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Ayatollah seyyed ali al–sistani, islamic realism, peace and security in iraq

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Summary

In the midst of the developments and crises that iraq witnessed, the religious authority in najaf recorded a very prominent role in restoring calm, stability and peace to it. In the meantime, ayatollah sayyid al–sistani in particular had a strategic position that emerged in light of recent challenges, due to his great personality and influential field presence in the movement of society and his efforts to achieve the interest of the country. The main question of this study is about the role of his eminence in establishing peace, harmony and national security inside iraq, as well as in the peaceful foreign policy of this country with other countries. The results of the study show that ayatollah seyyed al–sistani has achieved an effective and purposeful combination of islamic principles and accepted standards of the international community to achieve the political ideal that enabled the establishment and strengthening of the principle of peace in iraq and its foreign relations.

Introduction

Explaining the research problem: the defunct iraqi ba›ath party has always been very sensitive to and strongly opposes political activities. Therefore, it is noted that the activities of religious references are limited only to the internal fields and the affairs of religious seminaries. From this perspective, ayatollah sayyid al–sistani has practically entered the political arena since the us occupation of iraq in march 2003, and initially gave advice to iraqi officials and citizens. His eminence's policy in this passage of time is based on the necessity of establishing a civil government in iraq, knowing that he believes that the civil government is the one that aims at a political and social solution that provides conditions and an atmosphere in which people can live together in security and peace, and that every religion can practice its rituals and rights in complete freedom. This article aims to know and analyze the approach of this great reference in leading the political process towards peace and peaceful coexistence among the various ethnic groups, parties and religious groups in iraqi society.

Importance of the study: this study is of theoretical and practical importance in terms of principles and behavioral rules for one of the major shiite religious references regarding the issue of governance in iraq. Theoretical importance is due to the interpretation he gave to politics and government, and the practical importance is due to the pattern of his behavior in managing developments in iraq and other issues in the islamic world, which can be used by other societies.

The necessity of the study: failure to pay attention to the theoretical and practical model of prominent figures such as ayatollah sistani could pave the way for the emergence and promotion of extremist tendencies in the field of domestic and foreign politics. Accordingly, the current study has a strategic necessity and can be a good islamic alternative to extremist intellectual currents.

Study objectives: the main objective of this study is to enhance the discourse of islamic politics and highlight the capabilities of shiite strategic thinking to effectively manage developments in the region and contribute to peacekeeping. In addition, the recognition of the intellectual system of ayatollah sistani and the promotion of expertise in our country to conduct a realistic analysis of developments in iraqi society, are considered by the authors as sub-objectives of this study.

Study questions: the main research question is: what role did ayatollah sistani play as a religious authority in the internal developments and foreign policy of iraq? In this regard, the following sub-questions were raised: what are the principles of traditional realism? What are the principles that govern islamic realism?

Hypothesis: ayatollah sistani played an active role in establishing stability, security and national harmony inside iraq by relying on religious jurisprudence in discussing peaceful coexistence. And based on the principle of the originality of peace, the priority of interaction, and the observance of international standards, it has strengthened the peaceful relations of this country with other countries.

Study methodology: the study relies on the applied theoretical approach and the researchers, whose method is descriptive-analytical. In the field of data collection, the documentary method was used, and to analyze the data, the analytical model proposed by the authors was used, which is based on the islamic realist theory.

1. Study background:

Studies conducted on developments in iraq and the role of ayatollah sistani can be divided into two main categories:

1-1. Study background in the journal of political science

only one article on ayatollah sistani›s views and political behavior was published in the journal of political science. In his research, naderi (1349) points out the weakness of theoretical and strategic studies in the field of patterns of war and peace based on

the shiite point of view, and he sought to design and propose this model based on the views of ayatollah sayed al–sistani. In addition to this article, we can refer to a limited number of articles published in this magazine that deal with recent developments in iraq and refer indirectly to the site of the religious reference. For example, the study of shamsi al–din, mortazavi and nawakhsh (1400) which discusses the formal structure of the iraqi administration and the role of the reference in maintaining the unity of iraq in proportion.

1–2. According to the variables discussed in the study regarding the background of the topic in other scientific sources, the current research can be divided into the following four groups:

a. Sources related to the view of islam on international relations: salimi (1392) discusses the legal principles of equality between societies, jihad, and the defense of equal rights for nations in the light of the teachings of islam. Meanwhile, bekadley (1395) concerned himself with the important issue of how to resolve conflicts peacefully from the perspective of islam. Al–deek (1398) was based on this idea and discussed in general the possibility of jurisprudential knowledge in organizing and peaceful solution to research problems.

B. Sources related to islamic realism in governance: salimi (1391) sought to explain the nature of islamic realism in the field of international relations and a practical analysis of its components with reference to the incident events. While the study was conducted by fyuzabadi; jalali and raisi (1394) provides a philosophical and methodological view of this issue and discusses the possibility of solving problems in accordance with the teachings of islam in the field of international relations.

C. Sources on the role of the shiite religious authority in iraq: this issue drew attention to it, and it clarified the role of references and religious scholars in the fight against british colonialism in iraq. In this regard, there is an article by alawi and hosseini shiazi (1384) that has a theoretical approach and discusses the political thought of the shiite authorities and scholars in iraq.

D. Sources related to the position of ayatollah sistani in iraq: these sources are objectively close to the present article and pay special attention to the thought and work of ayatollah sistani. For example, mansour[2] (2017) examines the role of scholars and religious authorities in eliminating isis after saddam and the inextricable common role of the government and the authority of ayatollah

sayyid sistani in the iraqi political arena. In this regard, most scholars believe that his eminence›s role in saving iraq was pivotal and indispensable. An article by fateh (1396) dealing with the factors of power and the position of the religious authority of ayatollah sistani in najaf and describing them in detail. Mutaharnia (1390) mentions that his eminence is the political reference for the civil forces.

Although the influence of ayatollah al–sistani in the transition from the iraqi crises was one of the topics of interest to many thinkers and political analysts, but the research, studies, and political positions did not adequately address the ideas of his eminence according to the perspective of shiite jurisprudence, the extent of their spread in a practical way, and the ideas that worked on the mportant issue of peace and internal stability in iraq and its relationship with the outside world. This research seeks to bridge this scientific gap. The use of the theory of islamic realism in analyzing the thought of ayatollah sistani is another aspect of the innovations of this research.

2. Conceptual pillars

Given the need to create a common analytical horizon in this section, the conceptual pillars of the research are presented as follows:

A. Reference: this word in its general sense means access to the legitimate and licensed al–khibi site in people›s religious affairs, which indicates the individual›s departure from the place of imitation. The necessity to reach this level is ijtihad, which was mentioned as a specific method in deducing religious rulings based on the main sources on various topics (qasimi, 1388, p. 113).

B. Al–fiqh / al–tafaqqoh: the linguistic meaning of the term fiqh is knowledge and understanding. From the point of view of most specialists, they described fiqh as knowledge of subsidiary rulings by relying on detailed sources and evidence (nuri, 1379, pp. 4–2). C. Peace: there are several definitions of the concept of peace. These definitions are mostly negative and are based on denials of war. "Peace is the state of peace and internal stability in the country, the normalization of relations with other countries, the absence of war and the absence of the threat regime" (aqa bakhshi, 1343, p. 162).

D. Security: security is a perceptual and emotional phenomenon that indicates the absence of a threat to a person›s interests. To achieve this, confidence must be created in the minds of the public, statesmen and decision makers that the existence of the necessary security to continue to live without worries. It is clear that external

factors are directly involved in the emergence of this perception and feeling (qassemi, 1389, p. 14).

E. International norms and rules: international norms and rules are social concepts that arise as a result of interaction between international players and are considered customary behavior between states, and if their social context is lost, they gradually disappear. Customs allow governments to justify their behavior and provide a tool for the international community to evaluate the claims of governments (yazdan fam, 1387, pp. 759–795).

3. Theoretical foundations: islamic realism constitutes the main and old traditional realism that prevailed in international relations. In this study, in addition to identifying the principles of classical realism, reference is made to the interpretation of islamic realism, which was the basis for the analysis and study of the personality and behavior of ayatollah seyyed al–sistani.

3–1 Classical realism

 The important principles of realism emphasized in the classical approach are:

origin (1): existence of «independent political facts»

Realism is one of the schools based on rationality in order to determine the political reality. This means that the political reality of the owners of this theory is independent of the human mind in the external world, and it is a reality that is subject to rules that can be known with the help of reason and empirical science. The ability of the human mind to know reality independently of the mind is at the core of classic realist the perceptual theory of the classical realism (selimi, 1391, p. 51).

Principle (2): the origin of conflict

 From the point of view of those with a realistic vision, the principle of «conflict» is considered a basis for international relations, one of which is the «conflict» between the great powers for hegemony and security. Therefore, these forces and conflicts are due to the fact that the main cause of all events and decisions is governments (dunoff, 2000 p.67).

Principle 3: criticism of the "moral legal obligation"

 The realist school denies that universal moral principles can be generalized to the actions of states and thus essentially criticizes moral obligation. Thus, the international

agreements are voted on and agreed upon due to their mutually beneficial nature. Therefore, when compliance with international law has a direct impact on the relative strength of the countries concerned, the issue turns into a power struggle. This way of thinking is a devastating foundation for international law and ethics (scott henson, 2005, p. 27).

2–3. Islamic realism

Based on the views of islamic law and muslim thinkers, islamic realism is based on the following principles:

principle (1) centralization of the role of influencers and key players According to this principle, the role of actors in the formation and development of political phenomena is important and largely constitutes the nature of their goals. Proceeding from this vision, the main players in the developments of iraq that must be taken into consideration are: the religious authority, the seminary, the elites, the people, and the person of ayatollah al–sistani.

Principle (2) "peace" is a common and common interest

Islamic realism emphasizes ethics and its meanings. The holy qur'an's call for peaceful coexistence on the basis of commonalities (al imran/verse 14) and the international initiatives of the holy prophet, may god's prayers and peace be upon him and his family, is a sign of islam's interest in establishing international relations and the role of international law in regulating international relations. (Le bon and zaidan, 1990). Such that the pursuit of interests in international relations is a legitimate matter by accepting and consolidating the "authenticity of peace." Accordingly, war is a necessity and a final solution, and is nothing but a legitimate defense. This is why the peacekeeping institution is based on important principles such as non–injustice and rejection of persecution; a mission that was emphasized in islamic discourse and considered the basis of faith (sajjadi, 1381, p. 12).

Principle 3: the importance of legal support for peace and security Besides the affirmation of the principle of peace by this group of scholars, we can refer to a wide range of principles under the title of islamic international law that fully support and strive for peace. From this perspective, international islamic law is based on quranic principles. Examples of these principles include: equality of societies (an–nisa'/verse 1 and al–hujurat/verse 13), denial of hegemony and denial of the way (repentance/verses 91–93, an–nisa' verses 36, 90, 161 and al–shura/verse 61),

fulfillment of covenants, understanding, and lack of interfering in determining the fate of others (al–ghashiah / verses 22–21), broad brotherly relations in islamic society (al–hujurat / verse 10); confrontation with enemies (al–mumtahinah / verse 9 and al–baqara / verse 192); peaceful relations with peaceful non–muslims (al–mumtahinah / verse 8): the priority of relations with muslims (al imran / verse 28); the credibility of the people of the book (al–hajj / verse 22) and the revival of the sunnah of the noble messenger (may god bless him and his family), which represents the application of all these principles in special cases (shairkhani, 2002).

Principle (4) rationality:

From the islamic point of view, politics has a special meaning that cannot be equated with the power politics of «hobbes» or the idealist policies of «kant». Although the policy in this school is based on value principles and seeks to achieve great goals that lead to the well–being of the individual and society in this world and the hereafter; but at the same time, it is a realistic, sensitive and active policy completely according to the conditions and requirements of time and place. The factor that allows islamic politics to be active and updated is rationality. In other words, rationality is an important element in islamic realism that leads to moderation and appropriate behavior (nak. Ali akbarzadeh,1398).

Principle (5) observe the terms and conditions

From the point of view of islamic realism, knowledge, observation and analysis of temporal and spatial conditions are essential to understanding and managing political phenomena. In other words, this group of islamic thinkers, inspite of their belief in the basic principles and their supremacy over political relations, they believe that the modus operandi of these principles is determined by the circumstances. Therefore, the analysis of environmental conditions is necessary to establish and enhance peace and security (sajjadi, 1381, p.12).
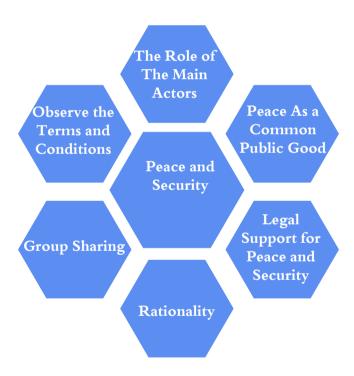
Principle (6) social participation

From the perspective of islamic realism, social power is an important and effective source in consolidating and maintaining peace and security. Therefore, the participation of people has been proposed as a strategic principle, according to which and in light of its recognition of the dignity of the individual, the best defense mechanism for it is the collective mind, which prevents the dominance of internal and external tyranny and that the system of collective security arising from the participation of people, is

in itself a factor in establishing lasting peace and tranquility (n. Ezdehy, 1397, pp. 50–58).

Now given the above explanations, the analysis pattern of the present study can be drawn as follows. According to this model, it is necessary to analyze the role of ayatollah al–sistani in six areas:

figure no. (1): Model of peace and security analysis according to the islamic realism approach

4. Analysis of the position of the clergy and shiite authorities in the developments of iraqi society

The actors and influencers are the first and the proposed model that is being

studied in the developments of iraqi society. Although there are many actors in these developments, in this article we will focus on the role of ayatollah seyyed al–sistani and the iraqi clerics.

1–4 A personal study of ayatollah sistani

Ayatollah seyyed ali al–sistani belongs to al–najaf al–ashraf school. Therefore, knowledge of the principles that govern this school has a direct impact on the analysis of the components of his personality. The most important of these principles are:

A. Diversity of visions and attitudes: the hawza of najaf is a scientific institution above all, and what makes scientific institutions vary among themselves is the goal and approach of these institutions in the field of science. The educational system prevailing in the najaf seminary as an institution for scientific production is a specialized system that relies on hundreds of years of experience in teaching and educating senior scholars as well as its own traditions. Although jurisprudence and the principles of jurisprudence are the main axes of scholarly studies in najaf, in the past few centuries, different schools have developed alongside each other and introduced prominent personalities to the islamic world[1]. This diversity and great assimilation in choosing how to confront political and social crises is evidence of the great level of assimilation enjoyed by shiite jurisprudence and the institution of religious reference.

B. The comparative and comprehensive approach: according to the classification of the professors of najaf, ayatollah sayyid al–khoei (may god bless him and grant him peace), and as narrated from his lessons and jurisprudence principles, is mostly a continuation of the school of the school of al–mohaqiq al–naini. The martyr al–sadr is known as a continuation of the iraqi muhaqiq school, and ayatollah sayyid muhammad rouhani is known as a continuation of al–muhaqqiq al–isfahani (al–kambani) school[2]. In this context, ayatollah sistani was not positioned along a particular school, but rather sought to present his issues with a comparative view of the schools of mashhad, qom and najaf[3].

C. Moderation: moderation in fatwas and balance in dealing with others is a characteristic of the najaf school. The elders of the city of najaf consider the shiites a school of moderation and believe that the basis is the book and the sunnah of the noble prophet (peace be upon him) and jurisprudence revolves around these two

1.www.khabaronline.ir/ نک. فاتح :
2. Https://fa.Shafaqna.Com/news/62551
3. http://www.sistani.org/persian/data/

bases, and the jurist must have a strong reason for his fatwa in the book and hadith within the consideration of the conditions required for the issuance of honorable novels. This moderation makes association with other religions or contemporary jurisprudence or the need for dialogue between religions less sensitive towards them.

His biography also explains in detail how he was able to transfer the theories of various scholars to other fields and in a way that expands and strengthens these intellectual and jurisprudential ties[4].

D. Stability: historically, the reference period of ayatollah sistani coincided with the rule of the baath party in iraq. In view of the hostile policies of the baath party against religious parties and groups, especially its militancy against the shiites, we are witnessing the imposition of a kind of isolation on the religious authority and restricting its activities to certain parts of internal and religious affairs.

This is the reason why ayatollah al-sistani chose the option of isolation for nearly twenty-six years in pursuit of the higher interests of islam and the special circumstances of muslims in iraq. Some scholars believe that this choice was the main reason for protecting the seminaries in najaf and preserving them from brutal tyranny during that dangerous period. With this interpretation, the difference in the performance of the iraqi shiite references against the colonizers must be analyzed based on the element of time and place and the ability of shiite jurisprudence.

Saddam hussein was always afraid of the influence of the shiites and sometimes pursued policies of repression and boycott against them. Saddam hussein›s anti-shia policies reached their climax after his suppression of the popular uprising in iraq (gharayaq zendi, 1389, p. 47).

4-2 According to the vision of ayatollah sistani, scholars and religious references play an active role in the developments taking place in iraqi society, and they have always been an influential source in this field. For example, we can mention the role of the religious reference in bringing people to the arena, which shows, according to some analysts, that the reference is the most reliable and most important source of authority in iraq[5]. His eminence also believes that the «religious reference» is not a condition for taking over the management of the islamic government, and considers its role limited to «supervision» and «guidance». Accordingly, he believes that the

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4. Https://www.Cgie.Org.Ir/fa/news/212212/
5.https://www.nytimes.com2008/02/20/

reference does not enter the political arena except in special and critical cases[6].

5. Analyzing the status of iraqi national interests

The former us ambassador to iraq stressed in a note that iraq›s problems cannot be resolved without the views of the iraqi shiite reference[7]. This analysis points to the effective role of ayatollah seyyed al–sistani in defining and securing the national interests of this country. With regard to some important issues in iraqi foreign policy, he issued directives whose analysis shows that they depend on the principle of securing the national interests of this country.

For example, the following can be mentioned:

1. His eminence has repeatedly directed the iraqi government to establish a close relationship with the arab countries. The president of iraq then, fuad masum, and after his meeting with ayatollah al–sistani and before traveling to riyadh, announced that he had reached an agreement with the religious authority to expand relations with neighboring countries.

2. In a directive to his eminence regarding the strengthening of relations between iraq and saudi arabia, he raised points indicating his interest in the status of national interests with him, so as to support the strengthening of these relations as they serve the national interests of the iraqi people[8].

3. The specific statements of ayatollah seyyed al–sistani to erdogan also confirm this meaning. During a visit by turkish president rajab tayyip erdogan to najaf in 2011 and his meeting with al–sistani and discussing various issues, his eminence al–sayed spoke with him about the water–based dispute between turkey and iraq, and he sought to address the concerns of the religious authority in various issues.

4. The un special envoy for iraq, after meeting with ayatollah al–sistani, said about the vision of al–sistani: "ayatollah sistani has a positive view of the un plan and considers it in the interest of iraq and supports the implementation of reforms within a reasonable time»[9].

5. Ayatollah sistani stressed the need to enhance iraq›s global participation and considered it a means to assert national interests. The meeting of the pope and

6.https://www.sistani.org/arabic/statement/25924/

7.http//www.politico.com/magazine/story/2

8. https://www.asriran.com/fa/news/465954

9. http://www.atlanticcouncil.org/menasource/

ayatollah al–sistani on march 6, 2021 was a starting point for interaction and dialogue. This meeting was an expression of the jurisprudential principles of ayatollah sistani. This means that his jurisprudential principles have caused the holding of such an important meeting. The emphasis on the necessity of the existence and protection of peaceful coexistence is clear in his lessons and jurisprudence discussions[10].

6. Ayatollah al–sistani presented the preservation of iraq›s unity and cohesion as an important interest and it was emphasized in various situations.

He believes that the unity of iraqi society depends on a peaceful life based on mutual respect between all religious and ethnic sects. This approach is rooted in his political jurisprudence and has played a major role in promoting national unity. For example, despite the fall of saddam's regime, and the lack of state ownership by the sunni arab minority and the provision of the appropriate ground for the shiites to compensate and retaliate against the sunnis, but ayatollah seyyed al–sistani in those circumstances committed the iraqi government to maintain the security of all iraqis regardless of their ethnic, religious and intellectual affiliation and he called for a peaceful interaction and coexistence between shiites and sunnis, quiet dialogue, and direct and indirect meetings only, considering them the best solution to settling any potential problems or disputes. There are strong relations between the iraqi secular and nationalist groups with al–sistani, despite what these groups perceive regarding the relationship between religion and politics and the position of the clergy in this field, which indicates the extent to which his eminence's views have influenced iraqi society (haji yousfi and aref nejad, 1390, p.4).

In response to the actions of some people who tried to seize sunni mosques and expel their imams, al–sistani denounced this act and said, "this act is strongly condemned and they must stop these attacks, ensure the security of the imams of these mosques, and return them to the mosques with dignity and respect». (Qasimi, 1388, p. 17).

By reflecting on such situations, one can clearly see how the foreign actors were influenced by iraq›s international policy based on sayyid al–sistani›s orientations, and how he paid special attention to iraq›s national interests.

6. Legal support for peace and security

Looking at the views presented by ayatollah sistani and in the context of talking about peace and security, two important legal dimensions can be identified:

10.http://www.sistani.org/persian/statement/26511

1–6 Legal restrictions of the government

Considering that the provision of security is important for achieving peace and the material and spiritual interests of the people, security from the viewpoint of sayyid sistani is dependent on the fair procedures of the government, and thus the government is not allowed, under the pretext of establishing security, to prevent people from enjoying their various rights, and at the same time the government is obligated to work in the framework of the powers stipulated in the constitution (haji yousefi and aref nejad, 1390, p.6).

2–6 Public security and the trend towards the rule of law

From the viewpoint of ayatollah sistani, the achievement of security, which is a reason for communication between the government and the people, has a reciprocal relationship with the will of the people and is not presented in vain. As a result of the relationship between the government and the people, the meaning of security is achieved for borders and gaps, and all members of society deserve to enjoy it, and no class, group, race or sect should take precedence over others.

This security is achieved when everyone is subject to the same law and does not consider themselves above it, and the final rule is in the hands of the state at all, and it must be empowered with the task of judicial and executive affairs in the country. For this reason, sayyid al–sistani has denounced, in various situations, those who, under various pretexts, turn a blind eye to the powers of the government and question its legitimacy (haji yousfi and aar fanjad, 1390, p. 6).

7. The model of political analysis and the position of "rationality"

The focus of ayatollah sistani›s approach to the analysis and management of iraq›s major issues is largely due to his rational analysis. The reason for this analysis can be found when discussing the ‹argument of reason›. The authority of reason from the shiite point of view is the confirmation of the ruling and its severance if it agrees with the rational frameworks. This principle is frequently used in recent cases. If we assume that we have not received a legal ruling from the total of the hadiths mentioned, and the mind has reached a specific wisdom in this case, then the acceptance of the validity of the mind and the rule of association between reason and the law can be a valid reference to rational results (salimi, 1391, p. 12).

This attitude towards reason received great attention in the biography of ayatollah

seyyed al-sistani, and he showed a special kind of application of rationality by himself. This issue can be studied at two levels:

7-1 rationality at the level of domestic politics

According to ayatollah al-sistani's view in the field of domestic politics, the iraqi society is a religious one and most of the iraqis are muslims, and accordingly, the laws of the country cannot be against the beliefs of the majority (haji yousfi and aref nejad, 1390, p. 51). Knowing the available possibilities and the nature of the conditions prevailing in iraq is also derived from the rationality and realism enjoyed by sayyid al-sistani, which led him to stress the establishment of a strong government that is in itself a factor in the security and general well-being of iraqis (haji yousfi and aref nejad, 1390, p. 56- 55).

A strong government is a necesity for any society in managing the country›s affairs and protecting it from chaos and violence, and it is the only institution that has the exclusive right to possess arms to enforce criminal sentences. Ayatollah seyyed sistani›s fatwa demonstrates the illegality of violent acts by outlawed militias.

7-2 Rationality in foreign policy

The basis from the point of view of ayatollah seyyed al-sistani is that knowledge, analysis, and effective management of new phenomena in international relations can only take place through reason and with the help of experience and rational analysis. The supremacy of religious rule and the legitimate vision does not mean at all to reject human scientific achievements and scientific efforts towards a rational and realistic understanding of international phenomena; on the contrary, the most important religious teachings emphasize the use of reason and experience to understand political phenomena at the international level.

Of course, there are serious differences between the owners of the idea of islamic realism and classical realism in the field of judgments based on value foundations, but the mind is the most important tool for perception, as it can take a step in this direction with the help of experience (salimi, 1391, p. 61).

8. Terms and requirements of time and place

An important point in the biography of ayatollah al-sistani is his attempt to combine the two principles, which is evident in his interest in the role of the

conditions and requirements of time and place in the process of political management of developments in iraq, as follows:

First: reference to religious principles and values: in this regard, his eminence al-sistani is trying practically to implement what imam ali (peace be upon him) emphasized: "the truth is not known by men. Know the truth, to know its people, o harith, for the truth is the best of speech, and the one who speaks with it is a combatant». Be ta, c 65, pp. 120)

Second: attention to the circumstances: religious rules and values cannot be applied in a vacuum, and this requires us to pay attention to the texture and location of iraq. This means that achieving national goals within the religious frameworks and rules needs to know and study the prevailing conditions. For example, al-sistani, after the demise of the baath rule, constantly emphasized the necessity of participating in the elections in order to put pressure on america, and he followed the process of managing the conditions and realizing the values with all seriousness (nak. Gharayaq zendi, 1389).

9. Providing peace and security on the basis of "social participation"

People and social groups play an important role in promoting security and peace, a role that is implemented in society according to the vision of sayyid al–sistani in the following forms:

9-1 The will of the people and the nature of government in the thought of ayatollah sayyid sistani

From the viewpoint of ayatollah seyyed al–sistani, the type of government prevailing in the country depends on the will of the people. The factor of people and the majority of the population is a very important factor in the opinion of ayatollah seyed al–sistani, and this majority includes all races and iraqi citizens, and the criterion is the number of votes that choose a specific type of government[11].

9-2 The people's political choices and civic activities

It is the civil society, from the point of view of ayatollah seyed al–sistani, that provides the effective and constructive participation of the people in its social and political developments. The society must be free not only from the influence of the

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11.http://www. sistani. org index. php?p=914883&id=707/

government and its institutions, but also from the influence of the religious figures dictating their opinions. (Haji yousefi and aref nad, 1390, p. 9). The electoral system on which the opinion of ayatollah seyyed al-sistani depends, is strong and stable enough, to be able to receive and analyze the opinions of the people and provide the basis for their arbitration. The scope of this will is to determine the course of the country's affairs, including the formation of the iraqi government and the laws prevailing in the country (haji yousfi and aref nad, 1390, p. 50). Ayatollah seyyed al-sistani has placed great emphasis on the issue of "the authority and the model of its management, and he appreciates and respects whom the people have chosen and have given him their votes."

9-3 Participatory system of governance

The issue of the system of government based on popular participation is one of the most important issues that have arisen after the internal developments in iraq. In this regard, and given the failure of the closed and authoritarian models that iraqi society experienced during the era of saddam hussein, the idea of "participatory governance" was proposed and approved. In this model, there is no trace of hierarchy that comes from top to bottom, and instead we see an initiative towards collective processes in various social arenas, emphasizing the principle of transparency or accountability. (Abdullatif, 2003a). For example, at a time when the occupying forces and their dependents at home were somehow trying to disrupt the holding of fair and transparent elections to form an independent and local government; his eminence al-sistani administrated the people with tact and management, as his eminence stressed the importance of the elections and the necesity for wide popular participation in them. For this reason, the american newspaper the washington post has openly admitted that: ayatollah sistani is the most powerful political figure in iraq, in which the shiite community is the majority, which fully indicates the important role of his eminence in the political developments in iraq[12]. The analysis and study of the subsequent experiences of the iraqi society shows that ayatollah sistani used this influence and his position in order to achieve the basis of collective participation, and in this way he was able to neutralize the plans of the enemies and provide the ground for establishing order and security in iraq.

Conclusion

iraqi society witnessed many transformations and changes following the fall of saddam›s regime. In this context, the role of the authority of ayatollah sayyid al-sistani was a role that could not be overlooked. Therefore, this study focused on the

12.www.washingtonpost.com/archive/2004/04/19/

role of his eminence in the total internal changes and transformations and the politics of iraq after 2003.

Ayatollah seyyed al–sistani›s realistic view of the political and social developments in iraq indicates the great influence of his moral character on the structure of society and the political groups active in it. A personality who was able to cast a shadow over other political factors and succeeded in preserving national unity and cohesion for the people of iraq and the country's overcoming of the post–saddam hussein crisis by emphasizing principles such as rationality, securing the country's interests, correcting the people's relationship with the government, and paying attention to the conditions and requirements of time and place; thus, the capabilities of shiite political jurisprudence were manifested in the new conditions of iraqi society, and in this way, internal conflicts and foreign interventions are eliminated for the benefit of the iraqi people.

About Center

Baidar Center for Studies and Planning is a non-governmental and non-profit organization established in 2015 and registered with the NGO Directorate in the General Secretariat of the Council of Ministers in Baghdad.

The Center seeks to contribute to developing the state and its institutions, by proposing ideas and practical solutions to the main problems and challenges facing the state, including improving public sector management, policies and strategic planning, using reliable data and best practices. The Center engages the relevant authorities in the state with regular meetings to support this objective and utilises the support of international organizations dedicated to assisting Iraq's developmemnt. The Center also seeks to support economic reforms, sustainable development and provide technical assistance to the public and private sectors. The Center also seeks to support development of the private sector to provide job opportunities for citizens through training and upskilling, in a way that reduces dependence on government institutions and contributes to supporting and diversfying the country's economy.

The Center aims to utilise the vast amount of potential in Iraq's human resources by organizing programs to prepare and develop promising young people, including leaders capable of proposing, adopting and implementing visions and future plans that advance society and preserve its value system based on the commitment to a high moral standard and rejection of all types of corruption.

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