 82-83

Muslims in general, but specifically directed to the qualified scholars²⁹. This clearly shows the suppression of Shiite thought throughout the period of the Shi'ite Islamic. In addition to this, Shaykh Mufid then, talked about other issues, namely the placement of the divine laws in the state legal system, making it mandatory to practice in daily life.

Besides, there are also a number of other Shiite clerics who offend the concept of *wilāyat al-faqīh*, among others: Muhaqqiq al-Hilli (d. 1277), Muhaqqiq Karaki (d. 1561), al- Ja'far al-Shaykh al-Kabir al-Githa Kâsyif (w.1797), Jawad ibn Muhammad al-Husayni 'Amili (d. 1811), Mulla Ahmad Naraqi (d. 1829), Shaykh Muhammad Hasan Najafi (w.1849), Shaykh al-Ansari Morteza (1864), Ayatullah (d. 1962), and Ayatollah Sheikh Morteza Ha'iri. In line with this, Naraqi Mulla Ahmad (d. 1245), a leading jurist used *wilāyat al-faqīh* in the sense of supremacy of *mujtahid* over the Shiite Imamate during the occultation of the *imam*. He characterizes the *mujtahid* as a cleric who has the most complete scientific knowledge, noble moral, and a reference for Muslims in many lives.

In general, the Shia scholars agree that the authority to manage and guide the Muslims, both religious and worldly life problems, given entirely to the qualified jurist during occultation of the *imam*, to keep safety, security, and protection of people's rights. Nevertheless, the Shiite cleric has not yet systematically explained in detail about the role of a qualified jurist in the political structure of the Islamic state. They only discuss about the authority of the jurist, *faqīh* relating to family issues such as marriage, custody, division of alms and *khums*, besides delivering religious instruction, and settling a dispute among people. The discussion relating to the role of the qualified jurist in the political structure of the state law has not been intensively discussed and seriously struggled. It was intensively discussed when Khomeini open the discourse after monarchical political power of Syah Pahlevi toppled.

Khomeini's Concept of *Wilāyat al-Faqīh*

According to Abu al-Fadl Mumtaki, the concept of *wilāyat al-faqīh* of Khomeini can be seen from the spiritual (irfani) aspect as it described by Khomeini in his *al-Hidayah ila Mishbâh al-Khilafah wa al-Wilayah*. Furthermore, he describes the four journeys (Asfar al-arba'ah), an absolute, theoretical, and spiritual doctrine that must be accepted by the *urafa* and *awliya*. These four trips were: (i) the creatures' journey towards *Al-Haq*, (ii) the journey with *Al-Haq* in the *Al-Haq*, (iii) the journey from *Al-Haq* towards the creatures with *Al-Haq*, (iv) the journey with *Al-Haq* towards the creature. The fourth journey of *urafa* 'illustrates that a servant of God reaches the highest degree i.e. *wilayat* (perfect closeness with God), and return to the

²⁹Syeikh Mufid, his full name is Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Nu'mân born in 336 H/948. He got his primary education in Islamic studies and Arabic from his father. He continued his study to Baghdad, studied to Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī ibn Ibrāhīm al-Bushrī, a law expert and Mu'tazilah theologian. Besides, he studied to, Gulām Abī al-Jaysy, an Imamiya theologian and to 'Alī ibn 'Isya al-Rumani, a Mu'tazilah theologian in Baghdad.

earth to take care of human life. Furthermore, Khomeini believed that the universe will never lose guardian forever, and the absolute guardian is Muhammad peace be upon him³⁰.

Therefore, Khomeini believed that there is a perfect man besides the Prophet who can take the four journeys, up to degree of the caliphate, as Imam 'Ali and his sinless eleven descendants (Ma'shum). Furthermore, Khomeini believed that the twelfth *Imam* is the perfect man (Insan al-Kamil) who has right to hold the territory, sovereignty and authority, to execute the laws of religion on this planet. When the priest (imam) was in occultation, the leadership, administration, and enforcement of shari'ah law should be continued by others. People who are able to handle those problems are jurist who has criteria and the properties like the Prophet and the *Imams*.

The political thought of *wilâyat al-faqîh* of Khomeini was based on static principles as follows: (i) the principle of duty, acting on the basis of the task (taklif) and religious obligations, and even change the action due to altered obligation, (ii) the principles of beneficiary for Islam and Muslims, doing things by the benefit of Muslims, (iii) the principle Islamic propagation (dakwah), spreading the message of Islam, (iv) the principle of justice, treating all human beings equally before the law, (v) the principle of space and time, performing *ijtihad* based on space and time.

According to Khomeini, Islam is the attitude of submission, and obedience to the God's laws that must be an ideology for Muslims. Therefore, he warned the Muslims of Iran to be wary of attempts of the enemies of Islam which places Islam as an ideology that is far from noble values, and makes the people of Iran to obey regulations that are low and away from the civilization and progress of the world. Khomeini's desire to make Islam as an ideology is not an exaggeration, because Islam keeps itself synonymous with ideology. With this ideology, Islam will be identified in the state political process. In addition to the theological aspect--the obligation to believe in Allah--, Islam always stressed that this aspect should be realized in a real world in the form of good deeds, so as to benefit the lives of people in the world. This means that the theological aspect is meaningless without the implementation in the world. Since the Islamic teaching contains both the world and the hereafter.

In line with this, Khomeini defined politics as an effort for the benefit and welfare of the public, without any pretension to the individual interest, based on the principles of peace, harmony and non-violence which are derived from Islamic values. This, as Khomeini said, is a real Islamic politics that does not merely emphasize the importance of temporal interest and power. Politics in this context is defined as an attempt to achieve goals based on divine values. Islam is inseparably connected with political life, even political activities should be based on religion in order that they last forever and they get public sympathy.

³⁰Interview with Syaikh Abû al-Fadhl Mumtazi, Dekan of Fikih dan Huqûq Faculty, (*Kuliyyah al-Fiqh wa al-Huqûq*), University of Khomeini, Qom, 21 November 2016

Khomeini believed that the state should be realized by the government so that the ideals and purpose of the state are realized in the reality of life. Government is a tool, agent, or instrument of the state. This is the relationship between the state and the government. The state as a concept is realized in the government, which acts to achieve the objectives of the state through improving welfare and happiness of the people, realizing an equitable, prosperous, secure, and peaceful condition.

According to Khomeini, the Islamic community should be able to establish social bonds among themselves. This social bond should form a state so that the Islamic government must be prepared for the implementation of the objectives contained in the teachings of Islam effectively in public life. Obligation of implementation Islamic law is an argumentative reason of establishing Islamic government. Without a state, the Islamic law cannot be applied optimally.

Regarding the relation between religion and state, Khomeini argued that Islam and the country cannot be separated, but it is a whole (integrated) coherent. The separation between Islam and the state is not known in the history of Islamic political system from the time of the Holy Prophet to 'Ali. Therefore, the concept of the separation of Islam and state is as infiltration attempt of imperialist to prevent Muslims struggle to achieve independence.

Based on a solid foundation above, Khomeini showed historical argumentation of political system at the time of *Rasulallah* saw that did not distinguish between Islam and the state. Therefore, the Prophet Muhammad as a head of state in his time appointed governors determined the legal system, appointed judges and court officials, set up a representative in foreign countries, sent its ambassadors to neighboring countries ruled by kings and tribes in order to present Islam in a peaceful manner. He said that religion has a responsibility of providing guidance to human being in all aspects. Thus all religious teachings are political doctrine.

From this point of view, it can be described that Khomeini expected that Muslims always take a role in social change, so the change will be in accordance with the principles and the essence of Islam, and therefore, movements and revolutions always have to exist in the Islamic world. Muslims around the world should not be passive in facing a wave of Westernization, the exploitation of natural resources, and the destruction of the Islamic countries. In these conditions, the scholars should come forward to make new breakthroughs that can enlighten the Muslims in the world, in order that they are valued, considered and placed in the same level with the people who look down to Muslims.

Moving from the world *Tauhid*, Khomeini believed that the power and authority of government is only for God. None but God has the right to control and set the laws on others. Before him, all human beings are the same except their devotion to Him. Therefore, all forms of government: constituent, tyranny, dictatorship, and democracy', have no fundamental difference, but falsehood, fraud and rhetoric of law makers. As an extension of Lordship (*rububiyya*) and Divine Government on Earth, Prophet Muhammed conveyed revelation and religion i.e

the divine law to manage the world and the system of life. The determination of laws alone does not mean anything, nor could sufficient human life. The law can only guarantee the welfare and well-being of the community when it is backed up by execution power. That's why God requires the establishment of state and government. This principle encourages Khomeini to discover the basic criteria for the ideal political-religious leaders who are able to develop the nation that leads to the glory in the world and the Hereafter. These leaders are then, called jurist guardian.

The concept of *wilāyat al-faqīh* formulated by Khomeini clearly suggests that the government ruled by a qualified jurist (jami al-syaraith) should be established. Everything determined to the prophet as well as jurist are rules to be done. This is because the jurist is a leader who continues *imam's* leadership. The legality of qualified jurist governance is determined by Allah even though the people do not admit him. Public voice is only needed as a requirement of governing a state.

In his monumental volume, *al-hukuma al islamiya*, Khomeini argues that a qualified jurist has a right to lead a state and a government, and play a role as a representative of the twelfth Imam during his major occultation. Moreover, his book high lightens four essential themes: (1) sharp criticism on monarchy system; (2) koranic and *sunnah* based state can be established all the time; (3) a qualified cleric (ulama) has a significant role in Muslims leadership; (4) Muslims should keep struggling against tyrani and oppression.

Islamic state and government are established to improve the muslims from backwardness, ignorance, and poverty, to become developed, civilized, and prosperous. Therefore, according to Khomeini, islamic state and government have roles and responsibility of (1) maintaining the institutions and Islamic law; (2) implementing Islamic law; (3) establishing a just order; (4) collecting and utilizing tax in accordance with Islamic teaching; (5) opposing all forms of aggression, depending the independence and territorial integrity of the Isalmic lands, (6) promoting education, (7) fighting against corruption and all sorts of social diseases; (8) providing equal and non discriminative treatments to all citizens.

In addition to this, Khomeini recognized democracy as the main pillars of people's sovereignty in establishing government, people should involve and participate in electing government leaders trough a democratic general election. However, the democracy desired by Khomeini is not similar to the one that is currently applied in Western countries which are secular and absolute. This is not democracy by which government absolutely follows people's will, but the people will should be bound by the will of God. This restriction is manifested by institution controlled by *wilāyat al-faqīh*.

Khomeini proposed a divine-human law that is so called Islamic democracy or semi-democracy. The state organization unsupervised by *wilāyat al-faqīh* will be despotic. If the government does not run based on the will of God, and if the leader has no direction of *wilāyat al-faqīh*, this government should be declared invalid.

The concept of *wilāyat al-faqīh* of Khomeini continuously develops through a long process that generates a number of constitutional concepts. *First* is the concept of the source of power. The highest authority, according to Khomeini was in the hands of a qualified jurist. Although a jurist *faqīh* hold a supreme power of state, the power was not based on direct appointment of God³¹, but it is a result of the selection conducted by leading scholars as representatives of society. Thus, the guardian jurist will gain strong legitimacy of the two sides, namely from God, and the people. In other words, a *faqīh* must gain legitimacy (*masyrû'iyah*) from God through the qualifications and characteristics parameters and it should be based on the recognition of people (*maqbuliyah*), since the source of power of a jurist, actually comes from the people through the elections.

Second is the mechanism of appointment and dismissal of the jurist. A number of qualified jurist are strictly selected by leading scholars as representatives of society with reference to the specified requirements³². This election resulted in a qualified jurist to occupy the highest office in the country. People have the authority to create a government and the government is the embodiment of the will of the people. Therefore, it is people who have right of setting a political regime to rule the country, and to approve the constitution and elect the supreme leader, the president and members of parliament. People's participation in the determination of the leadership is highly valued, but this freedom should be in accordance with the Islamic teachings³³. A selected jurist who holds a supreme power is not restricted during the period of time provided that he does not lost his qualifications or criminal.

Third is the qualification of jurist. The main qualifications that must be possessed by a jurist (*faqīh*) are: (i) *faqâhah*, having a broad and deep knowledge of Islamic law; (ii) *'adalah*, having a noble personality, strong faith, moral virtue, and commendable deeds. And; (iii) *kafâ'ah*, having the ability of leading people, knowing the science relating to the management of government and public service, having adequate intelligence, and possessing psychological and spiritual maturity³⁴.

Fourth is the authority of the jurist, *faqīh*. Qualified *faqīh* has absolute authority in all matters of state and government to uphold justice and happiness of the people, both in the world and in the hereafter in accordance with the divine will. This is because *Faqīh* is a continuation of the Imamate, and *nubuwwah*, prophethood. The authority of *Faqīh* includes advising the Muslims, doing *ijtihād*,

³¹Khomeini, *al-Hukûmah al-Islâmiyyah* (Beirut: Muassasah al-'Alami al-Mathbû'ât, t.th), 49..

³²Description of mechanism of leader election, see Sayyid Abu al-'Ala al-Mawdudi, *the Islamic Law and Constitution*, (Lahore: Islamic Publication, 1997), 22. See also, Ali al-Shalus, *Imamah dan Khilafah dalam tinjauan Syar'î*, (Jakarta: Gema Insani Press, 1997), 44-45; Jimly Ashshidqie, *Islam dan Kedaulatan Rakyat*, (Jakarta: Gema Insani Press, 1995), 38; and Mehdi Muzaffari, *Kekuasaan Dalam Islam*, (Jakarta: Pustaka Panjimas, 1994), 38

³³Khomeini, *al-Hukûmah al-Islâmiyyah*..., 60, 65-67. Compare with Hamid Hadji Haydar, 'Filsafat Politik Imam Khomeini', in the *Al-Huda*..., 62

³⁴Khomeini, *Al-Hukûmah al-Islâmiyyah*..., 45-49.

having the right to dismiss heads of state, assuring he welfare, and enforcing justice for all the people³⁵.

Fifth is the accountability of *faqih*. As human being, a *faqih* has a possibility of making a mistake or missing one or more of the conditions specified. If these happened, the position as head of state can be replaced by another more credible jurist. *Faqih* as top leaders have an obligation to implement the laws of Islam covering various dimensions of life, beside giving an explanation to the public about Islamic law³⁶. In doing the duties, a jurist is controlled by a number of scholars who chose him, although there is no obligation for the jurist is to make regular reports about the results of his work, because as the leader of the country, he does not conduct a technical and operational development policy.

In Khomeini's view, the structure of state political institutions can be sorted as follows: (i) *Wali Faqih*, the highest institution of the state in the political structure of the state has the authority to regulate, supervise, and control the process of state and government in order to be in line with the teachings of Islam and the values of the Islamic revolution; (ii) Legislature (Majlis al-Shura). This institution is in charge of designing and formulating rules based on the Quran and Hadith in order that Islamic law has an absolute power that binds all individuals and the Islamic government; (iii) Executive (Sulthan al-Tanfidzi). It is responsible for implementing all legislation produced by the legislature, in order to provide satisfactory benefits and advantages for the people; (iv) Judicial Institution (Majlis Qadhâ'iyah)³⁷. This institution monitors and processes the cases against those who violate the law. The person appointed as a judge must have reached the *mujtahid* degree in order that its legal determination is in line with the values of Islamic justice.

The Influence of Khomeini's *Wilâyat al-Faqîh* in Indonesia

Khomeini's concept of *wilâyat al-faqîh* has a significant influence towards the contemporary Indonesian Islamic thought. This is caused by many Shi'a books are printed by Indonesian publishers such as Mizan and Pustaka Hidayah. The result of the writer's observation points out that Shia books printed in Bahasa Indonesia by Mizan publisher Bandung are approximately 35 books, and by Pustaka Hidayah reach up to approximately 45 books. But overall Shia books written, published and circulated in Indonesia reached more than 373 titles of books.. This does not include books published by other publishers such as Pustaka Pelita Bandung, Lentera, As-Sajjad Foundation Jakarta, YAPI Lampung, and Abu Zar Press Jakarta.

These books do not much discuss and explore the concept of *wilâyat al-faqîh* of Khomeini. The books are greatly display the thought of Shia figures with high academic standards. However, these books attract young Indonesian Muslim

³⁵Khomeini, *Al-Hukûmah al-Islâmiyyah*..., 49-51

³⁶Khomeini, *Al-Hukûmah al-Islâmiyyah*..., 69-70

³⁷Khomeini, *Al-Hukûmah al-Islâmiyyah*..., 55-87.

intellectuals to study more in-Shiites, including the concept of *wilāyat al-faqīh* of Khomeini.

In addition, the influence of the concept of *wilāyat al-faqīh* of Khomeini on contemporary Islamic thought in Indonesia also cannot be separated from Iran's Islamic Revolution 1979. The effect of this powerful revolution is great. It is indicated by the translation of publications of Ali Shari'ati, Morteza Motahhari, and Khomeini himself into Indonesian language which got a huge response from Indonesia readers indicated by intensive discussion on the revolution and Khomeini since 1980. One of prominent Indonesian Muslim intellectuals who becomes a reference in the discussion of the concept of *wilāyat al-faqīh* of Khomeini in particular and the Shi'a in general, is Jalaluddin Rahmat.

Jalaluddin Rahmat is a figure who established and became Chairman of the Shura Council of the Association of Jamaat Ahlul Bait Indonesia (IJABI) which now has nearly 100 local offices throughout Indonesia with a total membership of about 2.5 million people. He is also the founder of the Islamic Cultural Center (ICC) Jakarta with Haidar Bagir and Umar Shahab. Jalaluddin Rahmat has produced dozens of books in a variety of disciplines and themes. More than 45 books have been written and published by several leading publishers. Beside writes and gives feedback on Shiite thought, Jalaluddin Rahmat is also a speaker in various seminars in Indonesia. That is why, Jalaluddin Rahmat can not be discharged in the development of Shiites in Indonesia.

The influence of Khomeini's *wilāyat al-faqīh* concept to contemporary Indonesian Islamic thought was also driven by growing a number of institutions "labeled" Shia. Up to now, in Indonesia, there are about 40 Shiites labeled institutions in major cities such as Bandung, Malang, Jember, Pontianak, Jakarta, Bangil, Samarinda, Banjarmasin, and so on. The institutions engaged in various fields, but the most dominant is in the field of education. Among the institutions that give great attention to the development of Islamic thought is the Islamic College for Advanced Studies (ICAS) Jakarta. ICAS is an institution founded to devote in researching and developing science, religiosity, theoretical and practical ethics.

This institution aimed at: (1) equipping students with the knowledge of the original, holistic, and comprehensive with regard to Islamic Studies, Islamic Philosophy and Islamic Mysticism; (2) Preparing students to do independent study; (3) Preparing them to obtain higher academic programs in their fields; (4) encouraging students to do research on Islamic topics; (5) Providing opportunities to the learners to understand Islam directly from authentic Islamic sources and to develop the capacity of moral, spiritual and intellectual; (6) Providing opportunities for students to fulfill their academic potential to be the best in the field of Islamic Studies, Islamic Philosophy and Islamic Mysticism; (7) Providing opportunity for students to appreciate Islam through the application of methods and comparative approach. (8) Providing opportunity for Muslim youth to be confident, and at the same time, open-minded in teaching Islamic Studies, Islamic Philosophy and

Islamic Mysticism. (9) Promoting cooperation between academic institution both domestic and abroad.

The ICAS has very complete Islamic literatures both in perspective of Shia and Sunni traditions. Many original works of Khomeini thinking about the concept of *wilāyat al-faqīh* and other Islamic concepts are available in the library of ICAS. Moreover, the library provides a source of complete and original literature in the field of Islamic Studies, Islamic Philosophy and Islamic Mysticism.

Furthermore, this Shiite institution has several sub-institutions engaged in Islamic thought, for example Sadra International Institute³⁸. This International Institute is a research institute that was established in scientific environment of ICAS Jakarta that supports research activities of students and faculty, as well as strengthens the research-based curriculum. The establishment of Sadra International Institute, as a research center that engages in philosophy, spirituality, and woman, and economy studies, aims at opening up opportunities in the form of scientific research projects, particularly translation of text books of philosophy and spirituality, classic and contemporary, economy and woman, field research, journals, seminars and short courses. This Institute is strengthened by the support of three research units, the Center for the Study of Philosophy and spirituality, the Center for Economic Studies, and the Center for Women's Studies.

The mission of Sadra International Institute are: (1) developing knowledge with special divine perspective in the humanities; (2) understanding the foundation and the essence of Islamic sciences and their application in human life; (3) providing the development and training of high human resources; (4) deepening and enhancing the quality of the curriculum and references based on the needs of learners.

One of the books published by the International Institute of Sadra is *Dinamika Pemikiran Politik Imam Khomeini: Studi atas Teori Politik Islam dari Fikih ke Teologi Politik* by Akbar Lakza'i Najaf. This book contends the dynamics of Khomeini's thought that is considered successful in identifying the problem and the main obstacle of Muslims and then providing the solution. The book also demonstrates the success of Khomeini in reconstructing Islamic political thought through the concept of *wilāyat al-faqīh* as well as implementing the concept in Islamic constitution of Iran.

By publishing such books, it is definitely sure that the idea and concept of *wilāyat al-faqīh* of Khomeini are broadly introduced to the public of Muslims in Indonesia, which then, enliven the spaces of academic and other scientific forums in the world of contemporary Indonesian Islamic thought.

The real effect of the Khomeini's concept of *wilāyat al-faqīh* was indicated by a massive discussion about the relation between religion and state in Indonesia. Without this Khomeini's concept and the Islamic Revolution of Iran, it is believed

³⁸Some institutions focusing on Shi'ism among others: Yayasan Muthahhari Bandung, Yayasan Al-Muntazhar Jakart, Yayasan Al-Jawad Bandung, Yayasan Mulla Shadra Bogor, Pesantren YAPI Bangil, Yayasan Al-Muhibbin Probolinggo, Pesantren Al-Hadi Pekalongan-Central Java.

that the discourse about the relation between religion and state in Indonesia will not be as busy as now. Even the debate about the relation between religion and state has resulted in the typology of contemporary Islamic thought in Indonesia that oppose each other between those who support the separation of religion from the state and those who support unification of the two.

Conclusion

The concept of *wilāyat al-faqīh* of Khomeini is a continuation of the same concept that has grown since the major occultation of the twelfth *Imam*. Khomeini developed the concept of *wilāyat al-faqīh* comprehensively, which covers area of religious and political power. According to Khomeini, a qualified jurist may be representative of the twelfth *Imam* who is in occultation, so he has the right to fully control the state. This idea was based on scriptural texts, traditions of the Prophet, and the logical proposition. Through the concept of *wilāyat al-faqīh*, Khomeini tried to build modern state and government based on Islamic rules. For him, five elements of the political system must be in harmony with the rules of Islam. The five elements of the political system includes: (1) a source of power derived from the people; (2) the mechanism of jurist, *Faqīh* appointment is made by the leading scholars; (3) jurist, *faqīh* qualification are *faqāhah*, *‘adalah*, and *kafā’ah*; (4) the great authority of jurist, *Faqīh*; and (5) accountability of jurist, *Faqīh* submitted to a number of scholars who has appointed him.

In implementing the concept of *wilāyat al-faqīh*, Khomeini formulated the structure of nation consisting of four main elements, namely: (1) the wali faqih (jurist guardian); (2) the legislature (Majlis al-Shura); (3) the executive power (Sulthan al-tanfidzi); and (4) the judiciary (majlis al-qadhâi’). This Khomeini’s constitutional structure formulation shows that the construction of *wilāyat al-faqīh* requires that public policy is not decided by a few people, but must pay attention to the will of the people through their representatives in the Assembly.

The influence of *wilāyat al-faqīh* concept of Khomeini towards the contemporary Indonesian Islamic thought is indicated by a massive discourse about the relation between religion and state. Indeed, the debate on religion-state relations have long occurred in Indonesia, but in academic field, the discourse become increasingly intense since the concept serves as the basis for the establishment of the Islamic State of Iran. This effect was also encouraged by the publication of books by and about Khomeini and Shia in general, and supported by the development of Shi’a institutions in Indonesia.

REFERENCES

- Al-Githâ, Muḥammad Ḥusain al-Kâsyif. *Ashl al-Syi'ah wa Ushûluha*. Iran: Matktab al-Tsaqâfah al-Islâmiyyah, t.t.
- Al-Mawdudi, Sayyid Abu al-'Ala. *The Islamic Law and Constitution*. Lahore: Islamic Publication, 1997
- Al-Nu'mâni. *Kitâb al-Ghaybah*. Teheran: Maktabah al-Shadûq, 1977
- Al-Shalus, Ali. *Imamah dan Khilafah dalam tinjauan Syar'i*. Jakarta: Gema Insani Press, 1997
- Ashshidiqie, Jimly. *Islam dan Kedaulatan Rakyat*. Jakarta: Gema Insani Press, 1995
- Ayatullah al-Muntazhiri, *Dirâsat fî wilâyat al-faqîh fî Fiqh al-Dawlah al-Islâmiyyah*. (Teheran: Maktabah al-Shadûq, 1977
- Bern, S.I. and R.S. Peters. *The Principles of Political Thought*. New York: State University of New York Press, 2016
- Cottam, Richard. "Inside Revolutionary Iran", in RK. Ramzani (ed.), *Iran's Revolution: The Search for Consensus*. Bloomington: Indiana University, Press, 1990.
- Enayat, Hamid. *Reaksi Politik Sunni dan Syi'ah: Pemikiran Islam Modern Menghadapi Abad ke-20*. Bandung: Pustaka, 1982
- Fiche, Agustin. "Religious Institution," in Edwin R.A. Seligman (ed), *Encyclopedia of the Social Science*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1959
- Gavahi, Abdulrahim. *Islamic Revolution of Iran: Conceptual Aspects and Religious Dimensions*. Sweden: Faculty of Theology Uppsala University, 1988.
- Green, Jerrold D. "Countermobilization in the Iranian Revolution", in Jack A. Goldstone (ed.), *Revolutions: Theoretical, Comparative and Historical Studies*. San Diego: HBJ, 1986
- Ibn Khaldun, 'Abd al-Rahmân. *al-Muqaddimah*. Mesir: Musthafâ Muhammad, t.t
- Ibnu Mandhur, Abî al-Fadhl Jamâl al-Dîn ibn Muḥammad ibn Mukram al-Muhry. *Lisân al-'Arab*. Mesir: al-Mathba'ah al-Amiriyyah, 1302 H.
- Ibnu Taymiyyah. *al-Siyâsah al-Syar'iyyah fî Ishlâh al-Râ'i wa al-Ra'iyyah*. Kairo: Dâr al-Kâtib al-'Arabi, t.t.
- Khomeini. *al-Hukûmah al-Islâmiyyah*. Beirut: Muassasah al-'Alami al-Mathbû'ât, t.t.
- Laski, Harold G. *A Grammar of Politics*. London: George Allen dan Unwin Ltd, 1957
- Manzhamah al-'Alâm al-Islâmi al-Jumhuriyyah al-Islâmiyyah fî Iran. *'Wilâyah al-Faqîh Bahts min Kitâb Awâ'id al-Ayyâm al-Mawlâ al-Narâqi*. Teheran: Maktabah al-Shadûq, 1990
- Masood, M. Khalid. *Islamic Legal Philosophy: A Study of Abû Ishâq al-Syâthibî Life and Thought*. New Delhi: International Islamic Publishers, 1989
- Melani, Mohsen M. *The Making of Iran's Islamic Revolution: From Monarchy to Islamic Republic*. Boulder: Westview, 1988
- Muzaffari, Mehdi. *Kekuasaan Dalam Islam*. Jakarta: Pustaka Panjimas, 1994
- Noer, Deliar. *Pengantar Ke Arah Pemikiran Politik*. Jakarta: Yayasan Risalah, 1983.
- Pulungan, J. Sayuthi. *Fiqh Siyasah: Ajaran, Sejarah dan Pemikiran*. Jakarta: PT Rajawali Press, 1997

- Sabine, G.H. *A History of Political Theory*. London: George G. Harahap dan Co. Ltd, 1951
- Sachedina, Abdul Aziz Abdalhusein. *Islamic Mesianism: The Idea of the Mahdi in Twelver Shi'ism*. Teheran: Maktabah al-Shadûq, 1993
- Sjadzali, Munawir. *Islam dan Tata Negara: Ajaran, Sejarah dan Pemikiran*. Jakarta: Universitas Indonesia Press, 1990
- Suhelmi, Ahmad. *Pemikiran Politik Barat: Kajian Sejarah Perkembangan Pemikiran Negara, Masyarakat, dan Kekuasaan*. Jakarta: PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2004
- Zahrah, Muḥammad Abu. *Ushûl al-Fiqh*. Kairo: Dâr al-Fikr al-'Arabi, 1985.

