

Prolegomenon

Politics in two Schools

Imam Ali (a.s.) took over the affairs of Muslims on Dhil Hajja 18, 35 AH / June 17, 656 CE, and was martyred in his prayer niche on Ramadan 21, 40 AH/ January 29, 661 CE. Hence, the reign of his holiness lasted only four years, nine months, and three days. Issues in relation to this period of his life are as follows:

1. How the Imam (a.s.) attained power; dimensions of 'Alawi reformation and its fundamentals.
2. Various kinds of resistance against 'Alawi policies; wars and clashes during his holiness' short period of rule.
3. (omitted)
4. Administrators of Ali (a.s.)'s government and his companions.
5. Plot for assassination of Imam Ali (a.s.), and his martyrdom.

Of the above mentioned topics, "'Alawi Policies in hukuma (rulership)" is of utmost importance and specific status due to its instructive and functional significance in the present era, and its guiding doctrine for rulers, particularly for the Islamic Republic of Iran's statesmen.

We believe that if "Politics" in 'Alawi and Umayyad schools is rightfully defined and the Imam's political principles in governing are, however briefly, delineated, objections that are made, and perhaps even now are manifested in some peoples' words and writings, on his political insight will be responded and his policies will be rightly and steadfastly defended.

Political insight, from the viewpoints of Imam Ali, is one of the most crucial requirements of leadership. The Imam not only considers "understanding politics" and having correct appreciation of it as the secret of durability of a government, but also stresses that "governing a state is the very politics".^{[1](#)}

He asserts that political incapability is a malady that threatens the statesmen's authority with downfall. In the Imam's view, rulers who do not possess acute and efficient political insight will not stay long in office. Eventually, incorrect policies, according to 'Alawi doctrines, are indicative of the decline of governments and downfall of states.²

Thus, according to 'Alawi school, ruling a community on the basis of Islamic principles would be practicable solely through the right statesmanship of the rulers. In other words, statesmanship is one of the general principles of management, equally important in various doctrines. The type of attitude and how politics is interpreted, appreciated, and perceived is what distinguishes Islam in this respect from other doctrines, outshines 'Alawi policies above other policies, and sets it against Umayyad policies.

Umayyad Policies

In Umayyad ideology, politics is defined as "recognizing the goal and attaining it through every possible means". The world politicians of the past and present seem to have had no perception beyond this. In reality, politics in Umayyad ideology falls in the same category of meaning as political trends of the governments that are not based on value foundations and are not prompted by the criterion for realizing truth and false that would guide them in their interactions and manners. Describing a feature of politicians, Oswald Spengler said: "a politician by nature has nothing to do with the truth or falsehood of things."

Moreover, Bertrand Russell has perceived political motives and behavioral roots of man in politics as such and stated:

"Political motives in most people include profiteering, selfishness, competition and love of power. For instance, in politics, all human actions originate from the above traits. A political leader who can convince people that he would be able to satisfy these needs, would also be able to subjugate people in such a way that they get to believe that two plus two equals five, or his authority has come down to him right from God.

The political leader who neglects these basic motives is usually deprived of the support of the masses. Psychology of public dynamics is the most basic part of successful political leader's education. Most political leaders achieve their posts by convincing people that they have humanitarian ideals. It is easily understood that such belief will be welcome as it is emotionally appealing. Fettering people, public lectures and sermons, illegal punishments, and wars are procedures of development of emotions. I think keeping people in emotions provides the followers of illogical thinking with a better chance to deceive them and make benefit from them."³

What is brought up in this analysis about political leaders of communities is consistent with the interpretation made of politics by Umayyad statesmen. Mu'awiya is the founder of this approach to politics in Islamic history. On this basic, and relying on the slogan "Politics is barren" in order to snatch

power and safeguard the acquired power, he was ready to go to any extremes and use any hideous means to this end.

'Alawi Politics

Politics, in Ali (a.s.)'s view, is unfaltering administration of the community based on Divine criteria, and a truth – oriented movement. He is quoted as saying:

Administering a state is politics.[4](#)

He never approved of doing anything for achieving power and retaining it. On the contrary, he never considered resorting to illegitimate means as permissible, even to the cost of losing power.

According to 'Alawi doctrine, politics is the recognizing and employing legal instruments in administering a community, and providing people with material and spiritual welfare. In other words, by 'Alawi doctrines, exploiting illegitimate means and tools which are ostentatiously efficient but erroneous in effect, is not regarded as politics; rather, it is deception, fraudulence, and in Imam al-Sadiq (a.s.)'s words, "imposture".[5](#)

From the viewpoint of Imam Ali (a.s.), government is dominion over the hearts and conquest of wisdoms and affections, rather than subjugation of "bodies", dominance over individuals, and riding upon their shoulders. Such interpretation of government leaves no room for resorting to illegitimate political instruments. In his view, power has no sanctity except for administering justice, hence no need to fall back on false ways to preserve it. Dominion over hearts is in no way possible except by using the right methods and treatment based on values. Illegitimate and false policies may gallop along and go on dominating for a short while, but they will never last long and bring nothing to people but harm and loss:

Truth has a lasting sovereignty, and falsehood a short-lived flaunting.[6](#)

'Alawi Reformations

With this attitude towards government and sovereignty, and with such interpretation of politics, Imam Ali (a.s.) took over the reign, and right after achieving political power started the state reformations accordingly, with the motto, "Social and Economical Justice".

He had proclaimed the reason for accepting hukuma as "embarking on reforms and restoring the suppressed rights. Ali (a.s.) believed that whatever had happened before his time and after the demise of the Apostle of God, had radically changed the community and altered the values, creating a great gap and inconsistency between what was towed behind by the name of "Islamic State", and what the Holy Prophet (S) had originally founded. In his formal statement at the beginning of his caliphate, Ali (a.s.) asserted that what had been done had been inconsistent with the sira and sunna of the Apostle of God; the status quo was unbearable; and there was a strong need for providing a new way and a firmly set

procedure which would be unlike "the tradition of the two Shayks", but of "'Alawi tradition and 'Alawi reforms" consistent with "the tradition of the Prophet" and Muhammadan reforms".

Surprisingly, Imam Ali (a.s.) has found out through his deep political insight that such procedure and reformation would not be tolerated by people who had for a long time been accustomed to reverse values: "Neither hearts can stand it nor can intellects accept it".⁷

However, he is a Truth-oriented statesman who regards "Politics" as honesty in speech and clarity in position, as well as adherence to Truth, and no less than that. That is why in his very first statement, he declares explicitly an unrelenting struggle against alterations, deviations, abnormalities, and undue ups and downs, without the slightest fear of the political repercussions and social tension that would ensue. Of course, he started all this with resolution, far-sightedness, and accurate and firm policy-making and planning.

'Alawi Policies in Confrontation with Deviations

Imam Ali (a.s.) was profoundly and closely aware of what had befallen the people, and knew how they had acclimatized to the deviations, and now he is determined to embark on reforms; he knew both the depth of the calamity and the difficulty of removing it from every nook and cranny of the society. Thus, Imam Ali (a.s.) acted neither hastily nor unplanned. He divided the reforms he intended to make into two categories:

1. Fighting against administrative and economic corruption,
2. Fighting against cultural deviation.

The Policy of Administrative and Economical Reformation

Ali (a.s.) began encountering administrative and economic deviations and fighting against related corruption from the very beginning of his rule. He expelled incompetent, corrupt, and ill-behaved administrators from their posts and reclaimed the plundered public treasury.

On the first day of his rule, the Imam proclaimed his intended reform policy in the following thought – provoking words:

You should know that if I respond to you, I would lead you as I know I should and would not care about whatever one may say or abuse.⁸

That means you should comply with me, rather than the reverse. Ali (a.s.) is Truth-centered man, adept in the sunna, and absorbed in God. What is thought-provoking here is that the Imam indicates that he knows this complying would lead to hardships; above all, rebukes, faultfinding, and chantage and lobbying would follow. His motto, however, is: "I am Truth-centered and I safeguard the truth, and

nothing else.

Then, on the second day of his Caliphate, he asserted in his lofty status of social guidance and in view of his great responsibility of leadership as follows:

Know that any land that 'Uthman has granted and any wealth from God's property that he has given as gift will be refunded to the public treasury; as nothing would violate previous rights and if I find the assets I will restore them to their rightful place even if they are given as marriage-portion to women or distributed among cities; as justice is expanding in nature, and for whomsoever justice is constraining, oppression will be even more so.[9](#)

In a fervent, awakening and thought-provoking sermon, the Imam widely spoke on the same day about the responsibility of the authorities of a community in realizing social justice, stressing that he would not give a special privilege to anybody for utilizing public treasury; and those who have appropriated, through public treasury, plots of land, water, well-bred horses, and good looking maids should know that Ali will confiscate all those assets and return them to the treasury.

These words came down like thunderbolts, heavily striking like a smith's hammer on the heads of those who had plundered and pillaged, and now were extremely worried; and thus Ali (a.s.)'s outcry advocating justice reverberated more than ever among the well-known figures, who soon turned into staunch opponents of Alawi rule.

These mottos were uttered, and the people got familiar with a resonance unknown to them up to then.

On the third day of Ali (a.s.)'s rule, people sought to receive their portion of public treasury. The Imam ordered his notary, 'Ubayd Allah b. Rafi' as follows:

Start from Muhajirun (the emigrants). Call for them and give them three dinars each. Then, call for the Ansar (the helpers), and treat them similarly. Anyone else coming to you, black or red, or..., treat them the same way you treated Muhajirun and Ansar....[10](#)

The dignitaries from among the people found out that Ali (a.s.)'s plan of economic justice was not a slogan; it was real practice, and very serious indeed. Objections began to be raised in his presence. He reported the events. Not only the Imam was not shocked by the onset of oppositions, especially from pompous figures, and did not hesitate on his way, but also decisively asserted the continuation of his reforms. He said:

By God, if I remain [in power] and stay unimpaired, I will set them firm on a bright path.[11](#)

From this very moment, vengeance for 'Uthman's bloodshed began! Was it not ironic that some of the gold-hoarders and affluent stipulated their allegiance to the Imam on the following two conditions?

1. Ali (a.s.) should not meddle in the wealth that they have seized over the rule of 'Uthman;

2. He should identify, arrest and kill the murderers of 'Uthman.

The Imam, however, knew that vengeance for 'Uthman's bloodshed was only a pretext. What was of importance to them was prevention of taking back the illegitimate riches and treasured up properties left over from the era of 'Uthman. In this respect, the Imam had heard various proposals and had strongly rejected all the proposals, which were compromising, contradictory to restoring rights, and based on trampling upon public treasury.

- [1.](#) See 10/1 (Causes for Durability of Governments).
- [2.](#) See 10/2 (Causes for the Decline of Governments).
- [3.](#) Robert Edward Egner, Bertrand Russell, Best: Silhouette in Satyr.
- [4.](#) Al-Saduq, al-Amali, 132.
- [5.](#) Imam al-Sadiq (a.s.) says about Mu'awiya's political wits: "It is imposture and devilishness; it looks like intellect, but is not intellect." (Al-Kafi: I, 11.)
- [6.](#) Al-Kafi: II, 447.
- [7.](#) See 1/3: ahadith 7 & 6. [Nahj al-Balagha: Sermon 92. Translations of Nahj al-Balagha throughout this book are mainly adopted from Sayyid Ali Reza and William Chittick.]
- [8.](#) See 1/3, hadith 8.
- [9.](#) 2/3, hadith 72.
- [10.](#) See 2/1, hadith 62.
- [11.](#) Ibid.

Policy of Cultural Reformation

In parts of the Encyclopedia of Amir al-Mu'minin (a.s.), the reason for and the quality of people's uprising against 'Uthman's rule is delineated, the most important of which is standing up against administrative corruptions and economic disturbances.¹ People had been fed up with the undue extravagance and nepotism, and would not tolerate the incompetent sovereignty and inefficient statesmen who had been assigned to their posts only because of their attachment to the Caliph. From the early days of his rule, Ali (a.s.) thus started his bureaucratic and economic reforms despite all the difficulties that arose thereby.

However, the ground was not paved for accomplishment of cultural and intellectual reforms and fight against value deformations and deviations which had taken place in various dimensions in the Islamic state. Ali (a.s.) had to delay and act hesitantly, preparing the ground to begin the struggle. In other words, the endeavor required more stability and stronger establishment of his government. That was why Ali (a.s.) would say:

If my steps acquire firmness out of these slippery places, I would alter several things.²

The Imam could not easily and immediately fight against what had over a period of 25 years rooted in

people's minds, tongues, souls, and characters and made them accustomed to it, building a different culture for them.

Undoubtedly, this fight would have raised widespread discontent and exacerbated the already knotty affairs, hindering the chance for other reformations. So, forbearance had to be shown until the time for plucking fruits would come up.

Anyway, Ali (a.s.) embarked on reforms on the basis of a precise planning, a clear perspective, and explicit goals aiming at restoring the community back to the prophet's sira and sunna. He took the first step toward creation and expansion of social justice and execution of administrative and economic reforms, carrying it on to the end of his life in order to lay the foundation for a thoroughly "Islamic" community based on the Qur'anic values and Divine doctrines. Evil-mindedness, ill-naturedness, inhumanity, and tyrannies regrettably hindered that man of justice and faith from achieving all those goals.

What we deal here with is an account of most fundamental 'Alawi Reform in bureaucratic, cultural, economic, social, judicial, security, military, and international areas on the basis of historical and hadith texts, as well as an explanation of reforms principles. Undoubtedly, a thorough account of the Imam's political foundations and an interpretation of his reformation, demands more time.

One: The Foundations of Ruling over the Hearts

Islam is the religion of hukuma, which is clearly evident in the doctrines of this Divine Faith. A close study of the Islamic texts dealing with foundations of Islamic hukuma, however, indicates that Islam is a religion that rules over the people's hearts rather than over their "bodies" and dominating them with political authority. Principles of this type of ruling and statesmanship are tantamount to the political foundations of the Islamic state; and political foundations of 'Alawi [ruling] system are the very foundations of Islamic management.

Islam is the code of material and spiritual evolution of human beings. Affection is the most basic element of this code. Affection is so functional in realization of the Islamic state and the plans provided by the Divine religion for development of human society that Al-Imam al-Baqir considers the religion of Islam as nothing but affection, and asserts:

Is religion anything but affection?³

In Ali (a.s.)'s view, main pillars of Islam and its principles of evolutionary planning are based on love for Allah. He says in this respect:

This Islam is the religion which Allah has chosen for Himself, developed it before His eyes, chose it as the best among His Creation, and established its pillars on His love.⁴

Religious guides and true political leaders of Islamic community are manifestations of people's love for God, and people's love for them is love for God. Accordingly, Islamic hukuma is basically stationed beyond people's allegiance and decision [by voting]. Islamic hukuma is rooted in people's love, which is indeed the secret of so much emphasis given by the Qur'an and Islamic hadiths about love of Ahl al-Bayt (a.s.).

On the other hand, it is evident that love is not imperative. Man can not be forced to love someone or something merely by circulars, contrary to his inner drive.

Man loves beauty, and love for beauty lies deep in his soul. He, by nature, loves all types of material and spiritual beauties. Thus, if he views a person's insight, character, and manner as beautiful he would fall in love with him; and if he finds him displeasing, he would turn his face away from him. This is man's natural expediency, unless his inner nature shifts otherwise.

Hence, we realize that the secret of emphasis on love of Ahl al-Bayt (a.s.), and the philosophy of its necessity is persuasion to achieve a real knowledge about them; for their character, conduct, and treatment of people is so beautiful and attractive that true and unbiased knowledge of them simply leads to fondness for and attachment to them. How is it possible to see and know so much beauty in Ali (a.s.)'s conduct and not to love him, unless one has lost his human conscience and defiled his pure and noble nature? This is the secret of people's such fervent love and devotion toward Ali (a.s.). Obviously, these lovers consist of various types of people throughout the history and unbounded by ideologies and beliefs, from all schools of thought; as, beauty and love for beauty has no boundaries, like love for Ali (a.s.) which is the greatest manifestation of beauty.

Ali (a.s.)'s conduct in his life span was replete with adherence to Truth, Truth-centeredness, and spreading of Truth, especially in his demonstration of the most beautiful aspect of human rule during his brief period of hukuma. Would it be possible to behold Ali (a.s.)'s comely grace and beauty and its manifestation in his hukuma and not to fall in love with it?!

Now, before we elaborate on historical and hadith text relating to 'Alawi statesmanship, we intend to review the Imam's political principles in government. This review would be very brief, within our limited ability and time. In reality, restating these principles is, in itself, revealing the secret of creation of Ali (a.s.)'s beauties and attractions, and indicating the political principles of ruling over hearts. We hope that the Islamic Republic of Iran officials do their best in familiarizing with, introducing, and approaching these beauties and try to identify the reality of their political and administrative life as well as their transient responsibility with his; hence, delineating a perspective of 'Alawi comely hukuma for the people of the world.

Two: Administrative Policies

Imam Ali (a.s.)'s managerial policies in administration may be stated in the following principles:

1. Honesty in Politics

Honesty can be considered as the most fundamental principle in Ali (a.s.)'s managerial policies. Throughout history, statesmen were mostly dishonest to people; what they have told people was not what they had thought about it or acted accordingly. Ali (a.s.) had set honesty and truthfulness to people as a steadfast principle in his sovereignty and remained faithful to it from the early days to the moment of his martyrdom. Undoubtedly, honesty has been one of the most significant everlasting attractions of Ali (a.s.)'s rule over the hearts and throughout the history, and an explicit distinction bordering line between 'Alawi and Umayyad politics.

In Umayyad culture, honesty is meaningless, with fabrication, telling lies, and imposture being the motif of their politics. As mentioned earlier and as it is evident to those having a slight familiarity with history of politics, most statesmen of the past had no implication of politics except for inversion of reality and spreading falsehood in their interactions. Narrating a memory of the late Imam Khomeini (ra) in this respect would be much self-evident and interesting. After his first raging attack against the tyrannical monarchy, that noble figure was arrested. One of the heads of state met with the Imam (ra) and talked to him about politics. Imam (ra)'s account of what that person told is as follows:

"[He said:] Politics is maliciousness, lying, rascality and... so, you'd better leave it to us!"

Imam Khomeini (ra) goes on to say:

"He was right in that. If politics is such things, let it be theirs."⁵

Such is the professional statesmen's business; if lying, deception, and double-facedness are eliminated from politics, nothing will be left of it. 'Alawi politics is in sharp contrast with this. At first glance, honesty is the prime requirement of statesmanship. If honesty is left out of statesmen's array of actions and interactions with people, the Truth-orientedness, adherence to law, human rights, social justice, etc., would be rendered meaningless and vain. In other words, all these in the absence of honesty would be mere slogans for deception of people and instruments for further violation of their rights.

In 'Alawi politics, employing "inverting" method is permissible only in battles, within all the restrictions, exceptions, and frameworks which will be pointed out when talking about "Imam's warfare policies".

2. Truth-Orientedness

Truth-orientedness is a manifestation of political honesty in 'Alawi Rule. Adherence to Truth and Truth-orientedness is evident all through Ali (a.s.)'s short period of rule. He thought of nothing but truth and intended anything except restoring of rights. His outcry is for restoring of rights, and his silence is for preparing the grounds for safeguarding the Truth. His teaching in this respect is very thought-provoking and awakening.

There were many who spoke of Truth and Truth-orientedness; but when their personal, group and sectarian interests happened to conflict with their slogans, their interpretations and justifications would come to their aid to sacrifice the Truth. But, it is surprising how steadfast Ali (a.s.) was in his Truth-orientedness. Truth, in his view, is the "Principle". So it must be equally practiced for all – friends, near of kin, insiders, outsiders, etc.

3. Adherence to law

Law is a strong cord that brings cohesion among different social strata. It is not a matter of lawlessness, as a lawless society is a jungle rather than a human society; rather, it is a matter of law status, and the way rulers and people look at it. Respect for law, in Imam Ali (a.s.)'s view, is irrefutable. This can be perceived throughout many texts, including the Encyclopedia of Amir al-Mu'minin, where his interaction with people in financial matters, execution of legal punishments, etc., is introduced.

Deliberation on this collection will show us that in Ali (a.s.)'s view no one transcends the law, nor anybody or any authority can hinder the execution of Divine law. Obviously, Ali (a.s.)'s position indicates that he does not regard himself as a man of authority before law.⁶ That was why he did not tolerate compromise and struggled with flattery and hypocrisy in politics, strongly disagreeing with falsehood, affected rightfulness, justifications, and [personal] interpretations that were so prevalent in Umayyad's politics.

4. Administrative Discipline

Imam Ali (a.s.) frequently and emphatically enjoined orderliness in affairs and discipline in conducts. This instruction was so important to the Imam that even in his deathbed – where he would naturally have stated his most significant and efficient instructions – he emphasized orderliness in affairs.⁷

He views orderliness in life and discipline in action as among the lofty goals of Divine revelation:

Verily, in it (the Qur'an) lies the knowledge of the future and accounts of the past, remedy to your maladies, and [establishing] orderliness among you.

Again and again he would advise his administrators to attempt in maintaining administrative discipline and not forgetting orderliness in affairs, doing whatever they plan to in their due time and not wasting their time in disorder and confusion.

5. Appointment of Competent and Capable Administrators

Administrators are the executive arms of rulers, and agents of establishing justice and spreading of law in society. Their competence, capability, steadfastness and behavioral soundness are doubtlessly most effective in organizing the society in its various dimensions. Thus, from Imam Ali (a.s.)'s viewpoint in appointing administrators only competence and merits must be the criteria, rather than kinship and

relations. "Meritocracy" is the quintessence of appointment in 'Alawi politics. Moral competence, familial originality, expertise, and capability should be the criteria for being appointed, rather than kinship, causal, factional, and sectarian relations, particularly if politically weighed.

By Imam's doctrine, directors and officials are not privileged to grant governmental posts on the basis of familial or political relations. They are not privileged to consign people's affairs to those who are not of noble birth; they are not privileged to assign those who are distanced from moral virtues and good disposition; they are not privileged to employ those who do not possess the proper expertise and due cheerfulness in executive jobs. Job of an administrator is a "trust" and should not be consigned to anyone but a trustworthy person.

6. Providing the Administrators with their financial Needs

The Imam believed that the administrators must enjoy sufficient remuneration. From the viewpoint of Imam Ali (a.s.), to prevent form corruption and to prepare the ground for reformation, it is necessary that administrators be remunerated handsomely. In that case, on one hand, they will avoid clutching at the public treasury; and on the other, the officials will have the authority to punish the mutinous and treacherous and to discipline the corrupt, and the violators would not have a pretext for their violations.

7. Special Care for the Armed Forces

Armed forces are strong fortresses for guarding the sovereignty of a community. The latter's military power is undoubtedly very influential in maintaining security and preventing the enemy's intrusion, and above all, in barring even the temptation by the rebels to launch an invasion. Military forces, in Imam's view, must enjoy special care from the officials. They must interact with troops as fathers do with their children.

8. Necessity for setting up an Establishment to Monitor the Function of the Administrators

The world is a slippery abode, and the worldly attractions and glamour cause blunder and fall. The officials are to take utmost care in selecting administrators, to the extent that they appoint pure-hearted, good-tempered, and steadfast people for administrative tasks. Once they achieve this goal, they should not feel relieved of the possible administrative corruption, violation of the law, and behavioral abnormalities.

Therefore, setting up an organization for supervising the administrators' behavior and watching over the administrative violations and deviations would be mandatory. Imam Ali (a.s.) strongly forbade prying into people's privacy in a ruling system⁸; but he emphasized on surveillance over employees of an Islamic state and monitoring the administrators' behavior through certain intelligence establishments, lest they should neglect their duties or violate people's rights by means of their power and the authority at their

disposal.

The part of Imam's letters in this respect and his letters to the wrongdoing administrators such as Ash'ath b. Qays, Ziyad b. Abih, 'Abd Allah b. 'Abbas, Qudama b. 'Ajlun, Masqala b. Hubayra, and Mundhir b. Jarud, indicate that his holiness had employed very powerful intelligence establishments in his government to Monitor the administrators.

But what is extraordinary here is that the informants were both honest and faithful so that they would watch over carefully, follow up steadfastly, and investigate honestly on one hand, and would be veracious and faithful in their reports, on the other.

The ones that Ali (a.s.) had selected for this extremely important task were so highly endowed with justice, veracity, and authoritativeness that their reports were the bases for administrative rewards and punishments. Those doing good were rewarded by means of the reports, and the treacherous were punished once proved guilty, and the corrupt ones were expelled from work to serve as an example for others.

9. Never Accepting any Gifts

In order to put an end to bribery in the bureaucratic system and cleanse the society of this evil and corruptive practice, he banned acceptance of gifts. Anyhow, the imposters would try to penetrate by any possible means into the administrative body of the government to utilize the state facilities. Hence, the Imam ruled the acceptance of gifts as deception (ghulul) and bribery as polytheism (shirk).

10. Decisiveness Coupled with Tolerance

Ali (a.s.)'s behavior highly represented decisiveness and tolerance. From his point of view, the administrators must practice tolerance and condescendence while being decisive. He regards extreme violence as harmful to the management, as he considers too much leniency and being easygoing in administering justice in people's affairs as detrimental. In Imam's view, a successful manager would be the one who can devise a midway between decisiveness and compassion, strictness and leniency.

Wherever there is need for decisiveness, he should practice it and do not back down; and if leniency is demanded for being successful, he should not avoid using it. Decisiveness Coupled with Tolerance, and strictness joined with leniency is an 'Alawi strategy employed to prevent the rebels from turning more rebellious and the hopeful from becoming desperate. Taking a glance at the tangible examples of what was said here – and presented in this book – would be very instructive.

Three: Cultural Policies

Talking about various dimensions of cultural policies demands much wider attention. Here we bring up the issue just as an introduction to the historical and hadith texts, however briefly, as follows:

1. Development of Education

In 'Alawi system [of hukuma], cultural development precedes economic development, since beside the fact that economic development is not possible without cultural development, a slumbering society submerged in ignorance neither enjoys the economic possibilities, facilities, and blessings nor is endowed with the skills to utilize them or aware of the necessity to use them. Cultural and Educational development is a need of human soul and mind, and economic development is that of the body. It goes without saying that needs of the soul and mind precede [are more significant than] needs of the body.

Imam Ali (a.s.) considered knowledge as the origin and basis of all the physical and spiritual goodness, and a criterion for evaluation of human beings and believed that ignorance is the origin of all evils and frustrations:

The value of every man is as high as his knowledge.[9](#)

Knowledge is the basis of all goodness, and ignorance is the origin of all evils. [10](#)

He also emphasized that people's needs for knowledge and acquisition of moral virtues are higher than their economic needs:

Verily, people need a good culture more than they need gold and silver. [11](#)

Verily, you need the acquisition of culture and courtesy (adab) more than acquisition of gold and silver. [12](#)

Looking at this issue from another perspective, we notice that it is clearly stated in Divine doctrines that the philosophy of revelation and the secret of prophethood and the reason for hukuma in the Prophets' school is the education of human beings, removal of ignorance, and motivating the wisdoms. Similarly, Ali (a.s.), whose mind, tongue, and manners are above all else as exponents of Prophetic culture, has represented this fact very beautifully in his sermons[13](#); and clearly represented in his practical way of life the necessity of acculturating people, giving priority to education over bread and water for man, and stressing the development of culture along other dimensions of life. How beautifully he defines paganism (jahiliyya) as a symbol of spreading ignorance and stamping out knowledge. No doubt, a Divine, Prophetic, and 'Alawi community must be far beyond that. [14](#)

2. Correction of Public Culture

Included among sublime and eminent 'Alawi policies is the battle against false traditions, rude manners, unbecoming procedures, and emphasis on decent manners and befitting behaviors, or as briefly stated, rectifying the public culture. Ali (a.s.) would advise his administrators not to eliminate from the society anything on the pretext that it is left over from the past; to support the constructive and humane traditions; and to fight against evil traditions, not tolerating their perpetuation and expansion.

3. Criticism? Yes! But Never Flattery!

Criticism is a right by means of which other rights are restored and despotism – that is the most dangerous pitfall of governments – is banned.

In a society where criticism is free and people are able to disclose the rulers' deficiencies and flaws, the statesmen can better notice their own weak points, fight against corruption and injustice, and offer valuable services.

On the other hand, in the absence of criticism, the grounds will be paved for the emergence of flatterers and sycophants; the statesmen's weak points in policies, plans and steps will remain unnoticed, and thus corruption, decadence, and injustice in governmental organizations will develop, leading to the fall of the governments.

When Amir al-Mu'minin (a.s.) took over the hukuma, undue praise and exaggerated compliments about authorities were part of the public culture. The rulers not only did not prevent them, but also further promoted them. This way, culture of flattery and sycophancy had developed and the cunning enemies of truth, had, by flattering the commanders and authorities, achieved political and social positions without being qualified for those jobs.

On the other hand, since the authorities were never criticized, they began to consider themselves immaculate and flawless to the extent that they took the constructive and compassionate criticisms as offensive and deemed it obligatory to stand against them.

Of the most comely and exciting 'Alawi measures taken in rectification of public culture was the battle against flattery and sycophancy and stress on constructive criticism.

The Imam required his administrators to appoint their associates, consultants, and companions from among those who were more straightforward in their impartiality and to treat them in a way that they would never appeal to flattery, to evade criticism or praise [others] to excess. He would himself also openly and staunchly challenge any eulogy and responded sarcastically to the eulogists and asked people neither to praise nor to flatter him for his Divine duties, and criticize him benevolently instead if they find anything wrong with his plans or if they find his manners criticizable, and not talk to him like they talk to the tyrants.

Interestingly enough, Amir al-Mu'minin had brought up the issue of letting others criticize him not in regular circumstances but on the most critical occasions of his hukuma, i.e., amid the battle of Siffin.

It so happened that the Imam, in an exciting speech, made some remarks regarding the mutual rights of leadership and the people. One of his companions, who was very excited by these points, began as usual to praise and applaud him in details while expressing his obedience. Without being affected by his praising and applause or even being concerned about the sensitive and critical current circumstances,

the Imam responded to so much adoration as follows:

In view of the Virtuous people, the worst position of rulers is that it may be thought about them that they love glory, and their affairs may be taken to be based on pride. I really hate that it may occur to your mind that I love high praises or to hear eulogies. By Grace of Allah, I am not like this. Even if I had loved to be mentioned like this, I would have given it up in submissiveness before Allah rather than accept greatness and sublimity to which He is more entitled...

And do not address me in the manner despots are addressed, do not evade me as the people of passion are (to be) evaded, do not meet me with flattery and do not think that I shall take it ill if a true thing is said to me because the person who feels disgusted when truth is said to him or a just matter is placed before him would find it more difficult to act upon them. [15](#)

And finally, he draws the following conclusion from his words:

Therefore, do not abstain from saying a truth or pointing out a matter of justice because I do not regard myself above erring. I do not escape erring in my actions but Allah helps me in matters which He is more powerful than I. [16](#)

By these words, Imam Ali (a.s.) clearly expressed that if it were not through God's assistance and Divine infallibility, he would fall to blundering too, and despite his enjoyment of Divine immunity, he wanted the people not to be hindered by his political and spiritual status from criticizing him and stressed that if they realized anything mischievous in his government, they were to proceed to point it out to him.

In other words, by responding to the adoration of that person, the Imam firmly condemns the evil custom of eulogizing and praising the commanders and political authorities in the Muslim community on one hand, and on the other, he wants to promote in people the spirit of criticizing and delving into the actions of the Islamic state authorities, even if they were on the highest level of administration, i.e., the infallible Imam, and in effect to encourage the acceptance of constructive criticism among the Muslim community's high ranking authorities.

[4. Imam Ali \(a.s.\)'s Reaction to Destructive Criticisms](#)

The point which must be made at the end of this discourse is the Imam's sagacious reaction to criticisms. Taking into consideration his sira in encountering with criticisms and protests of three main political opposition trends, i.e., Nakithun (covenant breakers), Qasitun (deviators), and Mariqum (apostates) indicates that although he formally and practically asked people to express their criticism, he did not allow the seekers after power, the spiteful, and the plotters to tell and write whatever they wish to achieve their political goals on the pretext of criticism. [17](#)

5. Adherence to Truth, rather than to Personalities

However high the people soar toward the truth, the possibility of their deviation cannot be denied. Thus, it is worthwhile for the people to notice this fact when following personalities and never deem human beings as "absolute". Drawing attention to this issue and other awakening doctrines of Imam Ali (a.s.) should be viewed as the most fundamental guidelines of that holy Imam in rectifying public culture. Obviously, most political and social deviations in socio-political trends originate from absolutism about figures, and "personalism" in taking stances.

Imam Ali (a.s.) used to warn people that personalities, however great, noble, popular, or trustworthy, cannot be criteria for truth and falsehood. He tried to get the society to a stage of awareness, realization of stances and criteria and cultural consciousness so that people would assess personalities and their stances with Truth, not vice versa; to see the Truth as a criterion for getting to know personalities rather than the other way round.

Four: Economical Policies

The people who stood up against 'Uthman's policies, proclaimed the reasons for their uprising including economical disorder, the caliph's open-handedness, undue largess, negligence of people's livelihood, and dishonesty in public treasury.

In such climate, Imam Ali (a.s.) on one hand stressed on production, and on the other gives priority to regulation of the market, and finally pays close attention to distribution of the public treasury, ruling out any kind of discrimination. Perhaps this had been the Imam's most difficult position. Principles of 'Alawi policies in economy can be enumerated as follows:

1. Promotion of Work Ethos

In 'Alawi doctrines, paying attention to striving and working enjoys a high status. From Ali (a.s.)'s point of view, economic poverty is caused by the traits of lassitude, inactivity, laziness, and inability. A community replete with cheerfulness and activity and dominated by work ethos will not be inflicted by poverty – which is the origin of many material, spiritual, individual, and social maladies. Thus, the Imam highly emphasized the necessity of work and striving, regarding work as worship, and striving for improvement of living condition as taking steps toward God.

2. Agricultural Development

Land is the source of "life". From the viewpoint of Imam Ali (a.s.) people who possess land and water and are at the same time poverty-stricken, will be far from Divine Mercy and deprived of God's favor. Ali (a.s.) emphasized on reviving the land and recommended the development of farming as a means of eliminating poverty from the community, and called people to engendering prosperity in the lands and

exploiting them. Above all, he regarded attention to agriculture as a touchstone for evaluating the governments and their efficiency in rulership, viewing agricultural development as among the main duties of administrators, and troop commanders as defenders of farmers' rights.

3. Development of Crafts

The community in which Ali (a.s.) had set up his hukuma did not have the qualifications for "development of crafts", due to its climatic conditions. However, his holiness – according to the traditions quoted from him placed great importance on crafts, calling them and professions in general as "treasures". Imam Ali (a.s.) enjoined his administrators to seriously support the artisans and encouraged the latter to employ utmost producing well-made goods, and never sacrifice a product's "craftsmanship and quality" for the "speed" in production.

4. Development of Trade

In the early Islam as well as during Imam Ali (a.s.)'s hukuma, trade was most influential. Thus, on one hand he would encourage trade prosperity and on the other, would stress on supporting the merchants within governmental structure; and finally, he would explain how to practice trade, how the merchants were to deal in transactions, and in what manner trading had to be performed.

5. Direct Supervision of the Market

The market presents economic endeavors of a community. Transactions take place in the marketplace, and the marketeers are somehow associated with people. Well-being of the market would lead to well-being in transactions and people's sound exploitation of the process of economic struggles for sustenance. Doubtlessly, the prime loss due to abnormality in improper relations in market transactions would be sustained by the people.

Due to the importance of the market and its great impact on people's economical situation and livelihood, Imam Ali (a.s.) directly supervised the market and the quality of transactions there. His holiness would go to the markets of Kufa every morning and, allegedly, like "a children's teacher", instruct God-fearing as well as avoidance of selling short weight, lying, treachery and tyranny to the marketeers.

The texts reporting this direct supervision are very interesting and instructive to read. The Imam would shout among the Muslims enjoining them not to practice frauds and hoarding, to be fair and honest in offering goods as they really are, not to pretend genuineness, to treat the customers in a well-disposed manner, not to devalue the seller when they are buying goods, and not to overestimate their own goods when selling them.

All these admonitions, warnings, and instructions of the Imam given to the marketers are worth mentioning in practice of fairness, justice, human disposition, dignity, and magnanimity.

6. Fair Levy of Taxes

Government, in Imam Ali (a.s.)'s view, is for the people and for the establishment of their rights. That is why a part of the government's financial needs must be met by people who benefit from the government and engage in producing and trading under its protection. It is with such intention that taxes are levied in all ruling systems, although by different methods of collection and inclusiveness in different systems. In 'Alawi politics, stressing on levying taxes and government's responsibility in inclusiveness of receiving them from people, as well as the kind of viewing taxes and the reason for and the quality of levying them from people are worth paying attention. Trust in people, emphasis on not creating problems for people, drawing people's attention to the status and the importance of taxes are also noteworthy.

In an instruction to one of his administrators, Imam Ali (a.s.) states, "Never use whippings in collecting taxes nor put people under pressure for that". And the administrator says, "In that case I will have to return the same way I have gone; that is, the people will not give anything." The Imam replies, "Even if that happens [i.e., even if they give nothing.]"¹⁸

A glance at 'Alawi doctrines in this respect shows that the tax organization and its agents are bound to win people's trust and to observe Islamic morality and religious behavior, while being alert and take care of safeguarding public treasure and carefully learn about the problems of taxation.

7. Not Delaying in Distribution of Public Assets

Imam Ali (a.s.) did not approve of blocking public assets in the state's treasury. Rather, he would try to deliver them to the needy. The Imam's sira indicates that he would not tolerate even one night of delay in this regard. He contended that what belonged to people had to be delivered to them the soonest possible.

8. Necessity of People's Equal Enjoyment of Public Assets

Equal distribution of the public assets among all Muslims was one of the policies in Imam Ali (a.s.)'s hukuma. This was contradictory to what had been done to people in the previous years. Therefore, it cost very dear to the well-to-do and those benefiting from the government, and the so called "large grains" (i.e., the bigwigs).

In the Imam's outlook, the Muslim's skin color, tribes and ancestors, their social and clan relations did not make any difference in their portion in public assets. Arabs and non-Arabs, the Emigrants (muhajirun) and the Helpers (ansar), the black and the white, and even the freed slaves and their former masters, were equally treated in this respect and all enjoyed equally from the public incomes.

9. Provision of Basic Needs of life for all People

The general trend of Ali (a.s.)'s economic policy is to struggle with poverty and uprooting it from the face

of Islamic community. His holiness' guidelines in this respect are very thought-provoking. He insists that hunger and indigence of a group is caused by unlimited exploitation by another group and open-handedness of the well-to-do:

Whenever a destitute person remains hungry, it is because some rich person has denied (him his share).[19](#)

The Islamic state is bound to prevent the undue accumulation of riches in the hands of the opulent, to eradicate the means of exploitative benefiting of the rich, and to assist with constant attempts and accurate planning the inferiors to meet their basic needs for living. He did lead Kufa, even in that short period of his rule and despite so much clashes, intrigues, and hindrances, to a condition that he proclaimed:

Now in Kufa, all people are enjoying ease and comfort, and the most inferior of them has bread and shelter from the sunshine and enjoys water from the Euphrates.[20](#)

Imam (a.s.)'s recommendations to his administrators for paying attention to the lower classes of society and the so-called "low-income stratum", are amazing. He does not tolerate the indigence of a Christian who once had been exploited by the opulent and at his old age had been abandoned,[21](#) and commands securing his needs through public treasury. He also commands his governors to search all corners of society to identify the poor and the needy and to disentangle them from the claws of poverty.

10. Prohibition of Bestowing Gifts out of Public Assets

Governors are people's trustees and what they have at their disposal is kept with them in trust. Government administrators are not allowed to give away gifts from the government's assets on various occasions and pretexts. Ali (a.s.) views such treatment of public treasury as tyrannical:

The administrators' open-handedness in public assets is tyranny and treachery.[22](#)

11. Never Granting Privileges to One's Kith and Kin

We said that in Imam Ali (a.s.)'s view what is at the disposal of the governors and administrators is trusted to them, being allowed to use the assets at their disposals just in administering and rendering services. They do not have the privilege to allocate certain provisions to specific groups. The sons and close relatives of political and social dignitaries in Ali (a.s.)'s hukuma as well as his own sons and relatives did not enjoy any particular privileges. Above all, the Imam showed more sensitivity towards his friends and kin, and was harder and stricter on them in using the public assets in order to set an example for others.

12. Frugality in Public Assets

Given what was said, Imam's policy in consumption of public assets, how the administrators should use them, and how the public treasury should be spent is very interesting and instructive. In order to draw the administrators' attention to utmost frugality in [spending] public incomes and preventing them from extravagance, the Imam asked them through circulars to practice frugality even in writing letters to him:

Sharpen your pens and reduce the space between lines; eliminate the redundant for [writing to] me, and hold on to the meaning and beware of verbosity in writing, for the Muslim public treasury does not tolerate loss.²³

Evidently, when an administrator hears about so much carefulness in writing letters, he would no longer give lavish banquets, or ride costly horses, or try to achieve more and more welfare for himself through public assets.

The Imam's personal frugality in spending the public treasury is very amazing, too. He would not even use the lantern belonging to the public treasury in order to respond to those people who came to him at night time for personal purposes. Also in this line is the thought-provoking and instructive story of Talha and Zubayr who went to Ali (a.s.) to discuss their personal problems while he was seeing into public treasury affairs and then he turned off the public light and had another lantern brought in, unwilling to use the light from a lantern belonging to the public treasury for personal purposes even for a few moments.²⁴

Five: Social Policies

In social issues too, Imam Ali (a.s.)'s hukuma is based on firmly founded and normative procedures and positions. The texts recounting the dimensions of his social policies are thought-provoking and noteworthy. According to such material, the Imam's principles of social policies can be recounted as follows:

1. Social Justice

Justice is the most pivotal, the firmest, the most fundamental, and the most comprehensive aspect of 'Alawi politics and rulership. The sacred name of Imam Ali (a.s.) is so intermingled with justice that Ali is associated with justice and justice is associated with Ali. Justice always prevailed the life of Ali (a.s.) who gave up his life as a martyr in the way of establishing justice and spreading equity.

Stressing on this issue is for ascertaining that only a government can claim to have followed the example of Ali (a.s.)'s hukuma and the sira of that noble Imam in a traditionalistic way, whose authorities gives more importance to justice than anything else and spare no efforts in spreading justice and development of equity, not merely in words and speech – which is the top motto of many claimants today – but in

action, manners, and interaction with people from all walks of life. That justice is as rare as elixir. Only a government can claim to be spreading justice that do not sacrifice justice in favor of expedience by means of interpretation and justification.

In 'Alawi system [of hukuma], as well as in the doctrines of that "personified justice", there is no expedient higher than establishing justice. Only the ruling system can claim to be a follower of Ali (a.s.) that, through giving priority to justice over expedients and insisting on implementing it, and despite lobbying and rabble-rousing, aims at holding a permanent rule over the "hearts", rather than a transient rule over "bodies" by preferring baseless expedients.

2. Safeguarding People's Rights

Psychological factors in people's support of governments are as numerous as their intangible needs. One of the most important factors of popular support is the safeguarding of people's rights by governments.

One of the pivotal factors which contribute to the securing of the goodwill of the masses is the way a government views them, whether it regards them as its slaves or as its masters and guardians, whether it considers the people as possessing legitimate rights and itself only as their trustee, agent, and representative. In the first case, whatever service a government may render to people is not more than a kind of the master's care of his beast.

In the second case, every service performed is equivalent to discharging of duty by a right trustee. A state's acknowledgements of the authentic rights of the people and avoidance of any kind of action that implies negation of their right of sovereignty are the primary conditions of securing their confidence and goodwill.²⁵

In a scholarly analysis, Ustad Shahid Mutahari (ra) regards the risky and misleading idea that responsibility before God requires irresponsibility towards masses, that "the right of God" substitutes "the right of masses", and that the right of national sovereignty equals Godlessness, as among the major materialist tendencies in recent centuries:

At the dawn of the modern age there was a movement against religion in Europe, which also affected more or less other regions outside the Christendom.

This movement was inclined towards materialism. When we examine the causes and roots of this movement, we discover that one of them was the inadequacy of the teachings of the Church from the viewpoint of political rights. The Church authorities, and some European philosophers, developed an artificial relationship and association between belief in God on one hand and stripping the people of their political rights by despotic regimes on the other. Naturally, this led to the assumption of some necessary relation between democracy on one hand and atheism on the other. It came to be believed that either we should choose the belief in God and accept the right of sovereignty bestowed by Him upon certain

individuals who have otherwise no superiority over others, or deny the existence of God so as to establish our right as masters of our own political destinies.

From the point of view of religious psychology, one of the causes of decline of the influence of religion was the contradiction between religion and a natural social need, contrived by religious authorities, especially at a time when that need expressed itself strongly at the level of public consciousness. Right at a time when despotism and repression had reached their peak in European political life and the people were thirstily cherishing the ideas of liberty and people's sovereignty, the Church and its supporters made an assertion that the people had only duties and responsibilities towards the state and had no rights. This was sufficient to turn the lovers of liberty and democracy against religion and God in general and the Church in particular.

This mode of thought, in the West as well as in the East, was deeply rooted from ancient times...[26](#)

Based on this hazardous mode of thought, people have no right over the Imam and leader; and wilayat and religious leadership equals taking away people's socio-political rights; and in short, the leaders are masters and the people are the servants! Obviously, the government that is run on this basis lacks popular support, and the leader who has this conviction about people's rights would not enjoy people's consent and support.

The Mutual Rights of People and the leadership

From Imam Ali (a.s.)'s viewpoint not only the right of community's political leader has no contradiction with people's rights within this doctrine, but his right is dependent upon his securing their rights, and the people are bound to obey and protect the leader only if their rights are secured in the system under his rule.

In this respect, Imam Ali (a.s.) has said the following:

So now, Allah has, by placing me over your affairs, created my right over you, and you too have a right over me like mine over you. A right is very vast in description but very narrow in equitability of action. It does not accrue to any person unless it accrues against him also and right does not accrue against a person unless it also accrues in his favor.[27](#)

His holiness has stated the mutual rights of people and the leader in other words as follows:

It is incumbent upon the Imam to rule as per what God has ordained and fulfill what He has trusted with him. Once he does so, it is incumbent on people to accept his words and obey his commands, and respond to him when summoned by him.[28](#)

In this discourse, not only the leader's right is dependent on discharging people's rights, but the right of Imamate, wilayat, and leadership is also considered as a right to be trustworthy about.

Throughout the history, safeguarding people's rights has never passed beyond a mere slogan; rather, it has always been a means of violating people's rights and suppressing Truth-orientedness.

Throughout the history of Islam and after the Holy Prophet's era, Ali (a.s.)'s time was an exception in establishing social justice, expansion of equity, and discharge of people's rights, which was unfortunately deprived of people as a result of the disturbances and rabble rousing; and in effect, his rule was tyrannized. Ali (a.s.) said:

If in the past people complained of the rulers' injustice, today I complain of the injustice of my own people.[29](#)

It so happened that Ali (a.s.) hastened to meet the Beloved, with a heart burdened with sorrows. With his departure, justice also departed and once again there were the hukumas and the oppressed masses, and the violations of human rights!

Now it is up to us to take an example of what came to pass in those days in order to prepare the ground for establishment of social justice.

3. Development of Legitimate and Constructive Freedoms

Freedom is the first step on the way of realization of justice and development of respect for other people's rights; this freedom, however, is to be constructive rather than destructive, i.e., freedom from internal and external bonds and as the Qur'an puts it, deliverance from "heavy burdens":

(He releases them from their heavy burdens and from yokes that are upon them).[30](#)

Messengers of God were heralds of freedom and its advocates. Ali (a.s.) considered the philosophy of prophetic mission (bi'that) as deliverance of human beings from their bonds and taking them to the highest peaks of glory and worship of God:

Allah, the Blessed and the Exalted, raised up Muhammad (S) to deliver His servants from slavery to other slaves, to draw them close to Him... and to direct them away from friendship (wilaya) to others toward friendship to Him.[31](#)

According to the doctrines of 'Alawi school all human beings are free and should never be entrapped into slavery to others and promotion of enslavement. It is evident that what forces them into slavery to superpowers and entraps them into servitude to others in their internal bondage to their own whims and carnal desires.

Those who are internally liberated and have cut off their bondage to whims, and those who have accepted servitude to God and have deemed their status too high to fall prey to obedience to others like themselves, would never give up their independence to embrace slavery. Only such people deserve to be emancipated. As Imam Ali (a.s.) said:

The one who fulfills the requirements of servitude [to God] deserves emancipation.[32](#)

Requirement of servitude includes submission to being a servant of God and acceptance of Divine law, which has no process than real independence, freedom and liberation and evasion from it is tantamount to "enslavement", and "slavery", however appearing as freedom on the surface.

4. Caring about People

To care about people, to value people and respect them in general is a sublime manifestation of social policies of 'Alawi rule. In Imam Ali (a.s.)'s outlook, treatment of people is to be with compassionate and kindness; and rulers must respect people, their perspectives, and their ideals. The ruling statesmen often try to satisfy the "nobles" and the affectedly powerful, and in other words, the elite in the politics arena, even though to the dissatisfaction of the common people.

Contrary to this policy, Imam Ali (a.s.) has stated:

Truly, the discontent of the common people invalidates the content of favorites, and the discontent of favorites is pardoned at (the achievement of) the content of masses.

Imam Ali (a.s.) recommended the administrators to be kind to people and hold direct contacts with them, have personal meetings with them, and be informed of their problems. The Imam would say: "People have mostly suffered hardships, taken pains, and been oppressed. So, if they ever find a chance to express their sufferings and pains, they may speak coarsely." He would, therefore, advise his administrators to put up with people's rough language, and occasional ill-temper, bitterness, and unseemly reactions; never to get angry at them; to treat them with a smiling face and nice words; and if they found out blunders committed secretly and away from public's eyes by them, not to make any enquiries about them.

Imam Ali (a.s.) tried to maintain people's relation to the state as candid, transparent, and unambiguous. Hence, he would enjoin administrators to try honestly to remove the grounds for people's suspicion toward the state, and if some rabble-rousers would by chantage accuse the administrators of violating people's rights, they should try to elucidate the reasons for their actions, with honesty, face-to-face encounters, and clear explanations, and never leave any doubts about the state's affairs in people's minds. This, in reality, is an indication of people's value and significance in Imam Ali (a.s.)'s view.

5. Protection of the Oppressed

Imam Ali (a.s.) viewed taking vengeance on the oppressors on behalf of the oppressed as "Divine covenant". So, he stressed on helping the oppressed and insisted on fighting against the oppressors. Helping the oppressed and fighting the oppressors were among the last precepts bequeathed to Imam Hasan (a.s.) and Imam Husayn (a.s.), and to all those who would hear the Imam's testament throughout the history.

Imam Ali (a.s.) took advantage of any chance to promote the culture of fighting against oppression and protecting the oppressed and sought help from people to carry out social reforms, and to make social relations and associations.

He would say:

O People! Support me despite your heart's desire. By Allah, I will take revenge for the oppressed from the oppressor and will put string in the nose of the oppressor.[33](#)

Stories of practical support of the oppressed by that paradigm of justice are very readable, and are very instructive for those who claim to be followers of that noble figure.

6. Setting up a Complaints Box (Bayt al-Qisas)

The leader of the fighters against oppression, who attempted to support the oppressed by any means and to take vengeance on their behalf, certainly would spare no efforts in this way to see into the complaints of the oppressed.

How should the oppressed have their complaints heard by the rulers? Obviously, most often the subordinates are not able to get near the ruling system, let alone to bring up a case or raise a complaint. Many a time it has happened that when the complaint of an oppressed person been expressed it has been responded reversely, i.e., the one who should have been reprimanded, has been promoted and turned into a complainant against the person who had complained about him.

In order to remove such difficulties and solve the problem of directly expressing the complaints and pleading for justice as far as possible, Imam Ali (a.s.) set up a station called "bayt al-qisas" (complaints box) so that the people, the oppressed, and every one who had a problem and was unable to bring it up, could write his complaint and place it there to inform Ali (a.s.) about it. The Imam himself called out among the people that anyone who had a case to bring up and did not want any body else know about it in order to be immune from being identified, should write down his inquiry and drop it in the complaints box. This seems to be the first step in history toward connecting people to the ruling body.

7. Attempts in Creating Empathy and Solidarity in the Society

The leader is the link between current trends in the community; and the leadership, is the pivot of endeavors, movements, and cheerfulness. Existence of various ideas, tendencies, and trends in a society is natural and the concept of integrity in ideas and ideals in all strata and levels of society is totally erroneous and unreal. Thus, various trends, groups, and possessors of different ideas must seek for integrating ways to rescue the society from disunity; and while approving of multiplicity of ideas try to hold on to convergence in sublime ideals. The leadership plays the most significant role in this respect. Ali (a.s.) strongly emphasized the necessity of integration and empathy in society.

That noble figure considered solidarity as guaranteeing the survival of states, and differences as causing the fall of the states, thus strongly emphasized the former. Parts of the "Sermon of Disparagement" (Khutba al-Qasi'a) are regarded as among the instructive and awakening doctrines of 'Alawi hukuma. He would himself do his best in this direction to realize the roots of differences and how to achieve solidarity and empathy, and would overlook his inalienable rights so as the community would not burn in the fire of differences. He would say:

Remember that no person is more covetous than I for the unity of the followers of Muhammad (S) and their solidarity.³⁴

The Imam stressed on the "unity of word", and regarded empathy and détente as necessary to the extent that he obliged his judiciary to avoid enforcing a ruling if it might disturb the solidarity of the community and thus prevent inciting disunity. The Imam had frequently warned that if the faithful disunited and gave up unity and solidarity, the falsehood would definitely dominate over them.

Six: Judiciary Policies

Judgment is the main pillar of ruling systems. Sound and lawful judgment play the greatest role in safeguarding a society's well-being and firmness of the community. Doctrines of Ali (a.s.)'s hukuma indicate that his holiness has been particularly attentive to the judiciary. Accounts given as to how Ali (a.s.) made judgments as well as his recommendations and emphasis in this respect are numerous and thought-provoking. What is brought up here in this volume can also be very enlightening for the judges and judiciary officials.

The principles of Imam Ali (a.s.)'s policies for judgment are enumerated as follows.

1. Appointment of the Best Judges for Juridical Posts

A judge is, undoubtedly, the main component of judgment and plays the most significant role in the judiciary establishment and in restoring people's rights and battle against oppressions and abnormalities. In judicial practice, the more steadfast, pure, and morally clean, and the stronger and the more unbending in action a judge is, the more efficient, organized, and well-founded his judgment will be.

Thus, Ali (a.s.) would enjoin Malik to select the best judges for judgment; the ones who would neither put the people under pressure nor to be obstinate in their judgment, nor easily fall into blunders; who are intelligent and deeply insightful and would not fall prey to misconceptions; who are patient, forbearing so as not to be affected by conflicting turmoil and chantage.

2. Providing for financial Needs of the Judges

Life events and needs can neither be forgotten nor passed by negligently. Even if some people are ascetic and abandon the world, it should be noted that if they take the responsibility of running a

household, they will encounter some worldly demands in their lives. Natural needs of one's family are neither forgettable nor are to be neglected. It is in this respect that Imam Ali (a.s.) advises Malik al-Ashtar to select the best judges for practicing judgment, and to provide the best and the most suitable livelihood for them so that the judge never in his judgment look to other people for worldly gains and fulfillment of his needs by being seduced into corruption as a person who himself must safeguard the society against corruption.

3. Job security for the Judges

The judge passes a judgment and obviously offends some by his decisive judgment. There are very few people who would submit to a verdict against them and not to have commotion inside. Also, it is evident that the violators and lawbreakers are not always from among the lower class of society, nor do the clashes and conflicts always take place from among them; rather, it can be said that the upper class both commit most of law breaking and most conflicts do happen among them, as it is them who exert influence and are involved in political arena and current trends. If the judge does not feel at ease while judging these people and does not see the judiciary and legal as supporting and backing him, he might falter while passing a judgment and back down in restoring rights.

In 'Alawi [ruling] system, the qualified judges enjoy a lofty status. In his distinguished instructions to Malik al-Ashtar after advising him to select the best judges for judgment, Imam Ali (a.s.) enjoins him to station the judges near himself in such high position that nobody, even his own close associates would not harbor any slanders against them in his presence. It is worth deliberating that then he draws attention to the evildoing of the ill-natured to show that the sensualists very often misuse their affinity to him [as a governor] against the judges to reap worldly gains and escape punishment.

4. Observance of Judgment Rules

The judge occupies a highly distinguished position and his duty is restoring rights and steadfast judgment. He does not stand on one side of a lawsuit and his words are clear proof for the disputes. He has to observe the rules of judgment with care. Imam Ali (a.s.)'s teaching in this respect is highly admonishing.

His holiness would warn the judges against discriminating among the clients, enjoining them not to be suspicious of either of the litigants, not to offend them with tough language and authoritarian speech, not to make decisions when angry, to lay aside avarice and not to speak out of whimsy, to maintain their dignity in the court sessions and not to underestimate the tribunal, to treat the clients kindly and equally, and not to behave in a way that the inferiors become disappointed of justly achieving their rights. His holiness discharged one of his companions from his judgment post, when asked for the reason, the Imam replied as follows:

I saw that your words were uttered louder than those of the claimant.[35](#)

5. Close Supervision over the Judges' Function

Judges are the upholders of the society's well-being and the judiciary is in charge of its security. The society's well-being is, more than anything else, dependent upon the judiciary's soundness. Thus, as the Wali al-'Amr of the Muslims, Ali (a.s.) regarded himself as responsible for the judiciary's function and did not content himself with admonishing and preaching for the judges and merely warning them; rather, he would personally supervise their function and sometimes even would see into the way they issued their verdicts.

Due to the great role of judiciary in the society's well-being and correction of social problems, he would take any possible chance – despite his heavy responsibilities and numerous tasks – to call on the "Dakkat al-Qada" (Platform of Judgment) in person and would practice judgment himself so as to present a right pattern for judgment to the people and the judges.

6. Integrated Judicial Procedures

Among the things that Amir al-Mu'minin (a.s.) would emphasize was the consistency of judgments, or in other words, "integration of procedures" in judgments. If people notice that the judges make different judgments in similar cases, their prompt reaction would undoubtedly be mistrust in the judiciary and unbelief in the legitimacy of the judgments.

The Imam insisted that difference in judgments would disrupt the establishment of justice and create disunity in the society. He enjoins the judges to discuss and consult with each other concerning the things they disagree to achieve a consensus, or else take the issue to the leader and submit to his verdict. This means that it is in fact the responsibility of the leader to create integration of procedure in judgment.

7. Equality of all People before the Law

Imam Ali (a.s.) stressed on the equality of all people in execution of judgments. In 'Alawi system [of hukuma], all people are equal before the law and, the judiciary enjoys such high status and firm station that it can execute the law for all people who must submit to the verdicts of the judges and the judiciary irrespective of their social status.

In his doctrines, the Imam stressed on this equality and, despite his magnificence, majesty, and lofty status in knowledge and practice, he would humbly stand before his state judiciary and answer to the questions of his own appointed judges; hence indicating the importance of the judiciary and safeguarding the station of judgment as well as practically protecting people's rights so as to set an example both for the public and for the future [generations].

8. The Status of an Islamic State's Expedience in Issuing Verdicts

We said before that Imam Ali (a.s.) never sacrificed Truth for expedience, and did not take a position by relying on specific interests; but he was a leader, people's leader and a protector of a state at people's service. Hence, he placed the highest value and significance on the most superior expedience that was the protection of the state – which was for the people and at their service.

The Imam admits that in judgments the state's interests should be taken into consideration. In the 'Alawi hukuma in which nothing can hinder the execution of the genuine Islamic law in the judiciary, the state's interests have a special status in execution of ordinances. In one case due to certain social, cultural, and political circumstances, and people's specific impression from Divine law, the Imam identifies judgment based on genuinely set Islamic rules as disuniting and its execution as detrimental to the foundation of the hukuma, hence not permitting judgment to be made in order to prevent the society from falling prey to disunity. That's why he ordered Shurayh:

Make judgments as you did before, so that people's affairs are set to rights.

Seven: Security Policies

An insecure and anarchistic society is more like a lawless and chaotic jungle than a human community. In Imam Ali (a.s.)'s view, a society devoid of peace and security is the worst of lands. The Imam regards the restoration of peace and security to the society as among the most important reasons for his acceptance of hukuma. Therefore, that noble figure was highly concerned with security. His principles and procedures for security policies, and his attempts in maintaining security are listed as follows:

1. Establishing an Efficient Intelligence System

Although in Imam Ali (a.s.)'s sira no reference is made to an establishment entitled "intelligence system", there are various and dispersed texts concerning intelligence missions, and the measures taken by his holiness in his ruling days on the basis of reports gathered secretly that all in all suggest that the Imam's government enjoyed an efficient and scrupulous establishment.

Secret investigation and collection of various reports in relation to internal security, military information, and the function of the administrators were the major responsibility of this establishment. Regrettably, there is nothing in hand of the details regarding the above-mentioned organizations; but through the outcomes of Imam's decisions and the way he made them, its existence can be approved. This establishment can be regarded as one or more intelligence systems.

2. Détente

Paying attention to the changes in thoughts and positions of the enemies was among valuable Alawi doctrines. The antagonism of many enemies was rooted in their unawareness of the stances and their

being uniformed about the methods and the reasons of those stances. The Imam insisted that attempts had to be made on the correction of thoughts, hence the change of positions of the opponents; and in his holiness' own words *istislah al-'a'da'* and *istislah al-'addad* (finding good in the enemies and finding good in the opponents) must be carried out as a procedure in the policies of the government.

The Imam views as utmost deep-sightedness and far-sightedness the attraction of the enemies and rectifying and strengthening their positions, and stresses that it is much easier to transform the enemy's ideas and stances by means of good speech and nice treatment than by drawing the enemy to the battlefield, as the former approach will be effective in *istislah* and compelling the evil-doing enemies to do good. All this implies that the Imam had pursued the policy of *détente* towards transforming the enemy into a friend and deliberate compromise with the enemy, emphasizing on *détente* as an effective means of establishing internal security.

3. Vigilance and timeliness

Besides stressing on *détente* policy and moving toward a peaceful life and compromise with the enemy, Imam Ali (a.s.) also emphasized on alertness and prudence in the face of the enemy. He insisted that the believers must not underestimate the enemy and be especially alert before those who do not openly express their enmity and do not fail to be prepared to encounter any unprecedented event at the right time, knowing that if they ever sink into oblivion the enemy will never remain ignorant.

4. Avoidance of Terrorization and Spread of Horror

In his government, Imam Ali (a.s.) never resorted to terrorization and spread of horror against the violators and opponents. His holiness would not employ the policy of terror, horror, and the illicit harsh actions against the violators of security, either. He never encountered people on the bases of suspicion and probability and never punished the accused or the suspects charged with actions against security.

5. Adherence to law in Dealing with Criminals

Imam Ali (a.s.)'s system of *hkuma* relied on law and in all aspects it was law rather than a person's will that ruled. Thus, he strongly emphasized on adherence to law and on law-centering in his doctrines. That was why not only the torture of the accused and the suspects of criminal actions was forbidden in his ruling system but also the criminals were never tortured or even offended; and if anyone was proved as guilty, they would be punished only according to the law.

If the executor of the law deliberately or unintentionally violated the law in enforcing a verdict, he would be punished as retaliation (*qisas*). So, when Ali (a.s.) found out that Qanbar had given three extra lashes when whipping a criminal, he gave him three lashes in return as *qisas*.^{[36](#)}

6. Tolerance towards Political Dissidents

The Imam never treated the political dissidents with harshness, either. Tolerance in 'Alawi diplomacy was an inviolable principle. This tolerance would go as far as prompting the opponent's plotting. Ali (a.s.) contended that tolerance with the opponents would cut down their vehemence and divert them from chantage and "stage managing".

That was why the Imam did not confront the Kharijites, tolerated their invectives, and didn't even cut off their stipend from the public treasury, until they committed murder and jeopardized the security of the society. His confrontation with the plotters against internal security was proportionate to the extent of their intrigue and their role in the plotting. Sometimes he would exile them, and at other times he would incarcerate them, and finally when other alternatives did not work, he would resolve the problem by military intervention.

Eight: Military Policies

Imam Ali (a.s.) was a gallant and dauntless warrior. His challenges in battlefields and his superiority in combats are historically well-known. Furthermore, he was a keen-sighted, sagacious, and prudent warlord.

It is very regretful that Imam Ali (a.s.)'s rule, short-lived as it was, was thoroughly spent in internal battles against the intriguers. His sira in these battles, however, was replete with dignity in warfare and very instructive and enlightening. Imam Ali (a.s.)'s policies in warfare can be enumerated as follows:

1. Attempts in Martial Training and Arrangement of Troops

We said that Imam Ali (a.s.) was the most gallant warrior in the battlefield. Having spent a whole lifetime in the arenas of holy war (jihad), he doubtlessly possessed the most efficient and the greatest number of relevant experiences. Furthermore, he was matchless in his dauntlessness and gallantry, and young in the heart as well as in his knowledge of various tactics of warfare. The Imam trained his troops in person and prior to any battle he would reiterate the major points of his training while arranging the troops and arraying the combatants. When the ambushes by Mu'awiya mounted up and the opponents accused him of lacking knowledge in war tactics, the Imam said the following as complaining of some of his companions:

By disobedience and lassitude, you ruined my reputation to the extent that the Qurayshis say that the son of Abu Talib is brave but is lacking in war knowledge. May God reward their fathers! Which one of them has been in battlefields more than I have been, and experienced fighting and the battlegrounds more than I did? I was still in my teens when I stepped into the arena, and now I am over sixty; however, the one who is not obeyed, would not have command of the situation.[37](#)

In his military training of the troops, Ali (a.s.) was not negligent of even the smallest details such as: the troops should not part from their weapons; should make the most of the right chances to launch attacks on the enemy; should not stare into the enemy's eyes; the multitude of the enemy forces should not cast fear in your hearts; and instructed them what to do and how to withdraw tactically once defeated in war, etc.

2. Formation of Special Forces

The forces, however on a single battleground and with a common intention, may be varying in morale, the level of knowledge, and the extent of ability and self-sacrifice. The confrontation scenes are also varying, with each scene demanding appropriate and competent fighters and warriors. Accordingly, one of the most outstanding features in Imam Ali (a.s.)'s military policies is the formation of special troops which the Imam called Shurtat al-Khamis (the Special Forces).[38](#)

Imam Ali (a.s.)'s most efficient, self-sacrificed and most accomplished warriors were recruited for the Special Forces. This unit was astonishingly competent, and the Imam employed them for special purposes and in specific arenas. In a sermon, Imam Ali (a.s.) addressed them as follows:

You are the helpers of the Truth, my brothers in faith, shields against tribulations and hardships of the time, and confidants apart from other people. With your help, I will beat the ones who turn their back, and I am hopeful of the obedience of the proponents. So, help me with benevolence devoid of fraud and free from suspicion, as I swear to God that I am fitter (worthier) for people than themselves.

The Special Forces, in modern terms, were the wise and proficient "fundamentalists" and "hizbullahis" (members of Allah's party) by the side of the Imam who both timely criticized and expressed their viewpoints about his policies, and remained loyal to him in the most distressing situations of his rule.

They seemed to be called "Shurtat al-Khamis" because of their special insignia or due to their being in the Imam's presence through a special treaty.[39](#)

Asbagh b. Nabata was asked: "O Asbagh! How were you named Shurtat al-Khamis? He replied: "We guaranteed our self-sacrifice for him, and he guaranteed victory for us."[40](#)

3. Enhancement of the Troops' Morale

Spiritual forces and mental power undoubtedly play a decisive and astonishing role in movements and creation of valorous scenes. Therefore, the Imam greatly stressed the importance of the mental power, spiritual capability, and chivalrous spirit of his combat forces, trying through any possible way to strengthen the armed forces' morale in confrontation with the enemy, and to enhance their steadfastness before the enemy through uplifting their sense of chivalry. The Imam's speeches in this respect are highly thought-provoking and readable.

The Imam's fiery speeches, exciting words, inspiring sermons, and stimulating slogans, as well as his attractive descriptions of the end of life, explanation of the combatants' final station after life, all were intended to provide and spread such states of mind.

Once having organized the combat forces, the Imam would envisage with such eloquence and elegance the transience and undesirability of the worldly life in contrast to the excellence and everlastingness of the Hereafter, that sometimes the impact would be left on the troops for so long a time. That was why for many of them their lives were intermixed with enthusiasm, self-sacrifice, valor, bravery; and their actions were intermixed with their steadfastness, invincibility, and daring confrontation with the enemy.

Creation of a spirit of "martyrdom seeking" in Imam Ali (a.s.)'s companions was undoubtedly the outcome of his holiness' lofty sermons and doctrines.

Inculcation was among Imam Ali (a.s.)'s worthwhile tactics in battle that he would employ to strengthen the spiritual forces of his Mujahids (holy warriors). Concerning his own experience, the Imam said to his son, Muhammad b. Hanafiya:

I did not confront anyone [in war], except that I inculcated his killing in my mind; so, do inculcate victory over them with the succor from Allah.[41](#)

On the other hand, the Imam demonstrates that inculcation of weakness, apprehension, and the enemies' power is among the causes of disarrangement of the battle array and being defeated by the enemy. Once the Imam was asked:

How did you win victory over the fighters?

He replied:

I did not meet [confront] anyone except that he helped me win victory over himself.[42](#)

Ali (a.s.)'s explicit delineation of the ominous worldly and other-worldly outcome of shunning the fight with the enemy and fleeing from the battlefield was another tactic by Imam Ali (a.s.) for strengthening the spiritual power of the mujahids.

Besides what was said, the Imam also insisted that the warlords never disclose whatever of the current situation lest it would leave a bad impact on the morale of the combatants. In the thick of the battle of Siffin and amid the direst states of war, the Imam outlined the perspective and outcome of the engagement for one of his warlords and explained how the upcoming confrontation would be strenuous and would inflict heavy losses on the forces, but at the same time stressing to keep this fact as a secret and not to let it reach the troops.

4. Employing Deceitful Tactics in Battles

For achieving victory, the Imam would try all the rational tactics. Never having appealed to "deceit and fraud" in his statesmanship diplomacy and never having used it in his managerial approaches, as mentioned before, he utilized it in his battles and emphasized in this respect:

In a battle, do rely on your deceits more than on your power.

And this is one difference between the 'Alawi and Umayyad diplomacy.

The Imam's teachings and the relevant objective examples indicate that "deception" in warfare policies is a rational option to achieve victory and as far as possible to avoid resorting to irrational actions. 'Ubayy b. Hatam is quoted as saying that amid the clashes of the battle of Siffin, Imam Ali (a.s.) said with such a loud voice for his companions to hear:

I swear by God that I will kill Mu'awiya and his companions.

Then he said with a low voice:

If God wills!

The narrator said, "I asked: O Amir al-Mu'minin! You swore and then made an exception, why is that?"

The Imam replied:

War is deception.

The Imam employed the same tactic when confronting 'Amr b. 'Abdawud and managed to kill him with the chance he got by means of this tactic.

Thus, the Imam's utilization of deception is in line with the human values and dignities and is, on the other hand, an efficient and accurate tactic in warfare.

5. Ethics of War

In 'Alawi culture, war is intended to defend the entity of the school and for the purpose of fending off tyranny, eliminating oppression, and removing the difficulties away from the way of rulership. "Wielding a sword for the sake of the Truth", he would not neglect the moral principles and human basics even amid the direst moments of war. Taking a glance at such warfare temperament and battleground moral codes in 'Alawi sira, would be instructive and enlightening. Some topics in this respect are as follows:

A. Never Initiating a War

The Imam never initiated a war; and would never draw his sword and also would enjoin his companions not to ever initiate a war unless the enemy stubbornly blocked the way for peaceful and face-to-face

negotiation. As a matter of fact this policy of the Imam is a confirmation of pacifism of the 'Alawi approach to Islam, of human values, and of opposition to belligerency.

The Imam always practiced this policy emphatically. Jundub Azdi said:

Whenever in the company of Ali (a.s.) we encountered the enemy, he would order us: "Do not fight them until they start; because you are, thanks God, possessed of hujja (proof), and letting them initiate the battle is another proof of yours."⁴³

Thus, he would show that in his culture the principle is peace and quiet, rather than belligerence and warmongering.

That was why the Imam ordered his combat forces not to initiate the war and if it was launched by the enemy and then they won the war by the help of God, they must not kill the fugitive nor assault the wounded, and must not denude or dismember the corpses either, and so forth. This shows, in Ali's war profile, that warfare in his highness' policies is an exception and the rule is stressing on human values and their development.

B. Not Calling to War

Ali (a.s.) insisted on his troops' gallantry, steadfastness, dominance in the battlefield, enthusiasm, and being hard on the enemy, and prepared them by all means for the battle; he would enjoin them, however, never to challenge the enemy to fight, since it was a way of creating terror and panic. Actually, this too was part of the policy of opposition to belligerency. The Imam only instructed that if the enemy took up the challenge and asked for a rival in fight, you proceed to fight in order to stop the enemy's obstinacy.

C. Diplomatic Immunity of the Enemy's Envoys

Islam is a global religion and its doctrines are universal and time-embracing, hence inclusive of international and world policies. In Islam, political envoys of foreign countries enjoy diplomatic immunity in military and political confrontations (even though in the thick of the war). Ali (a.s.) had instructed this noble doctrine to the troops and wanted them to take this policy seriously, and even if some people claimed to be carrying a message from the enemy, do not confront them without first verifying the matter through sufficient inquiries.

D. Raising an Argument before Starting the War

We said that war in Imam Ali (a.s.)'s view is a means of removing the barriers to the development of truth and guidance of human beings. Thus he never failed to enlighten enemy and to take any possible chance to guide them. He would even attempt to guide the enemy amidst the battleground and in the thick of the war, frequently raising arguments to avert the war. Anyway, in 'Alawi sira, a war would not be waged unless when necessary.

E. Supplication at the Time of war

In 'Alawi sira, spiritual dimensions and development of spirituality in human beings and human society is precedent to anything else. The Imam did not forget to create and develop such a spirit even in the thick of the war. When troops were lined up and prepared to assault, he would start to speak; trying to put out the fire of war with his illuminating words; but of no avail, and obstinacy of the enemy would render the war inevitable.

At the time of war the Imam would engage in supplication and worship of God; would restore the remembrance of God in the hearts; with his mystical whispers he would make the atmosphere of his army fragrant; and would seek God's assistance. Thus, his jihad and fighting was a prelude to his love of God and a stepping stone to his approaching to God, as well as a step in the direction of actualizing Divine ideals and human values. The content of the Imam's supplications and the theme of his invocations clearly prove what was said and are very thought-provoking.

F. Starting the War in the Afternoon

The Imam would try by any arrangement and provision that the war might inflict the least damage and as far as possible the least human loss, if fighting would become inevitable. Thus, the Imam would try to get the war started in the afternoon so that by falling of the night the fighting would wind up and consequently there would be less bloodshed, the fighters would withdraw earlier, and the fugitives from the battleground could run away.

G. Fair Treatment of the Enemy's Troops Left behind

When the battle would subside, Imam Ali (a.s.) would command that the defeated troops, the wounded, the captives, and the leftover of the enemy's army, particularly the women, be given the best of treatment. As we said before, the Imam would order not to chase the fugitives, not to kill the wounded, not to invade people's houses, not to take any of the spoils, never to molest the women even if they insulted the troops and their commanders.

Nine: International Policies

Whatever said so far was a glance at 'Alawi policies in various aspects of governing a state.

Now, we intend to recount some aspects of Imam Ali (a.s.)'s universal policies. We have selected guidelines from among the Imam's universal policies that would be fruitful and efficient for governing a state in every place and in any culture.

The guidelines listed below and the relevant material in the main part of the book include political, social, cultural, and governmental guidelines which human natural disposition (fitra) and common sense confirm their firmness and efficiency; and historical experience is a true witness to their soundness and merit.

Anyone with any conviction can, by referring to the conscience and the history, simply perceive these facts and confirm their efficacy in governing a state. In chapter ten of the present book, these guidelines and principles are divided into three categories as follows:

1. Policies Perpetuating Governments

Imam Ali (a.s.) has regarded certain policies necessary for the survival of governments. We can find out, by taking a glance at 'Alawi doctrines and sira, that the Imam considers as necessary the spread of equity, social justice, development of righteousness and discretion in administering people's affairs, treating them fairly and respectfully, alertness to political trends and safeguarding them, independence, might, and whatever related to people's individual and social rights. He deems them necessary for steadfastness and perpetuity of government. The Imam's interpretation of justice is very interesting and thought-provoking.

Ali (a.s.) has identified justice with a citadel, a shield, a firmly set foundation, and a binding string, and considered the execution of justice as the best and the most efficient policy in ruling and defined it as "the adornment of politics", affirming that it is with justice that the ruler captures the hearts and attracts Divine Mercy. He is also quoted as saying that once the rules are based on the foundations of justice and rested on the pillars of wisdom, Allah would help its proponents and smash its opponents. In addition to promotion of justice, the Imam has regarded discreet administration as necessary for establishment and perpetuity of governments, benevolence as the beauty of power, and alertness and wakefulness as indications of astuteness and decent governance.

2. Policies Causing Decline of Governments

Imam Ali (a.s.) has considered some policies as destructive and undermining. Such policies, even though effective for a short while and keeping up the government for a while longer, would eventually lead to fall and destruction. What has been deemed by Imam Ali (a.s.)'s doctrines as undermining and ruinous are: violation of people's rights; unjust bloodshed; mismanagement in handling current affairs; selfishness and appropriation; giving priority to governors, heads of government, and their cronies over others; heedlessness toward fundamental measures and tasks and dealing with trivial, fruitless, and unimportant affairs; assigning inefficient people to critical posts; and failing to employ competent individuals.

The Imam asserts that oppression and injustice, under any rubric and in any form, will cause decline [of the state]; and if injustice is allowed in a society, it will consequently lead to drawing swords and the state's authority and dignity will be marred. That is why he views oppression as the worst of policies and asserts that injustice and tyranny makes the steps unstable, the blessings transformed, and the communities and states ruined.

In his instructions to Malik al-Ashtar, Ali (a.s.) writes: Never practice bloodshed when dealing with the

heterodox, as shedding unlawful blood causes blessing. Never will sovereignty set firm by bloodshed, rather, it will enfeeble and lower its authority.

He asserts that if a government is inflicted with mismanagement and does not enjoy wise and scrupulous policies, it will start to decline and will consequently topple. The state provides the best facilities for the ruler and his dominance, and instead of self-sacrifice (ithar), proceeds with selfishness and attraction of possibilities for the ruler and his cronies (isti'thar), will definitely be bound to decline. The Imam said: The rulers who deal with trivial, baseless, and transient issues instead of proceeding with fundamental tasks, basic policies, and principal planning, will slide down to decline. Those who put aside the high tasks and excellences, and deal with mean and petty work, will lead the government to decline. Pondering on such teaching of the Imam would be so necessary and helpful for the governors, officials, and heads of states.

3. Efficient International Policies

In addition to what was said, the Imam adopted certain policies and introduced ways of interaction for the governors to take into consideration when interacting with other states, nations, and countries. The following facts and policies can be extracted from among the Imam's highly valuable words and by pondering on his lifestyle (sira):

Respecting the rights of human beings regardless of their ideas and way of thinking, and maintaining human rights for them; practicing respect-orientedness in dealing with others, and avoiding any disrespectful and belittling relation or association with governments and nations and never submitting to derogation; stressing on détente in encounters with governments, and moving toward development of genuine peace and peaceful life combined with esteem; prevention of arousing enmity; making attempts in correction of the enemy's ideas and conducts (istislah al-'aduw); remaining loyal to various treaties, and being trustworthy in fulfillment of people's rights; benefiting from other people's knowledge and expertise and exploiting human knowledge trends in the field of culture, yet stressing on the policy of cultural independence; warning against being absorbed in polytheistic and corrupt cultures; and finally, searching into cultures and pick out the best in them, etc.

Furthermore, there have been certain facts expressed in various sayings of Ali (a.s.) that are very illuminating in respect to international relationships. Such tenets have been presented in the "miscellaneous" section at the end of the present volume.

Summing up Imam Ali (a.s.)'s Policies

What we said so far consists of a brief glance at the content of the chapters compiled for explaining Imam Ali (a.s.)'s various policies. Deliberation on what was brought up would reveal that politics in Imam Ali (a.s.)'s view is an instrument for ruling on the basis of human rights and people's real needs, rather than for the dominance of the bullies and violators of people's rights.

From what we said, we can now respond, with a general outlook and accurate summing up, to the questions and criticisms made concerning Imam Ali (a.s.)'s policies, analyze the hows and whys of what is stated about his statesmanship, and discuss their consistency and inconsistency.

- [1.](#) See The Encyclopedia of Amir al-Mu'minin, III, 157 (Causes for Uprising against 'Uthman).
- [2.](#) See 2/4, hadith 73.
- [3.](#) Da'a'im al-Islam: 1/71. Friendship in the Qur'an and hadith: 259.
- [4.](#) Nahj al-Balagha, Sermon 198.
- [5.](#) Wilayat al-Faqih, pp. 192 – 3.
- [6.](#) See 3/3, hadith 89.
- [7.](#) See 3/5, hadith 102.
- [8.](#) See Nahj al-Balagha, letter 53.
- [9.](#) See Science and wisdom in the Qur'an and hadith, 1/30.
- [10.](#) Ibid. For more information of the texts denoting the precedence of cultural development over economic development, see chapter two of part one of the book.
- [11.](#) Ghurar al-Hikam: 3590.
- [12.](#) Ibid: 3835.
- [13.](#) See Nahj al-Balagha, Sermons 182.
- [14.](#) Nahj al-Balagha, Sermon 2.
- [15.](#) See 4/5, hadith 164.
- [16.](#) Ibid.
- [17.](#) See, Leadership in Islam, M. Muhammadi Rayshahri, pp. 391–418.
- [18.](#) See 5/8, hadith 208.
- [19.](#) See 5/11, hadith 247.
- [20.](#) See 5/11, hadith 249.
- [21.](#) See 5/14, hadith 262.
- [22.](#) See 5/14, hadith 262.
- [23.](#) See 5/16, hadith 282.
- [24.](#) 5/16, hadith 283.
- [25.](#) Shahid Murtadha Mutahhari, Sayri dar Nahjul Balagha, (Glimpses of Nahj al-Balagha), p. 118.
- [26.](#) Ibid. p. 119.
- [27.](#) See, 6/2, hadith 305.
- [28.](#) Kanz al-'Ummal: 5/764/14313.
- [29.](#) See, The Encyclopedia of Amir al-Mu'minin, IX, 474 – 75, ahadith 4748 & 4749.
- [30.](#) Al-Qur'an, 7:157.
- [31.](#) See 6/3 hadith 308.
- [32.](#) See 6/3, hadith 310.
- [33.](#) See 5/11, hadith 349.
- [34.](#) See 6/14, hadith 360.
- [35.](#) See 8/4, hadith 421.
- [36.](#) See 7/10, hadith 394.
- [37.](#) Nahj al-Balagha, Sermon 27. Also, see The Encyclopedia of Amir al-Mu'minin, VII, 21.
- [38.](#) See 9/2, (Forming Special Forces).
- [39.](#) Al-Nihaya, II, 460.
- [40.](#) Majama' al-Bahirayn, II, 942.
- [41.](#) See 9/4, hadith 499.
- [42.](#) Nahj al-Balagha, Aphorism 318.
- [43.](#) See 9/6, hadith 511.

Overall Defense of Imam Ali's Statesmanship

Ali (a.s.) took over the caliphate due to the public demand and insistence, and with his martyrdom on Ramadan 21, 40 / January 28, 661 his caliphate came to an end. People had been accustomed to the rulership of the three caliphs for 25 years during which such policies had been carried out and such procedures in government had been taken that the Imam did not regard many of them as well-founded; for him changing people's disposition was as difficult as "returning upstream the water which has run down-stream", and in some cases even impossible.

Thus, he accepted the caliphate with extreme reservedness and prudence and only after frequently refusing it – so that nobody would even imagine that he coveted the rule. From the very beginning, however, he both explicitly stated his future plans and enumerated the hardships of the way.

Parts of Imam Ali (a.s.)'s policies and some of his political positions have since long been brought up in discussions and incited criticisms and critiques. Those who took politics as tools of power and aimed at dominance over people from a governmental position have not tolerated some of Imam's political stances. After all, it should be known that Ali (a.s.) had accepted the hukuma in order to administer justice, and adopted politics as tools for government on the basis of human rights and fulfillment of rightful human needs.

Looking at his rule and authority from this angle and evaluating it by this criterion, we will see that what the Imam has done has been precisely in line with his lofty goals, well-founded, and scrupulously organized.

But those who do not look from this angle, do not accept the Imam's position in the electoral council of 'Umar for appointing the caliph and regard insistence on deposal of Mu'awiya at the beginning of his rule when the foundations of his sovereignty was not yet firmly set as far from diplomatic mannerism and say that Ali (a.s.) was a brave and fearless warrior but not a political ruler!

They say if Ali (a.s.) were a man of diplomacy, why, in the electoral council appointed by 'Umar to assign a caliph after him, he didn't accept the proposal of 'Abdul Rahman to swear allegiance to him on the condition that he acted according to the sira of Abu Bakr and 'Umar? It was diplomatic in case he would accept the condition but after establishment of his government, he would act in his own way and would follow his own path. Did 'Uthman, who accepted the condition, follow their steps?!

If the Imam acted diplomatically, he shouldn't have treated the opposition, especially Talha and Zubayr who were plausible figures and Mu'awiya who was influential in Sham (Syria), the way he did. He should have compromised for the moment and fulfilled their demands but after the establishment of his rule, he should have begun to extirpate them. But he didn't do so, and there were many similar occasions in his political life that Ali (a.s.) avoided diplomatic contrivances. The Imam's insistence on moral and Islamic

values created problems in establishment of his authority and dominance, and made him encounter serious hardships. Before everything else, we refer now to the words of Ibn Abi al-Hadid in this respect:

Know that a group of those who do not realize Amir al-Mu'minin's superiority, regard 'Umar as more diplomatic than him, although they view him as more knowledgeable than 'Umar.[1](#)

Ibn Abi al-Hadid goes on to say:

In his Al-Shifa', Ibn Sina has confirmed this, and our master had a liking toward this (subject) and dealt with it in his Al-Ghurar. Also his enemies and opponents presume that Mu'awiya is more diplomatic and his management is more proper than Ali (a.s.)'s.[2](#)

What follows here for the sake of brevity, is a general response to all criticisms made about Imam Ali (a.s.)'s policies. However, detailed responses are presented in reply to individual questions in the following chapters.

The most important point in response to this issue is the emphasis on the way in which politics and government is looked upon. If politics is viewed as a means of ruling over hearts, or interpreted as ruling on the basis of people's rights and real needs of society, and if we look at Ali (a.s.)'s stances from such perspective, then we will realize that Imam Ali (a.s.) is the greatest statesman in history second to the Holy Prophet (S. A. W.); but if we consider politics and statesmanship as a means to achieve power and domineering or interpret it as taking advantage of people and exploitative domination over them, then the Imam's stances are not defensible.

It is evident that the Imam was aware of these issues and knew how to employ them, but due to his commitment to Divine law, ethical values, and his stress on people's rights, he did not deem their use as permissible. The following hadith quoted from him clearly indicates the above fact:

If it were not the case that plotting and deception have their place in fire, I would have been the best of plotters.[3](#)

Alas! If it were not for piety, I would have been the shrewdest all Arabs.[4](#)

He also said:

I swear by God that Mu'awiya is not cleverer than me, but he practices deception and commits debauchery; and if it were not for the hideousness of deception, I would have been the shrewdest of all people, but any kind of deception is sinful, and any sin is a covering, and for any deceiver there would be a banner raised on the Resurrection Day by which to be identified.[5](#)

Accordingly, the Imam well knew how to suppress voices; how to bring down loud cries to silence; how to deceive people with tricks; how to cast fear in their hearts by domineering; how to rectify the unruly greedy misers by allurements; and how to uproot the violation of human rights, massacres, and internal

oppositions and rebellions. But he is Ali, the truth-centered, God-conscious, and a believer in Resurrection, whose commitment to the truth and ethical values, and whose stressing on Divine teachings prevented him from perpetrating illegitimate policies. The Imam has frequently referred to these facts, such as the following.

Certainly, I know what can improve you and how your crookedness can be straightened. But I shall not improve you by marring myself.[6](#)

He clearly states that he knows how to discipline people and is familiar the bullying policies for suppressing them in a short time, but he does not apply them since he views them as corrupting to the discipliner.

Surprisingly, such actions, in Ali (a.s.)'s view, above all leads the statesman to the dreadful domain of bullying, domination, and as he puts it, to corruption. That is why he calls out: "Never reformation at the cost of corrupting the reformer!"

The Imam's dignified words indicate that imaginary reformation inevitably leads to corruption.

By this, obviously, the Imam meant the illegitimate reformation, similar to undergoing economical reformation at the cost of sacrificing social justice in modern world. The Imam does not tolerate such reforms. He well knew how to, on one hand, deceive the politically influential opponents and outlaws and keep them silent by promising to fulfill their avarices and little by little expunge them; and on the other hand to promise people to restore their rights and stress on developing Divine and human values, but as soon as he would have established the foundations of his rule, he would do whatever he wished and break all promises, as the statesmen have always done. If he did so, he would no longer be Ali ibn Abi Talib. Rather, he would have been a statesman like other statesmen.

So much passion and devotion of people in the history toward Ali (a.s.) is caused by his own Truth-centeredness. Now, we should carefully see where the power-centered hypocrites and imposters stand, and on the other hand, see what the reasons for durability of Ali (a.s.) in the history and over the span of time have been. Why have the hearts borne so much love for Ali (a.s.)? We iterate here that Ali (a.s.) regards politics as a means to establishing the truth and restoring people's rights, rather than a means to domination over them.

'Alawi reformations were solely intended to revitalize sira and sunna of the Prophet (S) and his method of government. Imam Ali (a.s.) could not have followed counter-value, antireligious and antihuman policies. That was why Ali (a.s.) was facing the same difficulties that the Holy Prophet (S) was involved in.[7](#)

Tolerating hardships and practicing patience before agonies and difficulties, Ali (a.s.) attempted to replicate once again the radiant vista of the Prophetic rule and the government policies of the Messenger of Allah in the history of Islam, and present an efficient, justice-spreading, and beautiful sira to the

generations and the ages to come.

[1.](#) Sharh Nahj al-Balagha, X, 212.

[2.](#) Ibid.

[3.](#) Al-Kafi, II, 336.

[4.](#) See 3/1, hadith 75.

[5.](#) See, 3/1, hadith 77.

[6.](#) Nahj al-Balagah, Sermon 69. Also see The encyclopedia of Amir al-Mu'minin, VII.

[7.](#) Sharh Nahj al-Balagha, 10/214 p 222.

Reasons for Imam Ali (a.s.)'s Loneliness

Now, toward the end of this brief analysis, we bring up the important question that if administration of a state on the basis of the aforementioned policies are applicable and such policies are proper and competent, why then did people distance in a short time from such truth-centered statesman as Imam Ali (a.s.) whom they had selected as their leader with their widespread support, and left him alone during the last months his life?

Raising the Issue

Let us further delve into various aspects of this topic and raise the issue more explicitly. The foremost questions here are: What was the reason for people's distancing so widely from Ali (a.s.) in a not so long period? Why could not the Imam (a.s.) practically preserve people's widespread support of the government? Why was the bond of intimacy dissociated between the ruler and the people in Imam Ali (a.s.)'s hukuma, and people were disunited to the extent that the Imam could not create concordance among those who had directly sworn allegiance to him, and maintain "unity of word" among them?

Why did the Imam (a.s.) complain of the lack of people's support in the way of actualizing his lofty causes and implementing his reforms during the last days of his life, and would painfully say?

Far from it that I ever may remove, with your help, the darkness from the face of justice and straighten the crookedness (which has found its way) in the truth. [1](#)

Why did he consider them the heart-rending pain of his political life and say?

I want to cure (maladies) by you, but you are (yourselves) my pains. [2](#)

And he complained of disobediences and rebellions, saying:

I am entangled by people who do not obey. [3](#)

And he complained of their dispersed tendencies, and their fruitless crowded presence with their dissociated hearts, and said:

There is no richness in your multitude, with your hearts scarcely united.[4](#)

He yearned to have the few companions of the battle of Badr:

If I had companions similar in number as the people of Badr...[5](#)

And...?

Anyway! Where did so much regression originate after that wonderful turnout for swearing allegiance?

Did not that astonishing loneliness after such an unbelievable turnout for confirmation and companionship indicate that ruling on the basis of 'Alawi politics and with Ali (a.s.)'s procedure of hukuma was not practically applicable in the real world society, and that 'Alawi utopia was not but an image in the world of illusion?

We will, in this discourse, try as far as possible to respond to the above question on the basis of historical texts and the realities of Islamic community of those days. But before that, it would be worthwhile to outline several points, however briefly:

Role of the Elite in Political and Social Transformations

The role of the elite and the elect in social transformations is fundamental and widespread. They have had the most influential impact on political and social developments during the history of this section of the society.[6](#)

In fact, they mostly make decisions for the masses, and the people often do not hesitate in following them. Surprisingly enough, in these role-creating and manipulations, they play their roles in such a way that people imagine that they have themselves made the decisions and are acting on their own!

In a time like the early period of Islam, chiefs of tribes enjoyed pivotal roles in political and social changes. In another time, intellectual elite and social leaders played such roles, and today, heads of parties and political establishments, managers of great cultural, educational, and information organizations, and chief executives of the press agencies and other mass media are the main manipulators, role-creators, and decision makers of societies.

Role of the Kufans in Ali's Hukuma

In the geography of early Islam, the territory of Iraq used to serve as a bridge connecting east and west of Islam and acted as a center for supplying military power to the central authority. In this territory, Kufa enjoyed a special status and a sensitive role.

Kufa was constructed in 17AH/638CE for stationing the troops, and its organizers founded this city with the intention to set up a great camp for the troops. Thus, it is clear that Kufa was a military center; i.e., a center for those who harbored nothing but battle, hence always thinking of conquering borders and attaining spoils of war.

People who had gathered in Kufa were far away from Madina, which hosted most of the (Prophet's) companions. Very few companions frequented Kufa, as 'Umar's policy was to have them remain in Madina.⁷

Therefore, the Kufans were at a low level of the required knowledge of religious law and doctrines.

'Umar had explicitly asked the companions who intended to travel to Kufa not to teach hadiths to the Kufans and not to distract them from intimacy with the Qur'an.⁸ The Kufan's intimacy and preoccupation with the Qur'an was restricted to mere recitation, and nothing more. This can be found in the words of the caliph, too. That was why those initially gathered in Kufa as "reciters" (Qurra'), later on formed the original kernel of the Khawarij.

What is here very emphatic to notice is the tribalistic context in Kufa and the prevalence of ethnocentrism and dominance of tribal culture and lifestyle in the Kufan's behavior and relations. In this culture, the chief of the tribe is the role-creator in the movements and attempts, and other people are simply involuntary subjects and blind followers.

Accordingly, it must be asserted that when we say the people left Ali (a.s.) alone, it means that the elect, the elite, and the chieftains of Islamic community left him alone. This agonizing fact was more evidently represented in people of Iraq, especially among Kufans.

Now, after what seemed to be like an introduction to this topic, we proceed to deal with the reasons for Ali (a.s.)'s being left alone, on the basis of his own words and sayings.

Ali's Loneliness in his own Words

We said earlier that history is a truthful witness to the claim that the short period of Ali (a.s.)'s hukuma has been the most beautiful manifestation of a rule based on human values. His ruling method was not only attractive to those committed to Islamic human values but those uncommitted to such values were attracted by it too, and sometimes even did not fail to admit its magnificence and attractiveness. Thus, the reasons for people's distancing from Ali (a.s.)'s hukuma is not to be sought in his inconsistency of method; rather, there are some other reasons and causes to be delved into in the following pages.

Ali (a.s.) has explicitly and adequately talked about people's turning their back on his hukuma and expressed in his sermons and responses to the queries, the whys and hows of their initial welcome as well as their eventual turning their back on him.

Now, we are going to review the backgrounds, reasons, and causes of people's withdrawal and Ali (a.s.)'s loneliness:

1. Contradictory Demands

The first reason for people's distancing themselves from Ali (a.s.) was the fundamental discrepancy between the two approaches to the government. In fact, these two approaches were in principle contradictory in their motivations and purposes.

The great majority of the participants in the uprising against 'Uthman (specially a number of manipulators of that movement, such as Talha and Zubayr), did not intend to bring the community back to the Prophetic sira and sunna. They did not wield their swords in order to maintain the sovereignty of genuine Islamic values. Party monopolism and tribal decision-making of the Umayyad in government, which was formed through the 'Uthman's rule, had wearied them. For them, overthrowing Uthman and pledge of allegiance to Ali (a.s.) was, in fact, aimed at undoing this knot and solving this problem, although in their slogans they stated otherwise.

After so much insistence by the people and his frequent refusals, Imam Ali (a.s.) took over the caliphate, perchance to restore a right, to lead the community back to the sira of the Prophet, to revive the forgotten genuine Islamic values in the society, and to spread reforms in all bureaucratic, cultural, economic, social, and judicial fields. In one of his earlier sermons he has stated, among other things, the perspective of these endeavors.

In other words, people were motivated by material and worldly drives and efforts; and Ali (a.s.) was motivated by truth-centrism, God-seeking, and concerns about revival of religious values. Accordingly, the Imam (a.s.) said:

My concerns and yours are not the same. I want you for the sake of Allah and you want me for your own.⁹

In such time, when some people saw Ali (a.s.)'s persistence in his goals and realized their own incompatibility with these goals, they turned away from the company of Ali (a.s.)'s adherents and refused to support him. Thus, as time passed, religious concerns and Divine motives and Islamic-human orientation of 'Alawi rule were further manifested, and on the other hand, supporting was diminished, the distance became wider, and the support of those who were seeking other than the truth slackened.

2. Treason of the Elite and their being

In the days of Amir al-Mu'minin's hukuma, chiefs of tribes played the main role in making decisions for most of people. The Imam (a.s.) tried very hard to develop inclination toward criteria in people's mind and life, so that they would choose their path and measure people by Truth criterion rather than measuring Truth by criteria of eminent individuals and personalities...¹⁰

Unfortunately, Imam Ali (a.s.)'s efforts in this respect were of no avail. The prevalence of the aforementioned situation seriously hindered the basic reforms of Ali (a.s.)'s rule and this was extremely painful for the Imam as his decisions were occasionally left unfulfilled by the opposition from an individual who was backed by a massive following. The Imam described this sorrowful atmosphere as follows:

People are three groups: Divine scholars; the learners who are on the way of salvation; and the wandering mean ones who linger about every wind. They were neither lighted by the light of knowledge nor hastened toward a safe haven. [11](#)

In this valuable statement, Imam Ali (a.s.) has divided people into three groups in their choosing the way of life:

1. The achieved learned: "Divine Scholars";
2. The Seekers after Truth and the wayfarers on the path of deliverance from darkness and corruption: "The learners on the path of salvation";
3. People who neither know the right and firm path nor identify the course of movement; rather, they are prompted to move by blind following of the elect. The Imam has called them "hamajun ra'a", i.e., the petty flies sitting on the faces of animals, and the foolish ignoble who are moved around by any blowing wind and drift along any flow without achieving any firm position.

By the Imam (a.s.)'s analysis, those who neither know the right way of life nor allow themselves any deliberation and knowledge, and blindly follow others, are like flies that have gathered around those more ignorant than themselves and cherish it. Such people neither possess a firm intellectual status nor are able to stand on a steady position.

Without knowing who their leader is and whether he speaks the truth or falsehood, they highly respect him with their mind and soul and follow him only because he has some reputation or is endowed with chairmanship and is bearing the title of chief of the tribe on his forehead or is entitled the head of a party, or for any other reasons, just like a swarm of flies which are blown to every direction that the wind is blowing without knowing why and where they are heading.

It was so agonizing for Ali (a.s.) to see that a great number of people of his time lay among the third group. Amir al-Mu'minin was faced with large masses who were neither "people of understanding" nor on the way of investigation.

More heart-rending and distressing than that was the lack of empathy for listening to these social problems and passions, and the lack of some intelligent ones with whom Ali (a.s.) would share all these. In other words, Ali (a.s.) could not unveil the pains and reveal whom he was accompanied by and what kind of people he was ruling; and when he intended to share what he was involved in, he shared it with

one of his close companions (Kumayl). He would take his hand, lead him to the desert and assert the bitter and biting reality, with much sorrow and pity, that what he would tell him was not conveyable to everyone since many were not able to tolerate listening to it; and that every human who enjoyed a larger intellectual and spiritual capacity would be more valued and so forth.

Then the Imam revealed the secret of people's not supporting him and introduced all the abnormalities and failure of his reformations and reformative planning as rooted in people's ignorance and their blind following of the treacherous elite.

[A Step beyond Delineation of the Roots](#)

Once Ali (a.s.) spoke to a gathering of his relatives and a group of the elite concerning his problems, stating more openly than before the whys and hows of the disturbance (in Kufa), and elucidated its origins and revealed the reasons for disunity in the then Islamic community. He explained why people were not consistent with his reformative planning, did not tolerate the hukuma and sovereignty based on the prophetic sira and sunna and did not support his policies. The Imam began his awakening speech with the following words of the Holy Prophet:

What I fear most about you are two things: following vain desires and extending of hopes. [12](#)

Then his holiness explicitly stated that the political disturbances causing disunity in the Muslim community and creating factions and fragmentation are rooted in moral corruptions, egotism and sensualism:

The bases of the occurrence of evil are those desires which are followed and the orders that are fabricated, in which the Book of Allah is disobeyed. People cooperate with each other about them [though it is against the Religion of Allah]. [13](#)

Thus, the Imam (a.s.) indicates that egoism, sensualism and self-centrism turn into baseless and counter religious innovations disguised as religion; and it is through this approach that blind factionalism is launched, moral disturbances grow into cultural commotions, and eventually wind up in political and social seditions; it is in such case that the perpetrators misuse truth in order to justify their goals and the possibility to develop seditions, and pretend rightfulness. Ali (a.s.) warns:

Let it be known that if right had been pure, there would exist no differences; and if wrong had been pure, it would not be hidden from the wise. What is, however, done is that something is taken from here and something from there. [14](#)

By these words, the Imam (a.s.) actually delineated the cultural features of his time and drew attention to the fact that in the past truth and falsehood had been intermixed and the falsehood promoting rabble-rousers pretended truthfulness to achieve their fabricated goals. Consequently, after the lapse of a generation, innovation happened to be regarded as tradition; and now that he intended to unveil the

features of falsehood and to rightly clarify the aspects of truth, it would be extremely difficult to do so since people did not realize how tragic the situation was.

Imam Ali (a.s.) quoted a saying from the holy prophet (S) who had predicted and talked about such an atmosphere over time:

Verily, I heard from the Messenger of Allah (S) who said: "How would you be when the disturbances would encompass you; [disturbances] in which the children would turn to adults and the adults would turn to the elderly. People would welcome them and adopt them as tradition so that if anything diverts from it, they would cry out that the tradition is transformed!"¹⁵

Surprisingly enough, the prophetic doctrines had settled in people's minds, tongues, and beliefs so reversely that when such a person like Ali (a.s.), i.e., a tangible embodiment of truth and truth-orientedness intends to reconstruct and rectify people's minds and thoughts, they cried and clamor that "tradition is transformed!" And so forth.

Were radical reforms, basic changes, and restoration of the Muslim community back to the sunna of the Prophet (S) possible in such atmosphere? That was why, by these words, the Imam (a.s.) drew up to the main issue after his introductory words and clearly talked about innovations and reported on part of the innovations imposed on the sunna, and painfully unveiled what the former statesmen and authorities had bequeathed to people, asserting that he could no longer do anything else; because if he would not hold on to this cultural transformation and carried on the campaign against cultural deviations, the troops would disperse and he would be left alone; totally alone. Here are the Imam's painful words:

If I force people to abandon their own Sunna and restore traditions to their original station and the way they were common in the Prophet's era, my troops will scatter and I will be left alone or with few followers.

Expressing Grievances, an Ultimatum to all People

What the Imam (a.s.) briefly stated to Kumayl b. Ziyad, i.e., the treason of the elite and their being followed by common people; and what he said in a private session – attended by a group of the elect and devoted followers – he stated again in details in a lengthy speech in the last months of his hukuma before all people, thus giving each and every one an ultimatum.

In this speech known as the Sermon of Disparagement (Khutba al-Qasi'a)¹⁶ which has been delivered after the battle of Nahrawan, the Imam has stated very important radical points as to how and why pre-Islamic religious revolutions ended in failure, and has precisely foreseen the future history of Islam:

With the Elite (al-Khawas)

In his lofty utterances, Imam Ali (a.s.) describes the destiny of Satan who had worshipped God for six thousand years, and with reference to his high status [before his rejection] admonishes the elite who

enjoyed brilliant records in their services to Islam lest they end up in a destiny similar to that of Satan:

Therefore, you should fear lest Satan infects you with his disease, or leads you astray through his call. [17](#)

And then he explains that the way to get rid of that destiny is to give up groundless prejudices, factional tendencies, Paganistic vindictiveness, and seeking undeserved superiority:

You should, therefore, put off the fires of haughtiness and flames of intolerance that are hidden in your hearts. This vanity can exist in a Muslim only by the machinations of Satan, his haughtiness, mischief and whisperings. Make up your mind to have humility over your heads, to trample self-pride under your feet and to cast off vanity from your necks. [18](#)

Warning the Common People

When eminent figures of the community, the political and cultural manipulators, and those enjoying ethnic, scholastic, and ideological reputation get involved in prejudiced clashes, they would make instrumental use of means of enflaming disturbances, i.e., the people and the communities, and thus lead the society into the fire of disunity.

Further on in his sermon, Imam Ali (a.s.) insistently enjoins people to refuse obeying their dignitaries and elite in case they would not give up seeking superiority and would persist on their haughtiness, arrogance, and sedition; and not to walk along their illegitimate objectives; and to be heedful of the fact that all seditions, corruptions, and abnormalities are rooted in their positions:

Beware, therefore, and fear obeying your leaders and elders who felt proud over their achievements and boasted over their lineage... certainly they are the main sources of obstinacy, and chief pillars of mischief.... They are the foundation of vice and linings of disobedience. Satan has made them carriers of misguidance and the soldiers with whom he attacks men. [19](#)

Then the Imam gave enlightening explanations concerning what was stated. Afterwards, he proceeded to make a very important political and ethical discussion about social interaction, and talked about difficult Divine trials for training human beings, stressing that life's various misfortunes and difficulties are in line with spiritual construction of man and purging him of moral vices, particularly his selfishness, arrogance and seeking superiority, as the Almighty God has ordained prayers, fasting, and alms tax for such purposes.

Then, the Imam enjoined people to delve into the history, to deliberate on the events, and to take lessons from the fates of the religious revolutions to find out how they had ended and to recognize the impact of disparity and disunity on the failures in religious calls, lest the haughtiness and egoism of the elite and the elect and people's unaware obedience would lead the Islamic hukuma to a destiny similar to that of the previous revolutions.

In this part of his speech, the Imam (a.s.) explicitly gives the warning and his ultimatum to the elite and

the elect:

Beware! You have shaken off your hands from the string of disobedience and broken the divine fort around you by (resorting to) pre-Islamic rules.... You should know that you have again reverted to the position of the Bedouin Arabs after immigration (to Islam), and have become different parties after having been once united. You do not possess anything of Islam except its name, and know nothing of belief save its show.[20](#)

Risk of Abandoning Commanding Good and Forbidding Wrong

From Imam Ali (a.s.)'s viewpoint, "commanding good and forbidding wrong" is one of the major elements in continuation of Islamic Revolution. Establishment of all human and Islamic values is directly related to this injunction. If it is forsaken, values will be forsaken too; and once the Islamic community turns its back to the religious values and takes refuge in anything except Islam, it will lose Divine assistance and fail in its battle against alien enemies; the Muhammadan and 'Alawi hukuma will be defeated; the devils will dominate the Islamic Community; and the prayers of the pious will not be responded to.

Further on in the sermon of Qasi'a and concerning the above issue, the Imam (a.s.) said:

Be sure that if you incline towards anything other than Islam, the unbelievers will fight you. Then there will be neither Gabriel nor Michael, neither muhajirun nor ansar to help you, but only clashing of swords, till Allah settles the matter for you.

Certainly, there are examples before you of Allah's wrath, punishment, days of tribulations and happenings. Therefore, do not disregard His promises, ignoring His punishment, making light His wrath and not expecting His violence, because Allah, the Glorified, did not curse the past ages except because they had left off commanding others to do good and forbidding them from wrong. In fact, Allah cursed the foolish for committing sins and the wise because they gave up forbidding wrong.[21](#)

Before Imam Ali (a.s.), the Holy Prophet (S) had also warned people of this hazard in the following words:

O People! Verily Allah says to you: Command people to do good and forbid them from wrong before you pray and I do not respond to your prayer and ask from Me and I do not grant you and seek for My assistance and I do not assist you.[22](#)

The hazard of leaving off "commanding good and forbidding wrong" (al-amr bi'l ma'ruf wa'l nahy 'ani'l munkar) for the perpetuation of the Islamic revolution is so serious that Imam Ali (a.s.) warned people against it till the last moments of his life, and said in the last sentence of his testament:

Do not leave off "commanding good and forbidding wrong" so that the villains would not dominate you, and then when you pray, you would not be responded to.[23](#)

After drawing attention to the hazards of leaving off “commanding good and forbidding wrong” and turning away from [Islamic] values to the future of the umma, Imam Ali (a.s.) goes on to say in the sermon of Qasi'a that right now the Islamic community is facing this problem. Thus, if it is not remedied, people must be expecting the villains' dominance over them:

Beware! You have broken the shackles of Islam, have transgressed its limits, and have destroyed its commands.[24](#)

So then, leaving off obedience to the wise and truth-seeking leader; breaking through the stronghold of religion by paganistic tendencies and manners; putting aside inclination toward criteria, meritocracy, solidarity, harmony, and empathy; yielding to disunity and Satanic pomposity; contenting oneself with grandiose titles; towing behind merely titles of truth, faith, and Islam; leaving off implementing al-amr bi'l ma'ruf wa'l nahy 'ani'l munkar and carrying out Divine sanctions; and annihilating religious ordinances, etc., are all secrets of failure and defeat, falling into hardships, remaining in vicious circles, and thereupon, getting ruined and witnessing Satanic dominance of the enemy, etc.

3. Equity in Distribution

Human beings are frequently ensnared in material and worldly drives and attractions. If one gets accustomed to worldly indulgence and fills up one's life with worldly provisions and take to utilizing them in an indulging and hedonistic way, then parting with such a lifestyle would be extremely difficult.

After the Holy Prophet (S) and during the caliphate of the [first] three caliphs, allurements of the reputed figures and discrimination in providing for the related elect were among the flawed policies. This way many were lifted high in rank who did not deserve such lofty positions; and others were unrightfully degraded and tyrannized.

Now, the Imam (a.s.) intended to eliminate this terrible class discrimination and disorder in enjoyment of privileges, which he had explicitly stated in one of his early sermons.[25](#)

It was evident that this sermon would stimulate many people against the Imam (a.s.), and they – mainly consisting of the elect and the reputed figures – would in turn pull many of the common people behind themselves by various tricks to justify their opposition and to hide the secret of their parting from Ali (a.s.).

That was why Imam Ali (a.s.)'s advocates frequently suggested him to give up this policy, and forget about chieftains, influential political figures, and pompous persons enjoying special economic privileges for a time, and not to confront them and their indulgence. The Imam (a.s.), however, found the suggestions in conflict with the principles and fundamentals of 'Alawi hukuma, therefore rejected them. He seems to have regarded these suggestions as somehow abandoning the goals and ideals of an Islamic state, hence refusing them.

Now, let's take a look at some examples of such suggestion and the Imam's responses to them:

A) It is reported in Al-Ghari'at as follows: Ali (a.s.) was complaining to Malik al-Ashtar of people's flight toward Mu'awiya. Al-Ashtar said: O Amir al-Mu'minin! We fought against people of Jamal in the company of Basrans and Kufans who were all unanimous in their opinions, but then they disagreed, bred enmity, their intentions slackened, and justice failed. And you call them to justice, treat them righteously, and take back the rights of the weak from the well-to-do who have no superiority over the weak to you.

A group of them who were with you, when given to this suffering, began to lament, and became sad with this justice. As for Mu'awiya, his gifts were with the opulent, and people's soul yearned toward the worldly gains, and those who are not infatuated with the world are very few; but many of them are the ones who discard the truth, go along with falsehood, and prefer the worldly gains. If you are munificent toward them, they will be drawn toward you and become benevolent to you and their friendship will purely belong to you. May God settle your affair (O Amir al-Mu'minin!) and terminate your enemy, disperse their assembly, nullify their plots, and slacken their efforts, as He knows what He does.

In response to him, Ali (a.s.) thanked God and praised Him, and said: "As for what you said, my manner and character are based on justice. Verily God says: **(Whoever acts righteously, it is for his own soul, and whoever does evil, it is to its detriment, and your lord is not tyrannical to the servants)**²⁶; and I am more fearful that I may have been negligent in what you said.

As for what you said about those who view the truth as too heavy and for this reason turned away from us. God knows, then, that they did not turn away from us due to our tyranny, and when they did turn away, they were not called forth to justice; [rather] they sought nothing but the fleeting world as if they had been parted from it; and on the Resurrection Day, they will be called to account whether they sought worldly gains or acted for serving God.

As for being munificent to men and buying them off that you mentioned, actually we are not able to give away out of public assets to people beyond what they deserve, as God has rightfully said: **(How many a small party has overcome a large party by Allah's will!)**²⁷

And he selected Muhammad (S) as a Prophet alone, and after a while He turned his few followers into multitudes and raised his party to power after being humiliated; and if God wishes to assign us to a task, He would smooth out the difficulties and would ease the hardships. And I approve whatever of your ideas in which there is the pleasure of God; you are the most trustworthy of my companions, and the most trusted, the most benevolent, and the most discerning of them to me.

B) In the same book, Rabi'a and 'Ammara are quoted as saying: A group of Ali (a.s.)'s companions went to him and said: O Amir al-Mu'minin give these riches away and [by means of that] give the noble and the dignitaries of Arab and Quraysh superiority over the non-Arab liberated ones, and also [give superiority] to the one of whose opposition you are very fearful.

[Rabi'a Said:] They said this because Mu'awiya treated those who went to him in this way. Ali (a.s.) said to them: "Are you ordering me to seek victory by means of tyranny? By God, I would not do that as long as the sun keeps rising, and a star is shining in the sky. By God, if these riches belonged to me, I would treat them equally, let alone that they belong to the public."[28](#)

C) Sahl b. Hunayf, Ali (a.s.)'s governor in Madina, sent a letter to his holiness, reporting that a group of Madinans had joined Mu'awiya. The Imam wrote in reply: Now, I have come to know that certain persons from your side are stealthily going over to Mu'awiya. Do not feel sorry for their numbers so lost to you or for their help of which you are deprived. It suffices them to have gone into misguidance and you have been relieved of them.

They are running away from guidance and truth and advancing towards blindness and ignorance. They are seekers of this world and are proceeding to it and are leaping towards it. They have known justice, seen it, heard it and appreciated it. They have realized that here, to us, all men are equal in the matter of right. Therefore, they ran away to selfishness and partiality. Let them remain remote and far away. By Allah, surely they have not gone away from oppression and joined justice. In this matter, we only desire Allah to resolve for us its hardships and to level for us its unevenness, if Allah wills; Wassalam![29](#)

4. Avoidance of Using Illegitimate Instruments in Enforcement of commands

Human society – as it must be – is a society replete with human values; it is a society in which law and justice create relations or breaks them, extinguish rebellions and rectify abnormalities. It is evident, however, that achieving such a stage in human society is so difficult. What kind of society is the one that Ali (a.s.) ruled over? What were people's tendencies at its public level? How were common people's drives and efforts basically determined?

In that period of time, other people had run the hukumas for 25 years; hukumas which had faced, particularly toward the final years, rebellions, criticisms, and confrontations, and then in return responded with violence, severe confrontations, punishments, and occasional imprisonments, tortures and atrocities.

The general public was not rightly familiar with law and its significance, and the rulers ruled over people in this milieu. The rulers, wherever encountered with people's wrongdoing, practiced force, violence and domineering which they regarded as the first resort rather than a final one.

In the Umayyad diplomacy, ends justify the means, and the politicians utilize any tools, even illegitimate ones, by any means for implementing their policies, plans, and orders. The leader of such politics speaks to some in a language of allurements and to others through threatening, and still to some others by means of imposture. Mu'awiya did rule over Sham (Syria) by means of such policies, and perhaps the maintenance of national interests (!) of Sham demanded doing so.

What was Imam Ali (a.s.) to do? In 'Alawi diplomacy, in which the use of illegitimate means to implement

the policies is not permissible and people's leader speaks solely by means of explanation, elucidation, and instruction; he neither uses words of allurements nor acts deceptively, threateningly, or violently; then how should he bring the people who had been accustomed to this [latter] procedure back to the right way?

Surprisingly, the public masses of Sham indisputably obeyed Mu'awiya without receiving anything from him simply by means of the policy of imposture, allurements, and threat. The public masses of Kufa, however, did not obey the Imam, although they enjoyed material interests by his side, too. The Imam said accordingly:

It is not strange that Mu'awiya calls out to some rude low people and they follow him without any support or grant, but when I call you, although you are the successors of Islam and the (worthy) survivors of the people, with support and distributed grants you scatter away from me and oppose me?³⁰

The Imam (a.s.) knew well that the society was not at a level of understanding to grasp his heart-rending and "suspicion-free" words. He knew that he could make many, including some of dignitaries, obey him through violence and threat, and put things in order even though temporarily, but he refused to do so and said:

Let it be known that till yesterday I was giving order [I was Amir al-Mu'minin], but today I am being given orders, and till yesterday I was dissuading people (from wrong acts), but today I am being dissuaded. You have now shown liking to live in this world, and it is not for me to bring you to what you dislike.³¹

In 'Alawi diplomacy, achieving goals is rightful only when people think freely and accept reforming plans and submit to it. The Imam (a.s.) never deemed it right to make people accept what he viewed as truthful and firm by resorting to sword and violence and force them to obey him, since the people would finally choose a way which they are attached to.

In other words, if Imam Ali (a.s.) had been asked "why people had left him alone", the Imam would have answered: "I was not willing to force them to obedience by sword. And they were regretfully not in a position to appreciate this path [my rule] and submit to it for some cultural reasons and due to the social structure that has been imposed on them and they have been accustomed to it."

The Imam (a.s.) believed that problems of hukuma could be solved temporarily by violence, but that sovereignty and hukumas would no longer be 'Alawi. He has frequently stated this fact as follows:

O People of Kufa! You suppose I do not know what can rectify you? Yes, I do. But I do not like to rectify you by ruining myself.³²

And then he said:

I know what rectifies you is a sword, but I do not seek to rectify you by ruining myself. After me, however, a tough authority will dominate over you.³³

Imam Ali (a.s.) asserted that he knew how to confront people and subjugate people by means of violence and sword and was able to straighten their crookedness with a sword and to force the rebels to obedience, but he refused to do so. He said: "Correcting you by resorting to violence would cost a price, i.e., ruining the moral values, and I am not willing to pay such a price. This would neither be compatible with my disposition nor with my philosophy of hukuma. But you should know that after me a hard time will be awaiting you. With such manners and acts, you pave the way for the rule of those who would not have mercy on you, and would not talk to you except by the vocabulary of sword:

You will not be rectified (O people of Iraq!) except by the one who will humiliate you, and God will humiliate him, too.[34](#)

Imam Ali (a.s.)'s Predictions Coming True

Thus, with such poignant grieves, the Imam (a.s.) departed from among the people while complaining of them:

Before me the people used to complain of the oppression of their rulers but now I have to complain of the wrongful actions of my people.[35](#)

He had told people that wrongdoing of people toward the just leader would be as dangerous to the community as the function of an oppressive leader; and the community that does not observe the rights of a just leader and refuses obedience to and solidarity and empathy with him – who is most deservedly entitled to such rights – it will entangle in commotion and burn in the fire of decline:

And if the ruled gain sway over the ruler, or the ruler oppresses the ruled, then difference crops up in every word, signs of oppression appear, mischief enters religion and the ways of sunna are forsaken. Then desires are acted upon, the commands (of religion) are discarded, diseases of the spirit become numerous and there is no hesitation in disregarding even great rights, or in committing big wrongs. In such circumstances, the virtuous are humiliated while the vicious are honored, and there are serious chastisements from Allah, the Glorified, onto the people.[36](#)

Thirty four years after the martyrdom of Imam Ali (a.s.), his prediction about the Kufans obviously came true. In the caliphate of 'Abdul Malik b. Marwan, a group of Khawarij called "Azariqa" in Ahwaz region, rose up against the central hukuma. The only place that was apt to dispatch troops to action was Kufa. But the people did not comply and refused to go to battle. In an inciting sermon, 'Abdul Malik sought a solution from his dignitaries and close companions, saying:

Who will volunteer against them with a cutting sword and a piercing spear?[37](#)

All kept silent. Hajjaj b. Yusuf who had newly suppressed 'Abdullah b. Zubayr in Makka, stood up and declared his readiness; but 'Abdul Malik did not accept. Referring to the difficulty of dispatching troops to the Ahwaz front, he asked them to choose volunteers from among their most powerful troops for the

Emirate of Iraq and battle with Azariqa. Here again, the only one who volunteered was Hajjaj b. Yusuf.

Interestingly, 'Abdul Malik wonders how Hajjaj wants to have such rebellious and unsteady people to obey, asking:

Every commander has got tools and leashes. Where are your tools and leashes?[38](#)

And Hajjaj replied, "The vocabulary of sword and tools of violence!" He would talk to them with the vocabulary of sword and would raise whips of violence. He would spread the diplomacy of threat and allurements, and would uproot the opposition:

The one who struggles with me, I will break, and the one who approaches me, I will honor. The one who distances from me, I would seek, and the one who resists me, I would damage; the one who turns his back to me, I would chase? And when I find him I would kill him... These are indeed my tools: sow your friend with your dirhams (gold coins), and reap those who are hostile to you with your sword.[39](#)

'Abdul Malik approved this policy and in 74 AH/887 CE elected Hajjaj as the governor of Kufa and Basra, and the latter said in a warning sermon to people in his first encounter with them:

Verily I see heads ripe enough to be plucked and I am undertaking this task, and it sounds as if I am looking at blood gushing out of turbans and beards...

Know that I will not promise anything unless I carry it out; I do not utter anything unless I fulfill it; I do not get near unless I find out, and do not go away unless I hear. What is happening to you, O people of Iraq? O you who are seeking separation? O partisans of hypocrisy and vulgar morality? Verily you are inhabitants of a town that [God said] (***was secure and peaceful. Its provision came abundantly from every place. But it was ungrateful toward Allah's blessings; so Allah made it taste hunger and fear because of what they used to do***). [40](#)

Know that my sword will soon be satiated by your blood and will peel off your skin. Therefore, preserve your blood, every one of you who wishes so![41](#)

From the very outset, Hajjaj showed in his speech that death was flowing out of his eyes and blood from his sword. He talked to the Kufans with the harshest words and the most degrading epithets and illustrated the ending of rebellions, openly stating that he would quench his sword with the blood of those disobeying him and intending to be haughty. After this horrifying speech, characterized with blood dripping from every word, he issued a statement which was pronounced to the public in every quarter and neighborhood:

Be informed that I give the companions of Muhallab a respite of three days, whomever I catch after that, his punishment would be beheading of his head.[42](#)

In order to show that the statement would be implemented unquestionably, he ordered his disciplinary

commander and chamberlain, Ziyad b. 'Urwa, to have a number of his troops patrol around town recruiting people to be dispatched to the war front, and kill those who hesitated or refused.

This way, all the troops who had left Muhallab b. Muqri'a – who was appointed by Hajjaj to command the battle against Azaraq – alone, returned to the battle front and not even a single person refused.[43](#)

Thus, 'Abdul Malik suppressed all the opponents on the central government by implementing the diplomacy of threat and allurements throughout the community, and then set out for Hajj pilgrimage with peace of mind in 75 AH/694 CE! Ya'qubi wrote:

When things were settled in favor of 'Abdul Malik and the cities calmed down, leaving no place that required being settled and taken care of, he left for Hajj pilgrimage in 75 AH.[44](#)

Reformation was actually taming and creating peace under the glittering of swords! That was the kind of reformation that Imam Ali (a.s.) viewed as to the cost of corrupting the reformer, and was not willing to approve such “reformation” of society. He could not yield to a policy that would solve the problems of the state to the cost of ruining the human values.

What need do such a society and such sort of problem-solving and solutions have for messengers to be sent? What need do they have for Divine leaders and what need for Ali (a.s.)? In such politics 'Alawi hukuma is meaningless. Everyone who possesses power of arms and impudence in action; who puts compassion aside and discards human wisdom; who abandons moral dignities and appeals to whatever enforcing his dominance, can rule.

In Ali (a.s.)'s hukuma, however, values are genuine. He is by no means willing to sacrifice human and Islamic values. The hukuma, in which values are sacrificed and human standards and criteria are beheaded in the slaughterhouse of statesmanship, is a Satanic and Umayyid hukuma. These kinds of hukuma will not be 'Alawi, although towing the names Ali (a.s.) and Islam behind.

Now, it must be added that in today's world the diplomacy of sword, force, and violence is not efficient any longer. Military equipment is gradually losing its efficacy and the statesmen are basing hukuma on new foundations. Human values are now being sacrificed in alternative ways, among which is the policy of taking social justice to the slaughterhouse of economic reforms and crushing the subordinates under the pressure of economic development.

5. Peripheral Factors

What we enumerated so far are the major factors of people's lassitude and Ali (a.s.)'s loneliness in last days of his hukuma. Other factors can also be pronounced for people's withdrawal, which, although not as effective as the aforementioned factors, have had conspicuous role in making people weak and fatigued. Such factors which we have called “peripheral factors, are listed as follows:

Misconception of War against the People of Qibla

In its first days of establishment, Ali (a.s.)'s hukuma unfortunately plunged in war: Civil war and war against the people of Qibla. The wars before that were entirely against the unbelievers, and the battle against unbelievers was unambiguous and free of misconception. But the wars during Ali (a.s.)'s hukuma which were fought to suppress disturbances and improving the society and bringing it back to the sira and sunna of the Prophet (S) were wars against the people of Qibla; i.e., wars against those who were bearing the name of a Muslim and occasionally boasting of bright records in their socio-political dossiers.

That was how the Prophet (S) – who had seen these events in the mirror of time and had predicted the way they would happen – on one hand regarded these battles as warfare based on ta'wil (allegorical interpretation), and on the other, confirmed their difficulty.⁴⁵

War against the people of Qibla would create trepidation in faith for the narrow-minded. They could not rightly make up their minds, so they refused to keep [his] company. This way the cunning statesmen who had problems with the Imam (a.s.) justified their refusal and raised doubts among the common people. Therefore, from the outset apparently justified figures such as Sa'd b. Abi Waqqas, Usama b. Zayd and 'Abd Allah b. 'Umar refused to accompany Ali (a.s.). When the Imam (a.s.) asked the reason for their refusal, Sa'd b. Abi Waqqas said:

I am reluctant to go on to this battle, lest I should kill a believer. If you give me a sword that distinguishes a believer from an unbeliever, I will fight along with you!⁴⁶

And Usama said:

You are the dearest person to me, but I have made a pledge to God not to fight against the people of [who have confessed] “la ilaha illa Allah” (There is no god but Allah).⁴⁷

I do not know anything of this battle, and I ask you not to make me do what I do not know.

People's mental preparedness to accept the misconception of the battle against the people of Qibla as being impermissible on one hand, and the raising doubts by the opponents to the Imam (a.s.)'s reform plans, particularly by Mu'aiwiya's propaganda network, on the other, had made the recruiting and the mobilization of the forces extremely difficult. Therefore, the Imam often had to take on to explain to people the grounds, causes, and quality of his stance. At the outset of the emergence of disturbances and his being forced to fight against the perpetrators, the Imam said:

The door of war has been opened between you and the other Muslims (the people of Qibla). And this banner will be borne only by him who is a man of sight, of endurance and of knowledge of the position of rightfulness. Therefore, you should go ahead with what you are ordered and desist from what you are refrained.

Do not make haste in any matter till you have clarified it. For in the case of every matter which you dislike we have a right to change it.[48](#)

Although the Imam spared no effort in explaining to people the reason for his stances and the causes of the events, it was difficult for many to accept that Ali (a.s.) was absolutely rightful in his words, that he had a firmly set position, and that Talha, Zubayr, and 'Ayisha were thoroughly false and were on the false path.[49](#)

Warriors being Tired of a War with no Spoils

The peoples of those days, although Muslims and ready to set out for battle by the order of their Divine leaders, were not on such a high level of culture and predisposition so as to be God-seeking and practicing sincerity and devotion. Collecting spoils in wars was a strong motivation, especially for those who had for years been accustomed to this practice. Now they had to remain in the battlefield for days and months without being able to enjoy what they seized [as spoils of war].

They had gotten accustomed to gaining spoils in wars and exploiting those spoils in the reign of the rulers prior to Imam Ali (a.s.). Now, from the outset of the battle, the Imam wanted them to keep their hand off people's property and to know that they had no right to appropriate what they seized in action. Approving a battle without enjoying any spoils was very difficult for people.

The ones who were accompanying Ali (a.s.) were mostly not favored with enough faith and insight to think only of God, "to wield their sword for the sake of Allah", and to have no desire except for God's pleasure, in their battle against rabble-rousers. In the war, most of them were thinking of their own interests, rather than of rightfulness and faith, or of putting an end to the disturbances. Historical records indicate that among the most frequent complaints – too many as they were – brought up in the battles of Nahrawan and Jamal was that why the women of the enemy were not taken as captives and their property was not divided [among the warriors]. Ibn Abi al-Hadid has related this historical event based on unanimous reports:

The narrators are unanimous that what Ali (a.s.) found from among the Jamal troops, including weapons, mounts, slaves, and other objects, he divided them among his companions. They demanded: "Divide the people of Basra among us as slaves." He said: "No." Then they said: "How come their blood is lawful to us but taking them as captives is not?"[50](#)

When the fatigue of the troops having fought for two years without receiving any spoils and financial benefits is accompanied with the misconception of the illegitimacy of the war against people of Qibla (other Muslims) and considering other factors of the Imam (a.s.)'s loneliness (mentioned earlier), the result would obviously be nothing but disobedience. Thus, it happened that the Imam (a.s.) faced serious problems in mobilization of the troops toward the end of his hukuma.

Losing Eminent Companions

A director of a community and a leader of people are above all indebted to the concordant assistants and coordinating companions in his cadre enabling him to overcome problems and to resolve knotty social problems. The presence of self-sacrificing talented and endeavoring wise men, who out of sincerity accompany the leader and make sacrifices through challenging situations, is greatly effective in managing the society. Such person's role in removing ambiguities, delivering messages, explaining positions, and creating motivation in forces that indirectly actualize the leader's ideals in society, is very significant. Amid the battle of Siffin, the impact of the sermons and valorous speeches delivered by such persons as Malik al-Ashtar, Hashim Mirqal, and others is evident and attests to what said above.

Regretfully, Imam Ali (a.s.) did not enjoy the company of such persons toward the end of his hukuma. The most outstanding companions of the Imam (a.s.), who were articulate interpreters and advocates of his path, were no longer present. The absence of Malik al-Ashtar, 'Ammar, Hashim Mirqal, Muhammad b. Abi Bakr, 'Abd Allah b. Badil, Zayd b. Suhan, and others was sadly felt among the companions of Imam Ali (a.s.). No longer were those fervent, encouraging, and stimulating sermons heard among the troops. On the other hand, there were so many evil-minded, misleading, and ill-hearted elements who raised difficulties and spread lassitude.

It is due to such atmosphere of rabble-rousing, troublemaking, and denial of assistance that the Imam (a.s.) grievously remembers those vigilant, insightful "worshippers in the night and fighting lions in the day", the pioneers in the fields of action and warriors in battlefields and says [about them]:

Where are those who were invited to Islam and they accepted it? They read the Qur'an and decided according to it. They were exhorted to fight and they leapt (towards it) as she-camels leap towards their young. They drew their swords out of the sheaths and went out into the world in groups and rows. Some of them perished and some survived. The good news of survival did not please them nor did they condole about the dead. Their eyes turned white with weeping. Their bellies were emaciated because of fasting. Their lips were dry because of (constant) praying. Their color was pale because of wakefulness. Their faces bore the dust of God-fearing. These are my comrades who have departed. We should be justified if we feel eager for them and bite our hands in their separation.[51](#)

And in the end of his agonizing words uttered in the last days of his life, he said:

Where are my brothers who took the (right) path and departed [from the world] in rightness? Where is 'Ammar? Where is Ibn al-Tayyihan[52](#)? Where is Dhu al-Shahadatayn[53](#)? And where are others like them from among their comrades who had pledged themselves to death and whose (severed) heads were taken to the wicked enemy?[54](#)

It must be further added that a group of Imam Ali (a.s.)'s companions and troops consisted of the Khawarij who after the battle of Siffin stood up against him; some were killed in Nahrawan [battle] and some others went into retreat. Thus, Ali (a.s.) was left alone, absolutely alone, with no combatant

comrades, articulate speakers, and highly minded, brave heroes of battlefields.

The Leader's Utmost Power in his Utter Loneliness

Now at the end of this briefly put analysis, it is worthwhile to deal with a very significant point in 'Alawi diplomacy and Amir al-Mu'minin's leadership approach. I have not heard anyone else finding out this feature or explicitly bringing it up in respect to Imam Ali (a.s.)'s leadership. And this thought-provoking and wondrous feature is indeed Imam Ali (a.s.)'s leadership authority, power of management, and steadfastness in Imamate in such era the dimensions of which have so far been explained.

Historical documents show that Ali (a.s.) has displayed the most sublime, the most powerful, and the most significant leadership in his days of loneliness. Therefore, when we say Ali (a.s.) was left alone, it must not be supposed that due to so much disobedience and in his lamenting and complaining, he went into retreat, or left the arena, or during the final months of his hukuma he openly lost the power of leadership and management of society, and until his martyrdom he contented himself only with lamenting and complaining the people's disobedience and lack of support, and the elite's lassitude. Far from it!

Historical texts and a multitude of documents reporting on 'Alawi sira show that the most hard-working and diligent period of Ali (a.s.)'s hukuma was the time of his loneliness. Never did despair overwhelm the matchless hero of the battlefields and the most sagacious figure of resistance in the onslaught of hardships and difficulties. He made amendments alone; delivered lofty sermons, created legends, and went along the path he had delineated at the outset of his hukuma to the end of his life and never kept quiet or remained idle for even a moment.

In a community where a great part of the elect and the elite did not accompany Ali (a.s.) with empathy; where the common people following them turned to disobedience and lassitude in an atmosphere of misconception about battle against the people of Qibla and against renowned and sometimes sanctimonious figures; where the warriors were quite exhausted after going through three bloody battles without gaining any spoils; and when the Imam had lost the best of his companions and the frequent ambushes by ignorant and counter-merit troops of Mu'awiya and his plundering had wearied the people, the Imam stood bravely firm and persistently pursued the mobilization of people against Mu'awiya's iniquities and criminalities.

In such ambience fraught with disappointment, lassitude, and horror, he mobilized people – without resorting to violence – to make their appearance again in the battlefront of war against Mu'awiya. How much power in leadership, how much strength in management, and how much charisma in Imamate must have Ali (a.s.) been enjoying to be able to stand up in such ambience and to mobilize the troops to such extent?

Ali (a.s.)'s last fervent and heroic speech, delivered before re-dispatching troops to Siffin, attests to the above claim. Nawf Bikali has described the appearance of the Imam at the time of delivering his exciting

sermon, as well as the way he arrayed the troops:

Amir al-Mu'minin delivered this sermon to us in Kufa, while standing on a rock set up by Ja'da, son of Hubayra al-Makhzumi. He was wearing a wool garment; his sword-belt was made of palm tree filaments, and so were the slippers he was wearing. The trace of prostration on his forehead was like the callus on the camel's knees.

Nawf goes on to say that in the end of his speech, the Imam (a.s.) shouted at the top of his voice:

Al-jihad, al-jihad (fighting, fighting), O' servants of Allah! By Allah, I am mobilizing the army today. He who desires to proceed towards Allah should come forward.

Then he reports the organizing of the troops as follows:

Then Amir al-Mu'minin (a.s.) put Husayn (a.s.) over (a force of) ten thousand; Qays b. Sa'd over ten thousand; Abu Ayyub al-Ansari over ten thousand; and others over different numbers, intending to return to Siffin, but it was before Friday when the accursed Ibn Muljam carried out his fatal strike. Consequently, the armies came back and we were left like sheep that had lost their shepherd while wolves were snatching them away from all sides.⁵⁵

According to what was said, Imam Ali (a.s.)'s painful utterances and his frequent complaints of his companions were not due to his weakness and failure in leadership and managing people with the features delineated above; rather, instead of using the vocabulary of violence and sword for mobilizing people, he used it for motivating them.

Mobilization of great numbers of troops, as explained above, in less than a week (the same week before his martyrdom), indicates his superb capability in mobilizing masses on one hand, and the success of 'Alawi policies in statesmanship, on the other.

What was brought up here was a glimpse at the background, reasons, and causes of people's lassitude in such period of time, as well as a delineation of 'Alawi sira in administering a state.

In conclusion, we beseech Almighty Allah to succor us in benefiting from Ali (a.s.)'s radiating Divine knowledge and the ocean-like doctrines of the "people of Allah" [Ahl al-Bayt](a.s.).

¹. See The Encyclopedia of Amir al-Mu'minin, VII, 38.

². Ibid., VI, 265.

³. Ibid., VII, 33.

⁴. Ibid., VII, 36.

⁵. Ibid., VII, 41.

⁶. See, Mizan al-Hikma, X, 4614.

⁷. Al-Mustadrak 'Ala al-Sahihayn, I/193/ 374.

⁸. Kanz al-'Ummal, 1/ 292/ 29479.

⁹. See 1/4, hadith 15.

- [10.](#) See 4/6.
- [11.](#) Nahj al-Balagha, Aphorism 147.
- [12.](#) See 2/4, hadith 74.
- [13.](#) See 2/4, hadith 74.
- [14.](#) Ibid.
- [15.](#) Ibid.
- [16.](#) Nahj al-Balagha: Sermon 192.
- [17.](#) Ibid.
- [18.](#) Ibid.
- [19.](#) Ibid.
- [20.](#) Ibid.
- [21.](#) Ibid.
- [22.](#) Mizan al-Hikma: 8/3708/12727.
- [23.](#) See The Encyclopedia of Amir al-Mu'minin: VII, 276 (h 2961).
- [24.](#) Nahj al-Balagha: Sermon 192.
- [25.](#) See 2/1, hadith 62.
- [26.](#) Al-Qur'an, 41:46. (All translations from the Qur'an are from The Qur'an with An English Paraphrase, translated by sayyid Ali Quli Qara'i, The center for Translation of the Holy Qur'an, 2003, Qum, Iran.)
- [27.](#) Al-Qur'an, 2: 249.
- [28.](#) See 5/10, hadith 229.
- [29.](#) See The Encyclopedia of Amir al-Mu'minin, VII, 53 (Nahj al-Balagha, Letter 70)
- [30.](#) See 5/10, hadith 245 (Nahj al-Balagha, Sermon 180)
- [31.](#) The Encyclopedia of Amir al-Mu'minin, VI, 225 (hadith 2577).
- [32.](#) See 8/9, hadith 447.
- [33.](#) See 8/10, hadith 449.
- [34.](#) Rabi' al-Abrar, 4/250.
- [35.](#) See The Encyclopedia of Amir al-Mu'minin, IX, 474, (ahadith 4747, 4748). (Nahj al-Balagha, Aphorism 261).
- [36.](#) See 6/2, hadith 305.
- [37.](#) Al-Futuh, VII, 8/3.
- [38.](#) Al-Futuh, VII, 8/3.
- [39.](#) Al-Futuh, VII, 8/4.
- [40.](#) Al-Qur'an, 16: 12.
- [41.](#) Al-Futuh, 7 & 8/10. Mas'udi has said:
Hajjaj died at the age of 54 in the region of Wasit, Iraq in 95 AH/713 CE. He ruled over people for twenty years, and the number of people who were killed [during his rule] in battles or due to torture amounted to 120 thousand. When he died, 50 thousand men and 30 thousand women, including 16 thousand girls, were kept in his prisons.
- He used to keep men and women in one place. His prisons were roofless, so the prisoners could not keep away from the heat of the sun in summer and rain and cold in winter. His other tortures are described in my [Mas'udi's] other book. It is reported that one day he mounted his horse to go to Friday prayer. He heard moans. He asked what that was.
- He was replied: the prisoners are moaning and complaining of their hardships. He went toward them and said: (Begone in it, and do not speak to Me!) (Al-Qur'an, 23: 108) It is said that Hajjaj died the same Friday, never having mounted [a horse] after this mounting. (Maruj al-Zahab: 3/175).
- [42.](#) Al-Futuh, 7 & 8/10.
- [43.](#) Al-Futuh, 7 & 8/13.
- [44.](#) Tarikh al-Yaqubi: 2/273.
- [45.](#) See The Encyclopedia of Amir al-Mu'minin: V, 25.

[46.](#) See 1/9, hadith 44.

[47.](#) Ibid.

[48.](#) Nahj al-Balaghah, Sermon 173.

[49.](#) See The Encyclopedia of Amir al-Mu'minin, V, 147.

[50.](#) See The Encyclopedia of Amir al-Mu'minin, V, 147.

[51.](#) Nahj al-Balagha, Sermon 121.

[52.](#) Malik b. Tayyihan al-Ansari, one of the sahaba (companions) in the battle of Badr, who was martyred in the battle of Siffin.

[53.](#) Khuzayma b. Thabit al-Ansari who attended in Badr and other battles, and martyred in Siffin. The Holy Prophet (S) considered his testimony as equal to that of two persons.

[54.](#) See The Encyclopedia of Amir al-Mu'minin, VII, 167. (Nahj al-Balagha, Sermon 182).

[55.](#) Nahj al-Balagha, Sermon 182. Also cf. The Encyclopedia Amir al-Mu'minin, VII, 167.

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