RESEARCH ARTICLE

THE POLITICAL THOUGHT OF MIRZA NA'INI

Syed Zeeshan Haider Zaidi

A21,Shangrilla Apartment, F.B.Area,Karachi, Pakistan MA in Islamic Jurisprudence Al-Mustafa International University.

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Manuscript Info	*Abstract*
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Introduction:-

Abrahamic religions are common in faith about legitimacy and authority of governance, only God has right to rule over people, this is God who can appoint a person as his representative for governance. In Islam also this is God's right to rule over man and he gave this right according to Sunni Islam to everyone who possesses some abilities mentioned in books written by jurists but Shi'a Muslims believe that not only God is legitimate authority but He also appointed specific persons for political leadership after prophet Mohammad (peace upon him), they are twelve Imam, first of them is Imam Ali who is cousin of prophet and other are grandsons of prophet, no Imam could get his right to rule over people except Imam Ali and Imam Hasan (peace upon Him). The last Imam Mahdi went to major occultation in 941 and till sixteenth century Shi'a Muslims could not established government like Safivid's dynasty in Iran. Safavids looked to Shia Islamic law and to the *mujtahideen* (jurists) specialized in it so that new political and cultural order can be created.Clerics had to define their relationship to the Safavid dynasty and the extent of their support for it. During the Qajar period in 19 century Iran, Twelver Shia clerics assumed a more pro-active political role, considering themselves as mediators between the ruler and the people. The rise of the modern nation-state in the Middle East in the early 20 century led to debates around the role of the clergy in the state and the nature of an Islamic state There was a controversial debate about constitution, is it legitimated according to Islam or not? In the

Corresponding Author:- Syed Zeeshan Haider Zaidi
Address:- A21,Shangrilla Apartment, F.B.Area,Karachi, Pakistan MA in Islamic Jurisprudence Al-Mustafa International University

response two contradictory texts were written representing two opposite views, first was ***Tanbih al-ummah va tanzih al-Millah* written by Mirza Nai'ni and second was *Hurmete-meshrut-i*written by Sheikh Fazl Allah(Turkeman,1362 AD solar). The former is the remarkable and outstanding text written by one of the most important Shi'a jurists whose views regarding principle of Jurisprudence still are being studied in *hawza* (seminary) but limited attention has been paid to his political views**. This research intends to describe and analyse his political thought so that the ambiguity about cleric's political role can be cleaned up.

Foundations of Political Thoughts in Twelver Shi'a Islam:
The basic difference between Shi'a and Sunni Islam can be found in succession of Prophet Muhammad (peace upon him). Shi'a believe in succession of Imam Ali (puh) the cousin of the Prophet (Ṭabāṭabā'ī, 2010), while Sunni people claim that Abu Bakr was the successor of Prophet Muhammad (puh). This difference stems from belief in *Imamate* (Tusi, 1407 AH) which includes the idea that the successor of the prophet be more than merely a political leader. Allama Ṭabāṭabā'ī said: The *Imamate* and religious leadership in Islam may be studied from three different perspectives: from the perspective of Islamic government, of Islamic sciences and injunctions, and of leadership and innovative guidance in the spiritual life. Shi'aism believes that since Islamic society is in dire need of guidance in each of these three aspects the person who occupies the function of giving that guidance and is the leader of the community in these areas of religious concern must be appointed by God and the Prophet. Naturally, the Prophet himself was also appointed by Divine Command. (Ṭabāṭabā'ī, 2010)

The second foundation is Protection from error, (Tusi 1407 AH) The Imam do not do error and sin by his intention and this characteristic might be proved by proving *Imamate* because Imam is a person who interprets Holy Quran and transfers Islamic Sciences to people If he makes mistakes during his duty the aim of *Imamate* will not be gained.

Believe in major occultation of twelfth Imam is the third foundation of Shi'a political thoughts. Shi'a believe that the last Imam Mahdi was five years old when the *Imamate* descended upon him (Ṭabāṭabā'ī, 2010). Because of the danger of assassination he was hidden from public view and appeared only to a few of his trustworthy (deputiesor representatives)(Tusi, 1425 AH). From the Shi'a point of view he went in to minor occultation by divine command as soon as he assumed the office and in 941 some seventy years later he began the major occultation which will last until the divine command is given for him to manifest himself as the Mahdi (Al-Kulaini,1429 AH).

Evolution of Shi'a Political Thought:
Before occultation of Imam Mahdi(puh) there was no question about governance because their Imam was present among them, after starting of major occultation they could not make government because of being in minority. Along with increasing in number the political thought also gradually evolved which can be divided into four periods (Kadiver, 1387 AH solar

From starting of Major Occultation to beginning of Safavid's Dynasty:
Since Shi'a jurists and theologian did not accept Sunni political system, all governments and rulers were illegitimate and cruel from their point of view because they captured the right of Shi'a Imam by force. Due to be a minority, Shi'a theologians could not think about establishment of government during major occultation. What they could think was interaction with illegitimate rulers this is what we can find in books of Shi'a theologians. There were two opposite views among Shi'a clerics, first which believe in absolute isolation from politics and non-cooperation with the rulers while other saw no problem and fault in interaction with government even they believed that Shi'a Muslims can support rulers if their cooperation results in advantages for them. Syed Murtaza is a good example of later who not only cooperated some rulers like *Aali- Buvae* but also write a treatise named *Risalah fi Al-amal m'a al-Sultan*(Murtaza,1405 AH)

Beginning of Safavid's Dynasty to 1906 Constitutional Revolution:
The first jurist who discussed the political authority of juris-consultants (jurists who are consultants and followed by Shi'a people in questions concerning Islamic laws) was Sheikh Al-Karaki, he also described the domain of representatives of Imam Mahdi (puh) in his research *Risala fi Al-Salat Al-Jumah*. Sheikh Ahmed Naraki was the other jurist who discussed *Velayati- faqih* in detail in his book *Avaid Al-ayyam*.

Al-Karaki proved general representation and guardianship for jurists having all necessary characteristics according to narrations of *Ahlal-bayt*(the family of prophet Mohammad)(puh)and this representation includes also political

matters. According to Al-Naraqi it was jurist's right to administrate all matters concerning general life of Shi'a society.(Kadiver,1387 AH solar)

From Constitutional Revolution to Islamic Revolution 1979:
The rise of the modern nation-state in the Middle East in the early 20 century led to debates about constitution, political rights,freedom, justice, elections, assembly, representation, separation of powers. Two contradictory views emerged, first was supporter of traditional way of governance and second believed in acceptance of new theories in politics with some conditions that made new political system legitimate.Sheikh Nai'ni was representative of the later while Sheikh Fazl Allah was supporter of the former.

The important update in Shi'a political thought was theory of *Velayati- Faqih* presented by Imam Khomeini in the ending of sixth decade of twentieth century. This theory is a ruling part of Iranian present constitution.

From 1979 Revolution to present:
Sheikh Montaziri who was the most important student of Imam Khomeini presented his research regarding *Velyati-faqih* after revolution in 1366 AH solar. He did the most detailed juristic research in Shi'a jurisprudence, the name of the book is *Drasat fi al-velayat al-fiqhiya.*Other considerable study is *Hikmat va Hukumet* by Sheikh Mahdi Hairi in which he presented new theory regarding government.

Background of 1905 Constitution:
The population of Iran in 1850's was around five million and the society was divided to four classes (Abrahamian,1979) first was the landed upperclass consisted of central elite and many local elites, some members of central elites were the Qajar dynasty, the royal princes(*shahzadegin*), the influential courtiers(*darbaris*), the large fief-holders(*tuyfildairs*), the hereditary accountants (*mustawfis*), the royal ministers(*vazirs*), the princely governors and the titled state officials (the *emadal-Saltanehs*(Pillars of the Monarch)). The local elites were regional notables (*a'yans*), the provincial noblemen(*ashrafs*), the tribal chiefs(*khans*), and the hereditary, titled, and invariably propertied, administrators(*mirzas*). The second major class comprises urban merchants(*tujjiar*), small landowners(*malek*), as well as bazaar shopkeepers and workshop owners(*pishevaran*). The third class consisted ofurban wage-earners, such ashiredartisans,apprentices, journeymen, household servants, porters, laborers,andbuildingworkers and the fourth class was formed of vast majority of theruralpopulation*(ri'yat)* the tribal masses*(iliyiiti)* as well as the landless andnearlandless peasantry(*dehqanan*).The clerics were divided in to two groups the first was also divided into subgroups. The first group comprises few state-appointed religious officials: the *qasis* presiding over the state courts; the *imam jum'ehs* in charge of the Friday Mosques in the major cities; and the *shaykh al-islams* regulating the main religious courts(Abrahamian,1979). The second group was formed of preachers, Quranicteachers, seminary students, low ranking clerics and jurists. The connection between second class and clergies is considerable because businessmen, tradesmen,and craftsmenfinanced the bazaar mosques, schools(*maktabs*), seminaries(*madresehs*),theaters*(takiyas)*, and other religious foundations(*vaqfs*)(Abrahamian,1979).

Merchants and Bazaaris were anger and dissatisfy with economic condition of country, due to worse governance economy was experiencing various financial crisis and merchants were unable to provide with basic products to urban population. Price of basic products was experiencing increase and the price of the basket of necessary items increased 5.5 times from 1890 to 1900(Gheorghe,2019). High inflation rate, growing unemployment and increasing urban population caused uncontrolled anarchy.

Another major problem was decentralized bureaucracyQajar kings were ruling Iran by weak administration in center and strong bureaucracy in provinces the administrative body in provinces consisted of ruling Qajar dynasty which resisted attempts of central government to centralize the administrative system. Mismanagement, growing expenditure and corruption resulted in economic stagnation that effected generally all other classes of the Iranian society and specially the merchants.(Gheorghe,2019)

Foreign investors during nineteenth century gradually got influence that made merchants more angry, the foreign trade experienced dramatic growth and increased about twelve times(Gheorghe,2019)This growth, in turn, caused, on one hand, the destruction of many handcraft industries, such as textiles,

and, on the other hand, the construction of modern communications, the commercialization of agriculture, especially in the Caspian provinces, and the expansion of export-oriented industries,especially hand-wovencarpets(Abrahamian,1979). The foreign trade in last decades of nineteenth century was controlled by Russian or Britain traders, the reason was defeats of Iranian forces in two Russo-Iranian and three Anglo-Iranian wars that led to Treaties of Turkmanchai and Paris which permitted Russian and Britaininvestors to open their offices anywhere in Iran and exempted them from local laws and tariffs.In addition, the government budget deficits forced Qajar rulers to take foreign loans that made economic condition more worse(Abrahamian,1979).

Apart from mentioned dire consequences of military defeats, another impact was sending students to Europe so that they can learn modern sciences especially the new art of fighting and producing modern weapons. First group of students went in 1811(Ha'iri,1364 AH solar) and this process continued for a long period, the students who came from Europe bring new political ideas with them which made ground for revolution in the beginning of twentieth century. The new intelligentsia who named themselves enlightened thinkers(Abrahamian,1979) was impressed by French enlightenment tried to transfer their ideas by newspapers and books the concepts like election, vote, assembly, separation of powers, constitution, freedom of expression, rights of people, nationalism, and democracy were strange for Muslim clerics, in Islamic history Muslim jurists and clerics never faced the challenge of this kind, they took around 100 years to present their views regarding modern political systems. The first mature response among Shi'a Muslims was ***Tanbih al ummah va Tanzih al Millah*by Sheikh Nai'ni.**

Demands in Constitutional Revolution:
In the beginning of revolution the basic demand of people was formation of *adalatkhaneh*(justice house, new institute of justice) Qajar king Muzafer al-din accepted this demand on January 12,1906(Browne,1910) but after a short period when government forces killed protesters who were gathered to condemn killing of a Syed Abd al-Hamid a seminary student, the protesters demanded formation of representative assembly and constitution, the Qajar king this time also accepted the demands of protesters and first elections held in fall and assembly started its work in October 1906 while first constitution was signed by king in December 1906(Kasravi,2004). However assembly was bombarded in 1908 by king Shah Muhammad Ali(Browne,1910) who got the kingship after death of his father Muzaf al-Din in 1907. The pro-constitution forces marched from Azerbaijan province of Iran to Tehran and captured it, than disposed the King and restored the constitution.

Life and Works of Mirza Nai'ini:
Muḥammad Ḥusayn Gharawī Naʾīnī was born in about 1273 AH(lunar) in a religious and scholastic family, his father and grandfather were famous jurists and Sheikh al-Islam(title used for judges) living in Na'in birth place of Mirza Nai'ni(Al-Amin,1983). He received his earliest education in Na'in, in 1293 AH(lunar) he migrated to Isfahan for further education and passed early stages of Islamic science, in 1300 AH(lunar) he set out for Iraq where he completed more advanced studies such as principles of Islamic jurisprudence and Divine law. His one of the most important teachers was Akhund Khorasani who was an outstanding jurist in Najaf, He was counted as one of the most reliable student and advisor of Akhund in political matters(Ha'iry,1364 AH). When he started Darse Kharij (lectures in which jurist offers his research concerning Divine law and principle of jurisprudence) many students attended his lectures and soon he became one of the best teachers in Najaf.

He written various texts some of them are*Hawashi 'Ala al-'Urwat al-wuthqa* and ***Tanbih al ummah va Tanzih al Millah***and some renown transcription of his lectures are *Munyat al-talib fi sharh al-Makasib*, transcribed by Musa Khwansari Najafi, ,*Ajwad al-taqrirat* , transcribed by Sayyid Abu l-Qasim Musawi Khoei ,*Fawa'id al-Usul* , transcribed by Shaykh Muhammad 'Ali Kazimi Khurasani(Al-Amin,1983).

Significance of Tanbih al ummah va Tanzih al Millah:
Although it might be said that this text was written as the reaction of assembly bombardment by king's army in 1908 the depth of the text indicates that Mirza had been thinking for a long period to solve the apparent contradiction between Islamic teachings and new political concepts emerged in Europe. It is notice worthy that he took closer look at all incidents happened in Iran from Tobacco Protest to constitutional revolution, he probably supported Mirza Shirazi (Ha'iri,1364 AH, solar)when he issued fatwa (ruling) against British control over sale and export of tobacco granted by king Nasir al-Din and during Constitutional revolution he was the closest advisor of Akhund Khorasani and prepared statements and telegram for him,(Ha'iri,1364 AH,solar) it might be claimed that he was informed

completely about incidents took place in Tehran and arguments of some jurists like Sheikh Fazl Allah against the constitutional revolution,therefore he tried to answer the questions arose by opponents. For example the 1906 constitution was based upon Belgium constitution 1831, this was enough for opponents to claim that constitution of Muslim country like Iran has established upon foundations made by non-Muslims. Shevlin explained this problem in these words:The two main issues of debate within the *ulema* were, first, what role, if any, a secular constitution should play in an Islamic society, and second, what role, if any, the people should play in the government. On one side of the debate was the relatively moderate Mirza Muhammad Hussein Gharavi Na'ini, who gave limited support to the constitution. On the other side was the more conservative Ayatollah Fazl Allah, who opposed it Na'ini granted limited support to the constitution because he saw the constitutional system of government as compatible with Islam, which was itself essentially constitutional because of its reliance on religious and civil laws(Shevlin,1998).

It is interested to know that source of his acquaintance with western political philosophy was text of kavakibi *Taba-i Al-Istibdad* printed before constitutional revolution in Iran, since Mirza knew Arab language very well he benefited from Kavakibi's research(Mohammadi,1998).

Political Theory of Nai'ni:
Before describing the views of Sheikh Nai'ni it is important to mention two opposite views of Shi'a jurists regarding establishment of government in major occultation, the first view believes that dissimulation is obligatory in major occultation and in result Shi'a people should not try to establish any government while second view says that it is necessary to establish political system in occultation period and they can create political system though it will be defective.

He stated his political views in *Tanbih al ummah va Tanzih al Millah* which consists of introduction and five chapters the important part of introduction comprises definition and explanation of important concepts such as Tranny, freedom and equality. He discussed about reality of governance in first chapter, second and third chapters describe how to limit power while in fourth chapter he discussed some doubts regarding constitution and fifth chapter is related to duties of assembly members.

Types of government :
After explaining necessity of government, he divided government into two types, first is governance of Imam and second is governance of non-Imam(Na'ini,1393 AH solar). This division has been derived from Shi'a belief in Imamate, according to Shi'a Islam, we need a leader who is not only a politician but he is also a guide who gets Divine Command from God to run the government, his one of the most important attributes is being infallible. Since the Imam is appointed by God and he is infallible he will never be tyrant for people living in his domain. Other type of governance is governance of non-Imam, it is a view among Shi'a jurists that everybody who takes charge of government is called usurper even if he be a twelver Shi'a Muslim and the society be a Shi'a society. In contrast, some jurists believe that Shi'a Muslims can establish government in major occultation because without government no society can exist, jurists having later view have been seeking asystem that is better than completely illegitimate system during major occultation, in other words every political system during major occultation is illegitimate but the degree of illegitimacy is different, the constitutional government is also illegitimate but it is better than tyrant government, the title of his book proves it(Ferahi,1380 AH solor), the complete name of his book is *Tanbih al ummah va Tanzih al Millah fi Luzum-i Meshrotiat-i Daulat-i al-Muntakhabat-i le Taqlil-i al-Zulmi- ala Afradi- al-Ummat-i*the last part of name indicates that the purpose of constitution and assembly is to decrease cruelty upon people, this means that both constitutional government and tyrant government are cruel but **cruelty in former is less than later .**Mirza was in second group of jurists, according to him, ruler may have two kinds of control, first is internal and second is external, Imam has internal control over himself, however only few non-Imam might has this power, majority of rulers do not have this power therefore they need external control, which includes constitution and assembly of representatives.

Freedom and Equality:
These two desired attributes are direct result of controlling the power of rulers by constitution and assembly, people are free as the king is, they are not only equal with king, but they also have right to observe king's activities.**(Na'ini,1393 AH solar)**

Governance with counselling and consultancy:
He believes that one of the foundations of governance is counselling, without which tyranny is generated he proved his idea with Quranic verse "[O,Messenger!] Thus, it is a Grace of Allah that you were gentle to those[who disobeyed in uhud] Had you been tough or hard-hearted, they would have surely dispersed away from around you, therefore forgive them and seek pardon for them from Allah and consult them in the affair"(Holy Quran,Aal-i Imran, 159). God command His prophet to consult his followers in affairs, Sheikh Nai'ni argued that form of the word *Shavir*(consult) indicates command, the pronoun "them" does not indicate specific persons, it includes all people but circle of people is shortened due to context and only intellectual who have abilities tosolve the problemsare included , the word *al-Amr*(affair) denotes all the problems and affairs, God ordered His prophet to consult wise people in all affairs where he could consult them, Although the order in the verse might not be obligatory, it at least indicates that consulting is admired act**(Na'ini,1393 AH solar)**. The assembly members are people who should be consulted by government according to this verse.

Condemnation of Tyranny:
According to Sheikh Nai'ni tyrannical government is evil, it is not only against the God but also against the wellbeing of people, it is opponent of the spirit of the religion; living under this type of government is like living in slavery. He said:The person who is ruling in a despotic regime treats the country and its population as his private property. He considers the people as slaves or animals to serve only his aspirations and passions. Any person who devotes himself to serving the ruler's purposes will be rewarded by the ruler; otherwise, the ruler banishes him, hangs him, and tears him into pieces. The ruler lets the inhabitants eat him and provokes bloodthirsty persons to shed his blood and rob his property. The ruler takes anyone's property for himself or for giving it to the robbers who are under his authority. He reserves to himself the right to give justice to anyone or to violate anyone's rights. (Mohammadi 1998).

Necessity of Constitution:
The role of constitution is crucial in controlling rulers because it bounds there will and power, and it plays as a tool which prevents the ruler from crossing his limits, according to Mirza it works same as spiritual power of infallible Imam which prevents him from sins**(Na'ini,1393 AH solar)**. It is constitution that describes duties and rights of every part of government. There was misconception about constitution that we as Muslim do not need constitution because we have Islamic laws which are enough for us. Since constitution is condemnable innovation *bid'ah* which is prohibited in Islam therefore we should not accept constitution.

He tried to remove this misconception by explaining that if a non-Islamic law is entered in Islam as an Islamic law this type of innovation is prohibited and the supporters of constitution do not enter it in collection of Islamic law **((Na'ini,1393 AH solar)**

Necessity of Assembly:
The second element which is necessary to prevent tyranny is observation of people's representatives who are gathered in assembly after elections and not only make new laws but also keep their eyes on executives of government.

What Legislation is allowed?
For replying this question he divided subjects into two types, first which are subjects of Islamic laws that have been mentioned in Holy Quran or Hadith, and second which are not subjects of Islamic laws**(Na'ini,1393 AH solar)**. For example constitution is a modern concept and there was not Islamic law regarding it, thus it will be counted as second group. However there are many subjects who have specific Islamic laws for example number of pray in one day is obviously subject of Islamic law therefore it will be entered in the first group.First group of laws are not changeable by changing the time and place while second group varies by variation of subject.
Following rules would be derived from mentioned division**(Na'ini,1393 AH solar)**.
1. It is necessary to be careful in legislation related to the subjects of first group
2. The counselling and consultancy is permitted only in second group of subjects
3. The legislation is permitted in a domain having second group of subjects.
4. The laws related to second group are variable and there variability depends upon circumstances of subject.

who is illegible to be representative?
He described three conditions for being representative, everyone who is expert in politics and international law, he is not selfish and he is zealot for his people and country can be representative of people**(Na'ini,1393 AH solar)**.

Legitimacy of Elections:
The idea of assembly consisting of representatives was strongly opposed by jurists who were opponent of constitution. The opponents argued firstly that dealing with political matters of the people is the responsibility of jurists, secondly view of majority which makes laws in an assembly is *bid'ah*(condemnable innovation), Mirza tried to explain the problem of *bid'ah*: First, legislation would be an condemnable innovation (*bid'a*), and consequently against Islam only if one declares a non-Islamic provision to be a provision of the Shari'ah and puts it into effect. But if one does not associate the non-Islamic provision with the Shari 'ah, then there would be no innovation. For instance, one person can make a certain schedule for himself so that he may operate in an organised way; or the people of a certain territory may decide to establish regulations to govern their own affairs in a particular manner. Such a schedule or set of regulations can also be written down in a book and can be called a constitution. As long as no claim is made that the constitution is established by the Shari 'ah, there would be no ground for this innovation or legislation against Islam (*tashri*) **(Na'ini,1393 AH solar),(Mohammadi,1998)**.

Na'in argues that, in a Muslim country, only *Ulama* are the legitimate rulers, but he refers to a new idea about representative of *Fuqaha*: The dissatisfaction of the sacred law-giver [i. e., the Prophet] with the topsy-turvy order and with the loss of Islamic territory [is most evident]. It is also most evident that the duties relating to the protection and [establishment of] order in Muslim countries are more important than*hisbah*[such as administration of justice, for instance]. Therefore, the representative of the *fuqaha* and the general representative [of the Twelfth Imam] during [his Greater] Occultation in performing those duties [i. e., ruler ship] is a settled matter in [our] religion(Mohammadi,1998).

Network of Power in Islamic political system:
Network of power is a term which explains behaviour of three groups active, inactive and neutral in a system. Shi'a political theories with specific consideration regarding Islam and nation describe different definition of power network(Ferahi,1380).

Neutrals and Minorities:
The Shi'a constitutional system divides people of the country in to Muslims and non-Muslims. Muslims are active in this system and they participate actively in transferring power, but non-Muslims and neutrals do not play active role(Ferahi,1380). However, Sheikh Nai'ni agrees that non-Muslims also can play active role by participating in assembly elections if they are eligible to be representative in assembly like Muslims(Na'ini,1393 AH solar).

Supporters:
People who are not able to play active role in political system, might support other active politicians, by accepting freedom, equality and counsellingShi'a constitutional systems provided at least theoretically ground for all people to involve in politics(Ferahi, 1380 AH solar). According to Mirza, consultancy and legislation in subjects of second group is possiblefor representatives but it needs check of jurists, if they verify that their legislation is not against the laws of Islam than it might be implemented(Na'ini,1393 AH solar).

Active participants:
Shi'a constitution systems divide the members of the assembly into jurists and non-jurists if observation of jurists on legislation in assembly is taken in to consideration.

Recognition of Nation-State :
Apparently, Mirza accepted Nation-state theory; perhaps he was the first Shi'a jurist who accepted this western political concept. Nation-state is a territorially bounded sovereign polity which is a state that is ruled in the name of a community of citizens who identify themselves as a nation. The legitimacy of a nation-state's rule over a territory and over thepopulationinhabiting it stems from the right of a core national group within the state (which may include all or only some of its citizens) toself-determination. Members of the core national group see the state as belonging to them and consider the approximate territory of the state to be their homeland. Accordingly, they demand that other groups, both within and outside the state, recognize and respect their control over the state (Duignan,2020).

In new constitutional system of Iran the domain and boundaries of power were defined with the help of two factors, religion and nation and in result multiplicity of states and their sovereignty were accepted in constitutional system, according to Mirza protection of independence in any nation was its own duty(Ferahi,1380 AH solar).

Conclusion:-
After a struggle of some years Iranian succeeded to make their national constitution and assembly of representatives, great jurists like Mirza Nai'ni supported the constitutional revolution by presenting new political theory first time in the history of Shi'a Muslims. The political philosophy of Mirza can be summarized in following words.
1. There are two type of governments' government of Imam who is infallible and government of non-Imam.
2. The tyranny of non-Imam ruler can be controlled by constitution and people's representatives
3. The constitution and assembly are legitimated and permitted in Islam
4. Muslim nations have right to make their own political systems in their countries.
5. The legislation in assembly will be legitimated if it is not against the Islamic laws and legislators can make laws only in the circle of subjects which do not have Islamic laws.

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