

Imam Khumayni's Vision of Islamic Unity



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This article attempts to delineate the aims, objectives and scope of Imam Khumayni's vision of Islamic unity. It also describes some of the practical steps Imam undertook in order to achieve this vision.

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Abstract

In an age where the Islamic Ummah was threatened from within by internal discord and division, and from without by global hegemonic powers competing to extend their spheres of influence and to destroy

the life-giving sap of the Muslim world, Imam Khumayni was confronted with a mighty task before him. As a reviver of the religion of God, Imam Khumayni's vision of Islamic unity was one based on the principal of *tawhid* (oneness) through which he set about to redirect the Islamic Ummah towards a unity that would reaffirm the dignity bestowed upon them by Islam, and in so doing, prepare them to face their common enemy. By examining Imam Khumayni's own words, this article attempts to delineate the aims, objectives and scope of his vision of Islamic unity. It also describes some of the practical steps Imam undertook in order to achieve this vision.

Keywords: Imam Khumayni, unity, Ummah, global hegemony, Islamic government, Muslim independence.

The Doctrine of Unity

Throughout the vicissitudes of Islamic history, division between Islamic sects and nations has been a complex and destructive affair, dealing irreparable damage—both spiritual and material—on the Islamic Ummah as a whole. This viscous wound upon the exquisite countenance of Islam has not gone unnoticed by the Ummah's reformers, thus arousing their concern.

As a result, during many historical periods, reformers have striven to engender unity among Muslims so as to relieve the heartfelt pain of the Ummah. Each of these reformers also pursued specific aims. A notable unitary reformer of the Islamic Ummah was Sayyid Jamal al-Din Asad-Abadi. He and his disciple, Shaykh Muhammad 'Abduh, regarded Islamic unity as their most important ideal, endeavouring greatly on this path. In line with this ideal, he chose no nationality for himself, and travelled through and lived in numerous countries during the course of his life.

Another personage who sought Islamic unity was the head of Jami'ah al-Azhar in Egypt, Shaykh Mahmud Shaltut. He declared the permissibility of following the Shia jurisprudence and recognized the Shia school as being on par with the four Sunni juristic schools. The establishment of the '*Dar al-Taqrīb bayn al-Madhāhib al-Islāmiyyah*' (the Centre for Proximity of Islamic Schools of Thought) in Cairo by Ayatullah Muhammad Taqi Qumi had an influence in Shaykh Mahmud Shaltut's moderate tendencies. The earnest endeavours of Ayatullah Burujardi in publicizing Shaykh Mahmud Shaltut's decree regarding the authorization of the Shia doctrine alongside the four Sunni doctrines was also greatly influential in this regard and contributed in elevating Islamic unity to a new level.

Despite the conciliatory efforts of Shia and Sunni '*ulama*' alike, Islamic governments and nations were still consumed with disunity. Both Eastern and Western colonizers still plundered the resources of Islamic countries by inciting discord. The machinations of those antagonistic toward the Islamic Ummah intended to precipitate friction and capitalize on the hostile climate by ransacking the surface and underground resources of Islamic countries, especially their "black gold" (i.e. petroleum). In addition, the nescience of proponents of the various Islamic doctrines, their imprudence regarding insignificant matters, and their general disregard of their common grounds all served to amplify, diurnally, the fires of

contention, widening the gap between Muslims.

However, the emergence of Imam Khumayni's Islamic Movement in 1342 AH (circa 1963) and the eventual Islamic Revolution in 1357 AH (1979) was a turning point in the ideology of Islamic unity not only between the Shia and the Sunni but also amongst Islamic countries—a turning point proclaimed by Imam Khumayni himself.

Even though Imam Khumayni's view on unity was religiously and politically inspired, it was also a special ideal which this paper attempts to explicate to a certain degree. A relevant question is: What were Imam Khumayni's motives for his thoughts on Islamic unity and what were his aims in this regard? It seems that this doctrine of unity was the prime apparatus in negating the hegemony of non-Muslims over the Islamic world since, according to Imam Khumayni, unity was the secret to the success and perpetuation of the Islamic Ummah.¹

Regarding the rise of Muslims and the downtrodden peoples worldwide against global imperialists and world-consuming hegemonies, it must be noted that oppressive powers pursue their aims through intimidation, propaganda, and the use of indigenous turncoats; however, according to Imam Khumayni if nations stand against such powers, united and aware, oppressors shall be unsuccessful in achieving their objectives.²

The Necessity for Unity

Imam Khumayni understood the consequences of disunity very well. He recognized that the existing disunity within the Islamic Ummah has given rise to many detrimental consequences—be they political, economic, social, cultural, or military. Obviation of these effects is an arduous task requiring considerable time. The only way to fend off the harm caused by disunity is to stress the importance of unity founded upon Islam and its invigorating teachings. In order to attain this aim, Imam Khumayni identified the desiderata for unity through which the Islamic Ummah could be redirected onto “the straight path.”

In Imam's view, the first requisite of unity is rising up in God's name to completely rectify the human society. Imam Khumayni announced:

God, the Almighty has declared:

“O you who believe! Rise up for Allah and His Messenger, and say the truth, and obey, that you may prosper.”
“O you who believe! Stand firmly for Allah and His Messenger, and say the truth, and obey, that you may prosper.”

Say, “I give you just a single advice: that you rise up for Allah's sake, in twos, or individually . . .”

In this canonical declaration, God Almighty has included everything from the darkness before the dawn of nature to the final destination of humanity. It is the best of lessons the Lord has chosen from among all lessons—a word of advice to humankind which is the only means for world rectification.³

Therefore, justice must be spread throughout the world⁴ and a party must be formed of the oppressed people across the globe: “If one party is established in the world—a world-encompassing party, the party of the oppressed or *hizbu Allah* (i.e. the Party of God)—[it can bring about] the resolution of all these many afflictions,”⁵ and “world Muslims [can] attain adequate political growth,”⁶ “not fear the West in regaining their own culture, self-esteem, and autonomy,”⁷ and “stand up against world powers.”⁸

The next requisite of unity is thwarting the conspiracy of arrogant global powers that grant ultimate ascendancy to America. These powers strive to achieve their aims by fermenting conflict among Muslims. The Imam knew that:

The chief enemies of Islam, of the Holy Qur’an, and of the Prophet are the superpowers, especially America and its corrupt child, Israel. In their rapacity for what Islamic countries possess, and as part of their diabolic scheme to plunder substantial underground resources, they spur on division among Muslims through every possible means.⁹

Imam’s desire was for all Islamic nations to attain freedom and independence through the unity of Muslims.¹⁰ He believed that in order to realize this liberty and autonomy, Muslims must secure the essential requisite of striving for unification,¹¹ and deny the arrogant global powers license to interfere with their destinies.¹²

Imam Khomeini regarded unity as a necessary step in order to develop peace and harmony. He declared, “The Islamic Republic is inclined to live in peace and harmony with its neighbours and all others.”¹³ Elsewhere, he stated: “I have hopes that global peace will be established on the basis of national autonomy, absence of interference between nations, and general adherence to the territorial integrity of nations.”¹⁴

In the opinion of Imam, an essential requirement for global harmony is the peaceful coexistence of all countries of the world: “Both the government of the Islamic Republic (of Iran) and its people desire ideological brotherhood with all the Muslims of the globe and also desire peaceful coexistence with all countries of the world.”¹⁵ In other words, he was calling for the development of relations [between nations] with mutual respect as its cornerstone: “Relations with all foreigners shall be on the basis of mutual respect. In this relationship, we shall neither submit to oppression, nor shall we oppress others.”¹⁶ “We wish to be friends with all nations of the world. We are initially inclined to be friends with all governments of the world. We desire to have cordial relations with mutual respect with others.”¹⁷

Imam Khomeini maintained that the Islamic government is a free, independent government, and that its

relations with both East and West must be similar; in other words, if other nations have good relations with the Islamic government, it will also have good relations with them. However, the Islamic government will not permit anyone to interfere with the destiny of its country.¹⁸ On this note he says, "...we (shall) have friendly relationships with all classes of humanity and all the oppressed people of the world on the condition that the relations are reciprocal and based on mutual respect."¹⁹

Therefore, it can be said that Imam Khumayni considered the unity of Muslims and oppressed peoples worldwide to be essential and in line with his religious duties to correct humanity, create unity amongst the oppressed peoples and Muslims of the world, promote social justice, establish peace and tranquillity throughout the world, effect self-confidence, prevent interference of superpowers in the affairs of weak nations or Muslim countries and the plundering of their resources, and foster relations based on mutual respect and cordiality. He regarded unity as the only factor in the triumph and perpetuation of any nation and that is why he so strongly insisted upon it.

Requirements and Conditions for Unity

Every ideal or objective has requirements without which it cannot be attained. In addition, in order to attain particular goals, necessary conditions must be met so that the goals do not remain mere wishes; it is through these conditions that humans may realize their aims and arrive at their intended destination. Imam Khumayni's doctrine of unity was an ideal and thus it had requirements which had to be met.

The most important issue in this regard is that of justice since "justice is a requisite of oneness [*tawhid*]." Therefore, to shape Islamic unity, Islamic justice must spread as it is the chief rudiment of unity; in a world full of oppression and injustice, unity can never be realized. Imam has stated, "The prophets from Adam to the Last (or Seal) of the Prophets (s) all came ... to raise the banner of unity and justice among nations."²⁰

Independence and freedom are additional requirements of unity. It can even be said that the independence of Islamic countries is the most important of these "since it is only when we can stand against the whole world and say that we will neither follow those that have incurred the wrath of God [*maghdhubi 'alayhim*] nor those who have fallen astray [*dhallin*] and that we will neither follow the West nor the East but the straight path, that we will all be together—all a single hand."²¹

It is clear that humans have naturally been created as members of different ethnic groups and possess varying beliefs and preferences. Accordingly, Muslims also possess varying beliefs and views. These differences of opinion have caused great friction and strife among Muslims. However, in the view of Imam Khumayni, differences of opinion should not prevent unity—there can be unity in tandem with dissimilar opinions: "Why should different opinions cause external discord?"²² Consequently, all humans, and all Muslims must disregard their personal, factional, and ethnic beliefs and preferences and prepare the way for out-and-out governance of Islam on the basis of *tawhid* and through emphasis on common human and Islamic principles.

In order to realize his unitary ideal, Imam Khumayni made use of existing conditions and even forged new ones. One of these existing circumstances was the issue of Palestine and its subjugation by the Occupant Regime of Quds, i.e. Israel, which aspired to fashion a “Great Israel spanning from the Nile to the Euphrates.”²³ With such a desire in mind, this regime encroached upon Islamic countries, killing the Muslims dwelling there or expelling them from their homes. With the intention of opposing the aggressive and bloodthirsty nature of the Occupant Regime and expunging Israel from existence, Imam declared the last Friday of the holy month of Ramadhan as the World Day of Quds in order that all Muslims cry out against Israel in unity: “I consider the Day of Quds to be the day of Islam and the holy Prophet (s). It is a day wherein we must prepare all our forces, wherein all Muslims must abandon the isolation into which they have been thrust and stand up to outsiders with all their might.”²⁴

Imam considered the liberation of Quds to be a duty binding on all Muslims: “In principle, it is the duty of all Muslims to liberate Quds and sever the evil of this germ of corruption from Islamic states.”²⁵ This cannot come to pass without the unity of all Muslims.

The yearly rite of the Abrahamic hajj was another existing practice that Imam employed to achieve unity within the Islamic Ummah. He revived the practice of ‘exoneration from liability towards polytheists’ (*bara’at az mushrikin*)²⁶ which was on the verge of becoming lost in history, forever forgotten, such that by participating in the sacrament of ‘exoneration’ all pilgrims from every country—whether black or white, Asian, African, European or American, Shia or Sunni—would manifest a fraction of Islamic unity, become aware of the affairs of Muslims and their pains and sorrows, seek out solutions to problems, and realize that “holy Mecca and the burial places of martyrs are mirrors to the great events caused by the struggles of divine prophets and the appointment of the holy Prophet.”²⁷

Thus, Imam regarded independence, freedom, and justice as the pre-requisites and groundwork for Islamic unity and that of all the oppressed peoples of the world. In principle, he did not consider differences of opinion as impediments on the path of unity. He saw unity as the only possible means for the establishment of the objectives of Islam and its absolute governance. Therefore, to realize the ideal of Islamic unification, he drew on circumstances such as the issue of Palestine and the liberation of Quds as well as the rite of hajj and the ‘exoneration from liability towards polytheists’—upon which all the Islamic factions and schools are agreed on—and invited all Muslims of the world to embrace mutual understanding and all-out unity.

Motives for Unity

In his ideal of unity, Imam Khumayni had various motives which were inspired by the pure Islamic school of Muhammad (s). According to Imam, Islam and divine governments are fundamentally different from secular governments in that the latter only seek to secure order within their own country and the most they do is to prevent people from oppressing others. On the other hand, Islam and divine governments possess specific decrees for all matters.²⁸ One of these matters is defending the existence of Islam

which depends on the unity of Muslims: “An important matter that is obligatory on all Muslims is defence of Islam and the defence of the Islamic Republic.”²⁹ This is contingent upon unity which is a critical issue in protecting the existence of Islam. Additionally, disunion is transgression and must be prevented since the enjoining of good and prohibition of evil is a divine mandate which must be obeyed. On this, the Imam says:

The greatest evil is dominion of outsiders over us. You must enjoin against this evil. You must enjoin governments against the conflicts they have with each other and with their people. They treat the enemies of Islam with friendship even though God has commanded us against association with them. At present, there is no greater evil than putting the interests of Muslims at risk. This obligation belongs to all who want to serve God. All of us must enjoin against this enmity and take up Islamic unity as our slogan—united under the banner of *La ilaha illallah* (i.e. there is no God but Allah).³⁰

Moreover, unity is a virtue that brings about world peace and tranquillity. In order to achieve the conditions of peace, a tradition of unity and brotherhood must be established and strengthened since “we seek world peace and tranquillity. From the very beginning, Islam had this objective. It has especially stressed brotherhood amongst the faithful [*mu'minin*] and among Muslims. In fact, it has made this a law of shari'ah.”³¹

Another motive of Imam was humanization [i.e., nurturing perfect human souls]. He believed that by virtue of perfect humans, justice may spread and elements harmful to Muslim society may be abolished to prevent harm: “Harm will be incurred upon us the day we are corrupted from within—the day the hearts of people rot and this rot spreads and putrefies and destroys the people.”³² Disciples of the doctrine of the prophets and Imams (‘a) can never commit an offence by which the society may be harmed.

An additional motive of Imam was securing and safeguarding the autonomy, freedom, and dignity of Muslims. Imam has stated:

If we had submitted to America and the superpowers, apparent security and welfare might have been established and cemeteries might not have become filled with our dear martyrs; however, we would certainly have lost our independence, liberty, and dignity. Can we become slaves to America and the unbelieving governments so that some goods become cheaper and our people are not martyred or wounded?³³

A further motive of Imam in his ideal of unity was solving the problems of Islamic countries and Muslims all over the world. Thus, he invited them all to unity and encouraged them to establish cordial relationships among themselves.³⁴

However, Imam knew that every “noble aim also carried with it great difficulties and tribulations.”³⁵ The unification of the Islamic Ummah and all the oppressed peoples of the world were lofty aims possessing great obstacles. Even so, in view of the fact that both human nature and existence itself are founded

upon unity and all of creation is journeying toward a unitary destination, he said, “we shall proceed with revolutionary fortitude and tolerance to spread divine justice and the cherished Islam throughout the world.”³⁶ Therefore, Imam advised all Muslims of the world thus:

O Muslims! Rely on the Islamic culture and struggle against the West and westoxication. Stand upon your own feet. Campaign against occidentalized and orientalized intellectuals. Regain your identity. In the same way that bought-off intellectuals have brought such calamities upon their nations and countries, if you do not unite and rely precisely on true Islam, that which happened before will happen to you as well.³⁷

In summation, Imam’s motives regarding unity are the preservation of Islam; the enjoinder towards good and against evil; the humanization and the cultivation of virtuous people; securing liberty, independence, and dignity; the spread of divine justice and Islam throughout the world; the prevention of discord; and the attempt to restrain unethical desires.

The Scope of Unity

The unity aimed at by Imam Khomeini enjoys a broad scope, ranging from the Shia nation of Iran to all Muslims, to the oppressed peoples of the world and, finally, to all humanity. Thus, Imam advises all these groups to use Iran’s Islamic Revolution as an example to rediscover their identity and gain self-confidence because “after first relying upon God, self-reliance is a source of blessings.”³⁸ The Islamic Revolution of Iran caused the awakening of the souls of the oppressed, the bereft, and the Muslims of the world and brought about many blessings. This revolution was the herald of unity, liberty, and independence for the oppressed peoples and the Muslims of the world. All this originated from the rediscovery of the self by the Muslim people of Iran.

In addition to the Muslim people of Iran, it is the duty of the Islamic Ummah to strive to achieve unity. The Imam commented, “The various ummahs must be one united Ummah. They should group together and must not see themselves as separate entities. Borders must not distance our hearts.”³⁹ Even though today, the Muslims of the world are separated by geographical borders forming over fifty great and small countries, by God’s decree and the necessity of prevailing conditions we must strengthen our ties through commonly held Islamic and human principles. By the blessing of God, the bright horizon of unity appears ever closer. The Imam has said, “Today, the export of the Islamic Revolution can be seen in the world of the oppressed and downtrodden. The movement of the oppressed and downtrodden peoples of the world against the arrogant and powerful is spreading.”⁴⁰

In addition to the responsibilities of the clergy within the Islamic Ummah, the clergy of all religions have the responsibility to endeavour in fulfilling the ideals of the prophets, the most important of which is unity: “The Christian clergy, the Muslim clergy, the Jewish clergy ... are in the best position to achieve the ideals of the prophets, which consist in the revelations of God.”⁴¹

Moreover, the '*ulama*' and intellectuals of Islamic countries are duty-bound to strive in order to achieve Islamic unity which is the only means of their victory and perpetuation. Thus, Imam recommended:

The '*ulama*' and intellectuals of all Islamic countries must develop a plan with the motive of discovering a way to deliver Islamic countries from the clutches of Western and Eastern superpowers, compel the leaders of Islamic countries to come out from under the dominion of world-devouring countries, and withstand exploitation and colonialism. They must increase their contact with one another and base their strategy on the awakening of deprived peoples and believe that they shall find the way and emerge victorious.⁴²

The pilgrims of the *Bayt Allah al-Íaram* (i.e. the Holy House of Allah, the Ka'bah) are obliged to lay the foundations of Islamic unity when performing the rites of the Abrahamic pilgrimage. By performing the rite of 'exoneration from liability towards polytheists' they must flaunt the true unity of world Muslims before the superpowers. The rites of hajj and exoneration are symbols of the heights of unity. As Imam has stated:

The cry of exoneration is the cry of all the peoples who can no longer tolerate the arrogance of America and its hegemonic presence and who do not want their roars of indignation and disgust to forever remain smothered and withered within their throats and who have decided to live free and die free and be vociferators for all the generations. Their cry of exoneration is the cry to defend the religion—the anguished cry of nations whose hearts have been violently slashed by the dagger of unbelief and dissimulation.⁴³

Thus, Imam regarded the scope of unity to be absolute. He asked all humans, all oppressed peoples, all Muslims, all Islamic sects, all Islamic intellectuals, and even all clergy of the various religions to do their utmost to unite the nations on the basis of common human and Islamic principles and to utilize all their abilities to forward this aim of unity.

Aims of Unity

In his unitary ideal, Imam Khomeini pursued aims that may be categorized under the following objectives: domestic, foreign, political, economic, social, cultural, and military.

His domestic aims of unity included establishing liberty and autonomy,⁴⁴ the severance of foreign interference,⁴⁵ the prevention of treasonous and criminal activity,⁴⁶ rising to greatness and dignity,⁴⁷ the advancement of Islamic aims, the realization of Islam in its entirety,⁴⁸ the establishment of a correct democracy rather than the corrupt Western or Eastern democracy,⁴⁹ the perpetuation of the Islamic Revolution,⁵⁰ the attainment of social justice,⁵¹ and the expansion of individual and social justice.⁵²

The foreign aims of Imam's idea of unity consist of the following: the promotion of human understanding,⁵³ the establishment of peace and tranquillity throughout the world,⁵⁴ instituting true

democracy and freedom,⁵⁵ the realization of a profound universal revolution against anti-humanist world-devourers,⁵⁶ the rediscovery of spiritual sovereignty and the repulsion of the feeling of inferiority towards tyrannical governments,⁵⁷ the termination of the hegemony of resource-hungry countries over oppressed nations,⁵⁸ the securement of the right of nations to command their own destinies by means of awakening governments,⁵⁹ the establishment of Islamic rule all over the world,⁶⁰ the formation of an indomitable Ummah with a secure foundation,⁶¹ the development of an Islamic identity for Muslims,⁶² the deliverance from scientific impoverishment of Islamic societies,⁶³ and the alleviation of the distress of Muslims.⁶⁴

In the short term, Imam Khomeini aspired first to establish an Islamic government in Iran which would achieve social justice within the nation by renouncing colonialism and despotism and acquiring freedom and autonomy and then to disseminate this justice. He desired to create of the Islamic Republic of Iran an exemplar for all Muslims and oppressed peoples of the globe so that they might also attain liberty and independence and sever the hands of foreigners and superpowers from their countries. For this reason, he would assert that all people, all humans, must reinforce the Islamic government so as to uphold justice.

Protection and bolstering of the people's spirituality, establishing justice among them, and delivering the oppressed from the subjugation of persecutors were the long term goals of Imam Khomeini. These were to be realized through the establishment of world peace, true liberty and democracy, and justice. It follows that humankind would reach a new understanding and a worldwide Islamic government would be established forming an invulnerable Ummah with an unfaltering foundation. Islamic societies would rediscover their Islamic identity and rid themselves of scientific impoverishment. By forming a collaborative army, they would defend Islam and the Islamic Ummah, never allowing land-hungry governments to plunder their resources.

Each of these aims can be divided into political, economic, cultural, and military categories. The political aims included the liberty and independence of all world nations and Muslims, the establishment of world peace and true democracy and freedom, the realization of individual and social justice, the recognition of the right of nations to control their own destinies, the formation of an Islamic Ummah in the true sense, the foundation of a party of the oppressed people of the world, safeguarding greatness and dignity of nations, the advancement of the political aims of Islam, the realization of Islam in its entirety, the achievement of a universal revolution, the termination of the supremacy of world-devourers over the oppressed, the dissolution of the military bases of the East and West from national borders, the formation of an Islamic defence army, the alleviation of the distress of Muslims by dealing with their affairs, and the preservation of the Islamic Republic.

His economic aims were comprised of the following: attaining autonomy and self-sufficiency, the spread of economic justice, fulfilling the international aims of Islam, preventing colonialism and exploitation, and reassuming domestic control of economic affairs.

Imam Khomeini's social aims were as follows: the establishment of social justice, the prevention of corruption, immorality, and various deviations, the institution of peace and tranquillity, the formation of an Islamic Ummah with strong underpinnings, and awakening from the torpor of negligence.

The cultural aims included the preservation of greatness and dignity, the perpetuation of the Islamic Revolution, the prevention of corruption and depravity, the obliteration of centres of injustice and vice, the promotion of human understanding, the retrieval of spiritual autonomy and the repulsion of the feeling of insignificance towards enemies, the formation of an Islamic identity for all Muslims, the deliverance from scientific impoverishment in Islamic societies, etc.

Finally, formation of a joint Islamic army to defend Islam and disperse the military bases of the East and West from Islamic countries was the politico-military aim of Imam in his call to unity.

Summary and Conclusion

The doctrine of unity of Imam Khomeini is considered one of his most important and lasting ideals. This doctrine is a critical point in the history of Islamic unity. Imam's ideal on unity stemmed from the fact that discord in the Islamic Ummah has caused shameful consequences for which we may never be able to compensate because outsiders have attained hegemony over Muslims, Islamic societies have collapsed under colonialist rule, and Muslims have lost their human dignity and have been left behind in all areas. Therefore, we have lost our autonomy, liberty, and greatness and become dependent upon the East and West. As a result of these ignominious circumstances, Imam strongly felt the necessity for unity and rose up to correct the collective human society so that by establishing an Islamic unification, and furthermore, a coalition of the oppressed peoples of the world, the interference of superpowers in the affairs of Islamic and oppressed countries may be counteracted and they may achieve victory.

Imam considered independence, liberty, and justice as the *sine qua non*s and precursors of unity. Hence, he made use of circumstances such as those of Palestine, the rites of hajj and exoneration, etc. to engender unity. Imam revealed his thoughts regarding unity with the motive of defending Islam, enjoining the good and forbidding evil, humanizing society, seeking independence, freedom, and dignity for all humans including Muslims, permeating divine justice and Islam throughout the world, and preventing discord and disunity. He viewed the scope of unity to be all-encompassing such that it embraced all humans: oppressed peoples, Muslims of all schools, and even all divine religions. Imam pursued various political, economic, social, cultural, and military goals which may be categorized into domestic and foreign levels and also into short-, medium-, and long-term aims.

In conclusion, the Islamic unity that Imam worked towards has brought about many benefits for Muslims and will yield (God-willing) even sweeter fruits in the future. These benefits include the Islamic Revolution of Iran, the Islamic liberation movements, the freedom movements of other oppressed nations, the growing sense of fear on the part of global arrogant powers of Muslims, and the ascendancy of Muslims. Therefore, the unitary ideal of Imam Khomeini is the source of victory and perpetuation of

the Islamic Ummah.

1. Imam Khomeini, *Sahifah-ye Inqilab* (Book of the Revolution), 4th print, (Tehran: Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance Publication, 1368 AH), p. 8.
2. Imam Khomeini, *Sahifah-ye Nur*, vol. 18, p. 91.
3. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 3.
4. *Ibid.*, vol. 17, p. 77.
5. *Ibid.*, vol. 8, p. 278.
6. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 175.
7. *Ibid.*, vol. 11, p. 186.
8. *Ibid.*, vol. 15, p. 125.
9. *Ibid.*, vol. 19, p. 46.
10. *Ibid.*, vol. 17, p. 137.
11. *Ibid.*, vol. 6, p. 122–123.
12. *Ibid.*, vol. 11, p. 125.
13. *Ibid.*, vol. 17, p. 228.
14. *Ibid.*, vol. 11, p. 267.
15. *Ibid.*, vol. 18, p. 13.
16. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 259.
17. *Ibid.*, vol. 10, p. 522.
18. *Ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 199.
19. *Ibid.*, vol. 5, p. 114–115.
20. *Ibid.*, vol. 17, p. 77.
21. *Ibid.*, vol. 19, p. 194.
22. *Ibid.*, vol. 20, p. 34.
23. *Ibid.*, vol. 18, p. 101.
24. *Ibid.*, vol. 8, p. 233–234.
25. *Ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 31.
26. The term *bara'ah* means exoneration and is one of the chapter headings of the Qur'an (chapter 9). In it, the third verse reads, "[This is] an announcement from Allah and His Apostle to all the people on the day of the greater hajj: that Allah and His Apostle repudiate the polytheists (*bari'un min al-mushrikin*)."

It is said that the Prophet (s) insisted on acting differently from the polytheists in many of the hajj rituals, not adopting their pre-Islamic practices. After the Islamic Revolution in Iran, Imam Khomeini started issuing yearly declarations stressing the importance of the political awareness of Muslims and the repudiation of polytheists as a main element of hajj as specified in the Qur'an. As a result, the practice of repudiation gradually revived, such that thousands of Muslims participated in the demonstration against polytheism and unbelief, collectively declaring their aversion of America, Russia, and Israel as the foci of godlessness in the world. [Tr.]

27. *Ibid.*, vol. 20, p. 132.
28. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 234–235.
29. *Ibid.*, vol. 20, p. 13.
30. *Ibid.*, vol. 6, p. 116.
31. *Ibid.*, vol. 16, p. 240.
32. *Ibid.*, vol. 17, p. 98.
33. *Ibid.*, vol. 17, p. 51.
34. *Ibid.*, vol. 19, p. 73–74.
35. *Ibid.*, vol. 16, p. 47.
36. *Ibid.*

37. Ibid., vol. 13, p. 83.
38. Ibid., vol. 17, p. 65.
39. Ibid., vol. 10, p. 223.
40. Ibid., vol. 18, p. 11.
41. Ibid., vol. 11, p. 92.
42. Ibid., vol. 18, p. 236.
43. Ibid., vol. 20, p. 111.
44. Ibid., vol. 1, p. 250.
45. Ibid.
46. Ibid.
47. Ibid., vol. 15, p. 175.
48. Ibid., vol. 9, p. 48.
49. Ibid., p. 238.
50. Ibid., p. 8.
51. Ibid., p. 9; and ibid., vol. 17, p. 77.
52. Ibid., vol. 9, p. 9.
53. Ibid., vol. 19, p. 143.
54. Ibid., vol. 13, p. 116.
55. Ibid., vol. 8, p. 114.
56. Ibid., vol. 16, p. 113.
57. Ibid., vol. 1, p. 162.
58. Ibid., vol. 14, p. 146.
59. Ibid.
60. Ibid., vol. 6, p. 169.
61. Ibid., vol. 20, pp. 111–112.
62. Ibid., p. 234.
63. Ibid., vol. 21, p. 19; and ibid., vol. 19, p. 43.
64. Ibid., vol. 19, p. 146.

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