

THE SUCCESSFUL OF THEO-DEMOCRACY IN IRAN: SPIRIT OF NEO-REVIVALISM TO BE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC ROLE MODEL**Muhammad Haizul Falah**

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ABSTRACT

The Islamic Republic of Iran is a case study of the rise of Muslims inspired by the Islamic Neo-Revivalism movement which views that westernization and modernization are considered to have failed in responding to the political challenges of corruption, economic decline, social injustice, and spiritual malaise, such as the pre-Islamic period. After the success of the 1979 Iranian revolution, it was a turning point in the political and security constellations of Iran and the West which resulted in the emergence of collective inspiration from Muslims around the world for Iran's persistence in implementing theo-democracy principles which the West considered as a setback. This paper is an analytical study using a qualitative-descriptive approach. The results of this study regarding on Iran's theocracy and democracy principles, proved of the successful; a) public participation in politics; b) fulfillment of the rights of women and minorities; c) freedom of the press; d) effectiveness of general elections; e) a pluralistic political party system; f) good governance.

Keywords: *Theo-Democracy, Islamic Neo-Revivalism, the Islamic Republic of Iran*

INTRODUCTION

The rise of of Islamic Neo-Revivalism movement in Iran is a form of affirmation of a cultural or spiritual theoretical approach to the influence of fundamentalism on modernization which is interpreted as westernization or a form of dependence of Iran and Muslims on western development assistance, the agenda of traditional cultural degradation and massive societal moral decline. The wave of Islamic Neo-Revivalism has also grown rapidly and is rooted in political activism to bring Islamic renewal values into the state constitution and fight against secular state supremacy with several basic claims, namely: a) the true legal model for society or sharia is contained in the Qur'an and As-Sunnah; b) Islam is a total lifestyle as a tool for religion, politics, state and society; c) an Islamic state should be established; d) sharia should be implemented to replace western-inspired legal codes; d) westernization and modernization are considered to have failed in responding to the political challenges of corruption, economic decline, social injustice, and spiritual malaise, such as the pre-Islamic period; e) the Judeo-Christian West conspiracy pits the West against the East.¹

Some of these basic claims inspired a wave of Islamic Neo-Revivalism in Iran with the momentum of the Iranian Islamic Revolution to transform the Iranian Monarchy under the leadership of Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi into an Islamic Republic under the leadership of the Supreme leader Ayatollah Rohullah Khomeini. The Pahlavi dynasty was recorded to have fallen on February 11th, 1979 when the Iranian Armed Forces and rebel forces succeeded in defeating the army supporting the Shah in unrestricted civil battles. Iran finally officially became an Islamic Republic on April 1st, 1979 when the majority of Iranians agreed to hold a national referendum. The reason is that, the Iranian Revolution was recorded as the third largest in world history after the French and Bolshevik Revolutions and took place surprisingly because it did not involve the defeat of military resources in open war, monetary crises, peasant and workers revolts or discontent of the armed forces, resulting in a change on a large scale. , namely the

¹Myriam Kati Fizazi Hawkins, 'Islamic Revival Movements and Revolution: The Cases of Iran and Egypt', Dissertations, Theses, and Masters Projects. Paper 1539625910: College of William & Mary Press, 1994. <https://dx.doi.org/doi:10.21220/s2-y1a4-dq96>.



establishment of the Islamic Republic of Iran on the basis of a constitutional theocracy based on the Guardianship of the Islamic Jurists (*welayat-e faqih*) and progressing very quickly to overthrow a ruling regime protected by armed forces and security forces with unlimited funding.²

The turmoil of the Islamic Revolution in Iran is a determination of the inability of the Pahlavi regime to carry out appropriate political reforms for the fulfillment of the social and economic sectors with an authoritarian, brutal, corrupt government, and without transparency and supervision of state finances. The economic policies implemented by the Pahlavi regime were considered very ambitious and not strategic, causing high inflation and scarcity of basic commodities. The reason is that the Pahlavi regime has its own closeness to the western bloc (the United States) and strongly supports efforts to westernization and secularism by using many military advisers and technicians from the United States and granting diplomatic immunity which actually injures the values of the identity of Shia Muslims in Iran and is the opposite from the point of view of the Iranian people in general.³

After the formation of the Islamic Republic of Iran, it is a turning point in the political and security constellation of Iran and has cut off diplomatic ties between Iran and the United States with their allies. The United States has lost opportunities for large-scale arms purchase contracts and Britain has lost access to oil fields in Khuzhistan, southwest Iran.⁴ This makes the US and UK interpret that post-revolutionary Iran is a big threat and should be taken into account, because Iran is the first Shia country and has reaped success in implementing the form and system of state government in the form of Imamate Shia with a commitment to constitutional Islamic law but also as a model state. based on theo-democracy or the formulation of Islamic values into the socio-political order of the country with the trias

²Wisnu Fachrudin Sumarno, 'Sejarah Politik Republik Islam Iran Tahun 1905-1979', *Jurnal Kajian Sosial Keagamaan*, 2020. DOI: 10.20414/sangkep.v2i2.

³H.E Chehabi. (1991). Religion and Politics in Iran: How Theocratic Is the Islamic Republic? *Daedalus*, 120(3), 69–91. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20025388>.

⁴Idhil Akbar, 'Khalifah Islamiyah: antara konsep dan realitas kenegaraan (republic islam iran dan kerajaan islam arab Saudi)', *Journal of Government and Civil Society*, 2007. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.31000/jgcs.v1i1.265>.



politica (executive, judicial, and legislative). The head of government is led by the president who is elected through general elections by the people, while the people's representatives (legislative) also go through a general election process by the people with a term of office of 4 years, and the highest judicial power is led by the Supreme Court.⁵

This paper is an analytical study related to the success of theocracy in Iran which is the determination of the inspiration of the Islamic Neo-Revivalism movement to stem the US westernization agenda and give birth to a breakthrough in Islamic reform to escape from dependence on western aid and the degradation of Islamic values with Iranian ambitions as a role model of a confident Islamic Republic.

METHOD

This research uses a qualitative-descriptive approach with secondary data sources through literature studies from reports, online portals, related news, journal articles, books, theses, and dissertations. The data collection technique was carried out through the theorizing and conceptualizing process from previous studies based on a secondary analysis approach.

The first conceptual framework is democracy which according to Hefner, Muslims do have a tendency to reject democracy because it emerged from the west, followed by the paradox of individual freedom of expression and intensity to support the LGBTQ movement and gender equality bias.⁶ Then emphasized by Esposito & O'Voll that the Islamic and western worlds actually have the same intensity in supporting democratic politics.⁷ Basically, the characteristics of the Islamic Neo-Revivalism movement are inspired by spiritual ideas, in the form of: a) returning to the Qur'an and Sunnah; b) encouraging free reasoning, *ijtihad*, and rejecting *taqlid*; c) emigrate spiritually and/or physically from the territory/rule of infidels; d) hold fast to a just

⁵Abdul Kadir, 'Syiah Dan Politik: Studi Republik Islam Iran', *Jurnal Politik Profetik*, 2015. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.24252/profetik.v3i1a1>.

⁶Robert W. Hefner, 'Remaking Muslim Politics, Pluralism, Contestation, and Democratization', Princeton dan Oxford: *Princeton University Press*, 2005.

⁷John L. Esposito dan John O'Voll. Terjemahan Rahmani Astuti, 'Demokrasi Di Negara-Negara Muslim: Problem Dan Prospek, Bandung': *Mizan*, 1999.

leader/ulama and a reformer.⁸ The categories of Islamic Neo-Revivalism can be identified, namely: a) adaptationist-gradualists (*al-Ikhwan al-Muslimun*), such as in Iraq, Egypt, Jordan, Sudan, North Africa, and Pakistan; b) Shi'a revolutionaries, as happened in the Islamic Republic of Iran, *Hizb al-Da'wah* Iraq, *Hezbollah* Lebanon, and Islamic Jihad Lebanon; c) Sunni revolutionaries, such as Egypt's al-Jihad, the Egyptian Islamic Liberation Organization, *Syria's Abu Dharr Jama'at*; d) primitivist-Messianists, such as *al-Ikhwan* Saudi Arabia, and *al-Takfir wa Al-Hijra* Egypt.⁹

Islamic Neo-Revivalism is a form of action-reaction to the widespread influence of the West with cultural values that are far from Islamic morals and a symbol of Muslim resistance to western dominance against the dependence of the Islamic world with development assistance. As a result, Islamic revivalists reconstructed ideas and built a comprehensive Islamic state constitution accompanied by a government bureaucracy and education system as well as a theologically based political ethics (primary source of Islam).¹⁰

The causes of Islamic Neo-Revivalism are based on: a) internal factors; the idea of revival (*tajdid*) which is the hallmark of Islamic teachings contained in the Qur'an and As-Sunnah on the call for virtue and change through the basis of *aqidah*, integrated *sharia*, and Islamic morality which has succeeded in inspiring Muslims in Iran;¹¹ b) external factors; the challenge of western domination through the influence of colonialism, imperialism, and westernization which causes the weakening of the image of Islam among the Islamic world itself.¹²

⁸Ahmad Ezzati. Terjemahan Agung Sulistya, 'Gerakan Islam', Jakarta: *Pustaka Hidayah*, 1990.

⁹M. Imdadun Rahmat, 'Arus Baru Islam Radikal: Transmisi Revivalisme Islam Timur Tengah ke Indonesia', Jakarta: *Erlangga*, 2005.

¹⁰Caroline Cox and John Marks, 'The West, Islam, & Islamism: Is Islam Compatible with Democracy', London: *Civitas*, 2003.

¹¹Achmad Jainuri, 'Orientasi Ideologi Gerakan Islam; Konservatisme, Fundamentalisme, Sekularisme, dan Modernisme', Surabaya: *LPAM*, 2004.

¹²Nur Ahid, 'Fundamentalis dan Berbagai Orientasi Gerakan Islam', *Paramedia*, 2004.



RESULT AND DISCUSSION**Theo-Democracy in Iran**

The Islamic Republic of Iran is a collective product of democracy and theocracy based on Islam with the laws of the Qur'an and Sunnah. The success of theo-democracy in Iran was inspired by the Shi'a idea of the Twelve Imams with the doctrine that; If there is no just ruler, then Muslims must return to Islamic law.¹³ After the 1979 Revolution, Iran gradually showed a solid intensity towards the maintenance of democratic development, marked by the end of radical political change and secular authoritarian regimes. The basis of Iran's Islamic democracy by combining the sovereignty of the people under the president and the sovereignty of God in the hands of the faqih¹⁴ emphasizes that the concept and practice of democracy is not carried out singly. Rather, democracy is influenced by the determination of cultural values, identity politics, and the existing structure of society and government.¹⁵ This becomes a paradox, when the democratic systems of the United States and Britain are interpreted as homogeneous or universal with the characteristics of multiparty elections, free markets, and the fulfillment of the rights of individuals and the LGBTQ community.

One of the indicators of an ideal democracy is that there are procedural elections, and Iran has implemented elections for the president, people's representatives, parliament, *faqih* council, and city council. Even after the 1979 Iranian revolution, the people were fully involved in efforts for a national referendum and political participation. Indications of the success of theo-democracy in Iran can be seen through the involvement of scholars or mullahs on Shia doctrine (*imamah*) to establish a just, pious, and broad-minded government in leading a country (*wilayah al-faqih*). The Iranian constitution also has a democratic structure in the government system which is divided into (executive, legislative, and judicial) to realize control and balance of power, and establishes presidential elections through an absolute

¹³John L. Esposito dan John O'Voll. Terjemahan Rahmani Astuti, 'Demokrasi Di Negara-Negara Muslim: Problem Dan Prospek, Bandung': *Mizan*, 1999.

¹⁴Faqih is a level I (highest) scholar who has religious knowledge competence at a certain level.

¹⁵Ahmad Sukardja dan Ahmad Sudirman Abbas, 'Demokrasi Dalam Perspektif Islam', Jakarta: *Pedoman Ilmu Jaya*, 2005).



majority vote by recognizing the harmony and power of the people's voice to reject all forms of tyranny, autocracy, and economic monopoly. This is stated in Article 6, Article 27, Article 59, Article 62, and Article 64.¹⁶

In principle, the doctrine of Islamic democracy is rooted in universal and holistic politics that contains elements of divinity, such as justice, freedom, equality, Islamic law, and deliberation.¹⁷ This is in line with the basic principles of the western version of the democratic system that voices humanitarian norms, equality before the law or laws, freedom of thought and opinion, social justice, and the fulfillment of people's basic rights.¹⁸ The position of the Islamic Republic of Iran emphasizes that there is no separation between Islam and democracy, in fact both are fighting against injustice and dictatorship on the basis of recognition of the power of the majority vote. Even so, Iran also takes a critical approach by making a concrete comparison between western democracy and Iranian theo-democracy which is based on theological and sociological elements to support democratization efforts, but has the same principle to uphold human dignity (humanity) in realizing justice and independence and also believed in human rights.¹⁹

Figure 1. Basic Models of Democracy in the United States and Iran

	United States	The Islamic Republik of Iran
Approach	Liberalism	Theocracy (Islam)
Election	President & People's Representative	President, People's Representative, and Mullah

¹⁶John L. Esposito dan John O'Voll. Terjemahan Rahmani Astuti, 'Demokrasi Di Negara-Negara Muslim: Problem Dan Prospek, Bandung': *Mizan*, 1999.

¹⁷Ahmad Sukardja dan Ahmad Sudirman Abbas, 'Demokrasi dalam Perspektif Islam', Jakarta: *Pedoman Ilmu Jaya*, 2005.

¹⁸Bahtiar Effendy, 'Islam dan Demokrasi, dalam M. Nasir Tamana dan Elza Taher (ed.), *Agama dan Dialog Antar Peradaban*, Jakarta: *Paramadina*, 1996.

¹⁹Komarudin Hidayat, 'Tiga Model Hubungan Agama dan Demokrasi', dalam Elza Peldi Taher (ed.), *Demokrasi Politik, Budaya, dan Ekonomi*, Jakarta: *Paramadina*, 1994.



Power Sharing	Executive, Legislative, Judicative	Executive, Legislative, Judicative, <i>Wilayah-Al-faqih</i>
Social Justice	Constitutional Recognition	Constitutional Recognition
Freedom of Speech	Constitutional Recognition	Constitutional Recognition
Human Rights	Constitutional Recognition	Constitutional Recognition

Proceed by author from Iraningsih, 'Republik Islam Iran: Studi atas Theo-Demokrasi Pascarevolusi 1979-2005', Jakarta: UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Press, 2008.

In the similarity of the concept of democracy, theo-democracy and Western democracy both recognize the principle of popular sovereignty over the majority vote, however, the Islamic Republic of Iran implements a theocracy or divinity system based on the power of God which is the highest with the actualization of general elections to representatives of the people or institutions. This has received recognition from Imam Khomeini (Iranian revolutionary figure) who declared the purpose of establishing a people's government (democratic) is for the general welfare which recognizes the principles of freedom, welfare, and justice.²⁰

The Islamic Republic of Iran is able to apply an approach to popular sovereignty (people's sovereignty) and state sovereignty through the concept of the al-faqih region developed by the Shi'ites. This premise gives rise to the characteristics of democracy in Islam which upholds the maintenance of the people's government under divine law (*Al-Qur'an & As-Sunnah*) and does not recognize the concept of dictatorship at the same time.

Procedurally, the Islamic Republic of Iran has implemented a solid democratic system with indications of holding regular elections, although western justification sees the theocratic government system as a traditional approach, Iran has a modern political system with democratic institutions such as the president, parliament, and people's representatives who are directly elected by the people. It is clear that the Islamic Republic of Iran was established by the will of a majority vote

²⁰Yamani, 'Filsafat Politik Islam', Bandung: *Mizan*, 2002.



from the results of the referendum which consists of 14 chapters and 177 articles and contains several government institutions such as the al-faqih region, executive, legislative, and judicial.²¹

➤ Wilayah Al-Faqih

The Islamic Republic of Iran has a strong base of approach to Shia influence, namely the principle of Imamah or leadership based on the Prophet Muhammad and the Imams who came after him. Shia leadership is divided into four classifications, namely; god or Allah as the supreme leader (sovereign sovereignty); leadership of the prophets and messengers to realize the caliphate on earth; the leadership of the Imamate as the successor to the struggle of the Prophet and the Messenger, which consisted of 12 Imams after the death of the Prophet Muhammad; the leadership of a faqih or supreme leader of a country after the imams are gone.²² The requirements for becoming a faqih or great leader are contained in Article 109, namely:²³

1. Scientifically intelligent religion (*alim*) to give fatwas in various fields of fiqh.
2. Fair, wise, taqwa who can be a role model for Muslims.
3. Broad-minded in terms of politics, economics, social and have the soul of a leader.

And if there is no leader who meets the requirements as faqih, it is contained in article 5 of the Iranian constitution to form an assembly of fuqaha 'or Islamic jurists who are in line with Shia teachings that the highest government is the imams who are entitled to the rule of law of the state and religion. Iran's legal basis is based on the Qur'an and As-Sunnah as material for ijtihad by the faqih or Islamic jurists as an answer to all problems that have not been solved by the state, religion, and society. The concept of the al-faqih region is based on the leadership of the faqih or Islamic jurists as secondary sources of law, religious leaders,

²¹Iraningsih, 'Republik Islam Iran: Studi atas Theo-Demokrasi Pascarevolusi 1979-2005', Jakarta: UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Press, 2008.

²²M. Riza Sihbudi, 'Tinjauan Teoritis dan Praktis atas Konsep Wilayah Faqih: Sebuah Studi Pengantar, *Ulumul Qur'an*, 1993.

²³Iraningsih, 'Republik Islam Iran: Studi atas Theo-Demokrasi Pascarevolusi 1979-2005', Jakarta: UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Press, 2008.

advisors, and supervisors of the Islamic state in Iran functionally in the Shia doctrine while waiting for the arrival of the last imam of the end of time, namely Imam Mahdi.

The Supreme Leader of Iran or faqih is elected through a national election process by the people called the General Election of the Council of Experts (*Majlis-l Khubregan*), consisting of faqih and Islamic legal experts consisting of 83 people, based on a district or regional system with a term of eight year. In accordance with article 107 of Iran, that after the death of Imam Khomeini, the highest leadership turned to the Council of Experts elected by the people for an election of wali faqih (*rahbar*)²⁴ in accordance with the requirements stated in article 109.²⁵

The form of people's government (democratic) is contained in article 107 which says that the position of the rahbar and the people are the same. Followed by article 111, if the rahbar is unable to carry out his official duties, then his term of office will be removed by the Council of Experts structurally. While the main task or authority of rahbar are; carry out the maintenance of the general policies of the Islamic Republic of Iran, supervise state policies, appoint six trusteeship councils, issue referendum orders, conduct due diligence on presidential candidates, and declare war and peace as contained in article 110.²⁶

➤ Executive Board

The model of division of executive power in the constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran implements a democratic system of government in general which is held by the president. The President of Iran is the head of government and is the holder of the highest power after the rabbi who is directly elected by the people with a term of four years and has a term limit of two terms as stipulated in Article 114 of the Constitution. The democratic system in Iran is strengthened by

²⁴The Supreme Leader of Iran who is elected by the Council of Experts with a certain term of office.

²⁵Zayar,'Revolusi Iran: Sejarah dan Hari Depan, Yogyakarta: Sumbu Yogyakarta, 2002.

²⁶Humas Kedutaan Besar Republik Indonesia di Teheran, Laporan Tahunan 1989-1990.



Article 117 which requires the president to be elected by the people directly through a majority vote.

The Islamic Republic of Iran is also committed a free political participation through presidential candidacy and will go through the stages of legitimacy of the Guardianship Council which is built through divine qualifications (spiritual side). The elected president may appoint a Council of Ministers (cabinet) with the approval of the Islamic Council of Shura by testing each candidate for the Council of Ministers submitted. The Council of Ministers consists of eight vice presidents and twenty-one ministers.²⁷

Figure 2. List of Presidents of the Islamic Republic of Iran

The 1st President	Abolhasan Banisadr	Elected in January 1980
The 2nd President	Ali Rajai	Elected in July 1981
The 3rd President	Ayatullah Ali Khomeini	Elected in August 1981
The 4th President	Ayatullah Ali Khomeini	Elected in 1985
The 5th President	Hasemi Rafsanjani	Elected in 1989
The 6th President	Hasemi Rafsanjani	Elected in 1993
The 7th President	Muhammad Khatami	Elected in 1997
The 8th President	Muhammad Khatami	Elected in 2001
The 9th President	Mahmod Ahmad Dinejad	Elected in 2005

Proceed by author from Shaban Sahidi Mo'addab, 'Iran Tidak Mengurangi Kebebasan Rakyatnya, *SYIAR*, 2004.

➤ Legislative Board

The Islamic Republic of Iran has three legislative bodies, namely: the Islamic Shura Council (parliament), the Trusteeship Council (Guardian Council), and the Council of Experts. First, the Islamic Shura Council has a function like the People's Representative Council which is elected by secret ballot. The main functions of parliament are related to the submission of draft laws, the approval of ministers, and

²⁷Kedutaan Republik Indonesia di Taheran, Laporan Tahunan 1989-1990, h.26.



supervising the president. The elected parliament has a term of four years. Parliament has 290 members who are directly responsible for the aspirations of the people. The Iranian constitution has an incidental referendum system regulation related to internal government and domestic problems, such as after the death of a member of parliament, the state is obliged to hold a referendum or re-election of people's representatives in the relevant district, and this includes strategic issues of the country such as economy, security, and others.

The second is the Trusteeship Council which consists of twelve members with details of six people elected by the rahbar and six legal experts appointed by the head of the judiciary with the approval of the parliament with a term of six years. The main function of the Trusteeship Council is to ratify draft laws with consideration of the Islamic Shari'a approach.

The third is the Expert Council which consists of 83 ulama who are directly elected by the people through a general election process with a district system. The Council of Experts is obliged to elect a rahbar (great leader) who is responsible for running the wheels of government under the law. The constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran has a democratic side which is seen in the leadership of the rahbar is the sovereignty of the people and is in legal bonds that limit the full power of the uncontrollable.²⁸

➤ **Judicative Board**

Iran's legal system is based on divine revelation and its fundamental role in establishing divine law and justice in its legislation. Divine law or referred to as "Islamic sharia" is a legal concept that must be made by the jurists of the Faqih government who fully meet the requirements based on the "Quran". The law in Iran has previously undergone a number of changes due to various influences, such as ethnicity, religion, and law. Since the Arabs invaded Iran in the 7th century, Iranian law has been based on the rules and sources of Shia Islam. The country is the only one in the world that has made Shia Islam the official religion. These differences in legal systems have led to

²⁸Zayar, 'Revolusi Iran: Sejarah dan Hari Depannya, Yogyakarta: *Sumbu Yogyakarta*, 2002.



different general principles being used in courts across the country.²⁹ The 1979 Iranian revolution changed the constitution which stipulates that all judges must base their decisions on Islamic law, then in 1982 the Supreme Court abolished all monarchical laws that were not in accordance with Islamic Sharia.

The court is an independent institution that is authorized and responsible for the administration and implementation of justice, supervision in the administration of law, protection of individual and community rights, as well as criminal examination and prosecution in accordance with Islamic criminal law. These courts are responsible for the prevention and reduction of crime. The independence of the judiciary is recognized as an indispensable requirement for creating a free society under the rule of law. The head of the court is appointed by the head of state for a term of five years. The head of the court must be an expert in Fiqh (Mujtahid). Administrative affairs and the work of the judiciary do not depend on other powers. This means that the executive power cannot interfere in the appointment and determination of judges' salaries which can influence judicial decisions.³⁰

Judicial power in Iran covers all the functions of the courts from investigating to adjudicating lawsuits and issuing decisions. So all cases are tried in the power of judges and decisions are made with total independence. The current Chief of Judiciary is Gholam-Hossein-Mohseni-Eje'i. Its main function is to appoint and dismiss the chairman and members of the Supreme Court, the Attorney General, and to draw up draft laws (RUU). He also proposed to the President a candidate for the position of Minister of Justice. Meanwhile, the task of the Ministry of Justice is to regulate coordination between the Judiciary and the Executive and Legislative institutions as well as to work in the fields of government organization and budget.

The establishment of the Supreme Court according to the constitution is tasked with overseeing the implementation of laws and ensuring uniformity in court procedures. There are two forms of Courts

²⁹Iraningsih, 'Republik Islam Iran: Studi atas Theo-Demokrasi Pascarevolusi 1979-2005', Jakarta: UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Press, 2008.

³⁰Tahmineh Rahmani and Nader Mirzadeh Koohshasi, 'Intoduction to Iran's Judicial System', *Jurnal of Law, Policy and Globalization*, 2016. <https://www.iiste.org/Journals/index.php/JLPG/article/view/28460/29202>.



in Iran, namely the General Court which deals with general cases and crimes; Special courts responsible for adjudicating cases relating to matters such as national security and drug trafficking. Apart from that, constitutionally, there are several other institutions under the Judiciary, such as military courts, which are part of the judiciary that handles criminal cases involving members of the armed forces, police, and Pasdaran; and the chief state inspector in charge of overseeing the ministry's performance.³¹

Indicators of the Success of Theo-Democracy in Iran

Khomeini believes that Islamic democracy is different from liberal democracy, in that freedoms must be limited by law and the freedoms granted must be exercised within the limits of Islamic law and the Iranian Constitution. The constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran is based on wilayatul faqih which reflects that Iran uses the principles of Islamic law, while upholding the democratic system.³² Indicators of the success of theo-democracy are also no different from liberal democracy, the level of political participation, the fulfillment of the rights of women and minorities, freedom of the press, and the running of elections well are important indicators in assessing the success of democracy in a country.

➤ Political Participation of Iranian People

One of the most significant changes in Iran's history was the Iranian Islamic Revolution in 1979. This great world event brought profound changes to Iran's life and socio-political system, from an empire to an Islamic republic that created a participatory political system. Because the Iranian revolution did not escape the participation of its people who demanded to determine their own destiny. During the revolutionary movement that began and ended in 1979, the community took an important role by conducting mass strikes, publishing

³¹Kedutaan Besar Republik Indonesia di Teheran, 'Iran: Susunan Kabinet Republik Islam Iran', *KEMLU.ID*, 2019. <https://kemlu.go.id/tehran/id/read/iran/58/information-sheet>.

³²ZulKarnen, 'Budaya Struktur Pemerintahan Republik Islam Iran', *Jurnal Al Azhar Indonesia Seri Humaniora*, 2015. <https://jurnal.uai.ac.id/index.php/SH/article/view/194>.



newspapers, and even massive demonstrations. For example, in January 1978, around 4000 students from religious schools held a demonstration demanding the return of freedom of speech and political freedom.³³

In March 30-31st, 1979, after the revolution, a national referendum was held to determine the form of Iran's new government. The people's participation in this matter was very large because they contributed voices to form the new Iranian government. As a result, more than 98% of the Iranian people voted for and supported the change of the government system from the Kingdom to the Islamic Republic.

Article 6 of the Constitution of the Republic of Iran states that state affairs are carried out through the views of the people, which are expressed through election means, namely presidential elections, council members etc., or through a referendum. This is proof that the Government of Iran emphasizes the importance of the active participation of its citizens to achieve a goal.³⁴ The general election in Iran also applies the principle of "fairness" as in Indonesia, namely the principle of direct, general, free and secret; honest and fair.

In the 2005 general election, Setote Intikhobot Milli (Iran's KPU) recorded that more than 32 million Iranians participated in the election out of about 46 million who had the right to vote. According to a rough calculation, the participation of the Iranian people is more than 69 percent or exceeds the government's target of 60 percent. This success was welcomed by the Iranian public and television and is considered the victory of the Islamic Republic of Iran and the victory of Mardum Solorie early (Islamic Democracy).³⁵ Uniquely, the election participation in Iran in 2005 was higher than the presidential election in the United States, November 2004, which was only attended by 50 percent of the voting right owners.

³³Siti Fauziah, 'Revolusi Iran dan Pengaruhnya Bagi Perkembangan Syiah di Indonesia', *Tsaqofah; Jurnal Agama dan Budaya*, 2016. <http://dx.doi.org/10.32678/tsaqofah.v14i1.3386>.

³⁴Humas Kedutaan Besar Republik Islam Iran; Jakarta. *Undang-Undang Dasar Republik Islam Iran*.

³⁵Mun'im A. Sirry, 'Dilema Islam Dilema Demokrasi', Bekasi: *Gugus Press*, 2002.

The high rate of electoral turnout in 2005 shows that democracy in Iran is alive and well. In addition, evidence that the Iranian people's voice was not ignored was when Ayatollah Al Khomeini as the supreme leader of Iran explicitly canceled the decision of the Guard Council which removed Mostafa Moin from the list of presidential candidates because it indicated political manipulation and received threats from the reformist camp. According to Khomeini, all parties have the right to participate in elections, so that the whole world can witness how democracy is being implemented by Iran.³⁶

➤ Rights of Women and Minorities

After the 1979 revolution, there were quite basic changes regarding the status and rights of Iranian women. The prevailing regulations seem to limit the role of women in the public arena. There is a clear decision regarding the obligation to wear the hijab for women when leaving the house, and hiding all parts of the body except the face and palms. The obligation to wear the hijab also applies to non-Muslim women and state guests. Even though they seem to have severely restricted the movement of women, in subsequent developments women began to have a place and have a wider role.

The starting point of progress on women's rights occurred during the reign of Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani, in 1989 to 1996 much progress was made for Iranian women. Rafsanjani says that Iranian women can be just as successful as Iranian men. Rafsanjani not only made a promise, but he realized what he was saying directly at the government level. In 1995, the position of deputy health minister was first given to women, marking a major change in the revolutionary era. Rafsanjani ordered all ministries and provincial governments to establish women's affairs offices. Meanwhile, the Women's Cultural and Social Council formed by the government fought hard to end discrimination against women, especially in universities. The government is also actively sending women to international women's conferences.³⁷

³⁶Riza Sihbudi, 'Islam, Dunia Arab, Iran: Bara Timur Tengah', Bandung: Mizan, 1991.

³⁷Bambang Cipto, 'Dinamika Politik Iran', Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2004.



More than 2,336 city and village councilors, as well as a third of civil servants in Iran are women. Then 35 percent of government management positions are also occupied by women. By implementing an Islamic Republic system that allows women to participate in politics, Iran has broken the hegemony of Middle Eastern countries that tend to only have men in government to take on government jobs.³⁸

Regarding the rights of minorities in Iran, the government provides support and security for them. The religious life of minorities in Iran is certainly fine because Muslims in Iran also recognize Prophet Isa as a prophet. This is similar to the situation of women's rights, where minorities are increasingly respected. Iran does not apply infidel dzimmi or infidel dzarby against people who are not Muslims, or against people who practice other religions. In addition, the celebration of holidays for minorities is also allowed.

According to Article 12 of the Iranian Constitution (Iranian Basic Qanun), Iran's official religion is Islam and the official school of thought is declared Ja'fari Itsna 'Ashari'a, but the other recognized schools of thought, namely Hanafi, Shafi'i, Maliki and Hanbali, must also be fully respected. Adherents of these schools also have the right to hold commemorative events and celebrations based on their respective schools of jurisprudence so that they have the freedom to teach and obtain education.³⁹

Article 13 states that native Iranians, who are Zoroastrians, Jews, Christians, and adherents of other recognized religious minorities, according to the constitution have the right to hold religious ceremonies, receive religious education, and practice religious teachings. Then in Article 14 regulates and obliges the Iranian government and its officials from high levels to lower levels to treat followers of other religions in a good and ethical way to apply the law in accordance with Islamic justice and respect their human rights. This principle applies to those who are not against Islam and the Islamic Republic of Iran. Article 23 also stipulates the prohibition of

³⁸Ali Pahlevani Rad, 'Wanita Iran 29 Tahun Pasca Revolusi Islam Iran', *Republika*, 2008.

³⁹Iraningsih, 'Republik Islam Iran: Studi atas Theo-Demokrasi Pascarevolusi 1979-2005', Jakarta: UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Press, 2008.



persecution, taking the law on their own, and no one has the right to attack other religious beliefs.⁴⁰ With a constitution that guarantees freedom of religion and adheres to a recognized sect, Sunni Iranians live in safety and harmony amidst Iran's majority Shiite Muslim community.

➤ Freedom of Press in Iran

Freedom of the press and democracy are two things that cannot be separated, because with the freedom of the press, the quality of democracy can be guaranteed. Regarding the freedom of the press in Iran, during the Iranian revolution and post-revolution there were many newspapers published and circulated. However, after 3 years after the revolution, the mass media was limited under the pretext of maintaining the stability of the Islamic Republic of Iran. The media is still under full control to prevent the negative influence of Western culture, especially from the United States. Because the influence is contrary to Islamic law.⁴¹

As of now, the Iranian media has remained largely unchanged from previous years. Media life has not shown any new developments. There is freedom, but within the limits of Islamic revolutionary values. The life of the press is supervised by the Minister of Culture and Islamic Development. If it is deemed not in accordance with revolutionary values, the government does not hesitate to revoke its distribution permit.

Despite the fact that press freedom in Iran is still under strict supervision and is restricted, it does not mean that there is no freedom of the press in Iran. Because there is openness by the Iranian political elite who can accept harsh criticism from the press. In addition the press has also formed various free press associations to counter government censorship and promote a better understanding of press life in Iran. On 2-5 May 2002 a panel discussion was held to discuss the law of the press. Panelists include Mohsen Armin, Member of the Parliamentary Leadership Committee; Karim Arghanpour, Deputy Chair of the Association of Iranian Journalists (AIJ) and Deputy Minister of Culture and Islamic Guidance. The discussion raised the need to amend the

⁴⁰Musthafa Abdul Rahman, 'Iran Pasca Revolusi', Jakarta: *Buku Kompas*, 2003.

⁴¹Kedutaan Besar Republik Indonesia di Teheran, Laporan Tahunan 1991-1992, h. 232.



Press Law. At the same time, the Cooperation Agency for Newspaper Leaders and the Ministry of Culture agreed to hold a national conference to discuss a comprehensive modern newspaper distribution network and its application to improve the role and performance of the press.⁴²

➤ Election Effectiveness

Iran's unique and complex system of government combines elements of modern Islamic theocracy and democracy into the center of attention for Islamic countries and democracies. Muslim-majority countries view and predict Iran's government system as the latest breakthrough if Islam will become a new ideology that plays an important role in the development of international politics. According to Article 6 of the constitution, state affairs are carried out through the views of the people, which are expressed through election means, namely the election of the president, assembly members, Council of Experts and other Councils, or through a referendum. After the 1979-2021 Islamic revolution, Iran has held 29 general elections. Iran has also held referendums three times, namely; a referendum on the form of government, the constitution at the beginning of the Islamic revolution, and the revision of the constitution in 1989. All of the referendums were attended by Iranians with more than 50 percent of the people eligible to vote.

Elections are held every four years to elect the President and to elect representatives of the legislature/assembly. In addition to parliament, there are elections for the Council of Experts. In August 1979, through elections a Council of Experts was formed to appoint leaders/*rahbars*. This election has been held three times until 2005. Its members are 83 ulama who are elected through the district system. They are directly elected by the people, with a term of office for eight years.

Elections in Iran can be said to be successful because of the large political participation of the Iranian people. Turnout has consistently been above 50 percent since the Islamic Revolution in 1979 except for the 2020 parliamentary elections, when many turned down to vote

⁴²Kedutaan Besar Republik Indonesia di Teheran Laporan Tahunan 2002-2003, h. 135.



amid growing discontent with clerical power and the state of the economy.⁴³ In addition, the elections held in Iran demonstrated the application of the principles of justice, honesty, freedom and confidentiality. Tempo magazine, which covered the 1989 Iranian elections, reported that Iranians refused to be interviewed at polling stations. They dared to speak up when they were a little too far from the polling station to avoid intimidation. The report shows that Iranians are very confident in their ability to keep the election of their leader secret.⁴⁴

➤ A Pluralistic Political Party System

Since Iran's system of government changed to the Islamic Republic of Iran, Iran's constitution provides for the freedom of political parties. Immediately after the 1979 Islamic revolution, almost 100 political parties were formed. It is clearly written in article 26 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran 1979 that permits the formation of parties, societies, political or professional associations and religious societies, whether Islam or one of the religious minorities recognized by the government as long as they do not violate the principles of independence, freedom, national unity, Islamic criteria or basic principles. Islamic Republic.⁴⁵ Even though in its implementation Imam Khomeini in 1989 had time to abolish the existence of multi-party on the grounds of divisions among the revolution's extended family. Party-related laws were not really implemented until late 1988.

The main parties during the 1980s were dominated by the clergy. However, significant developments occurred when the Construction Executive or Kargozaran-I Sazandegi was formed to replace President Ayatollah Ali-Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani where the founder was not a cleric but was a technocratic figure with a pragmatic ideology. In addition, Iran is noted to have more parties than most

⁴³BBC, 'Pilpres Iran: Sistem Pemerintahan Unik yang Gabungkan Teokrasi Islam dengan Demokrasi', BBC News Indonesia, 2022. <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/dunia-57525647>.

⁴⁴Hamid Nasuhi, 'Demokrasi Tanpa Partai', *Politik Islam I*, 2006.

⁴⁵Abbas William Samii, 'The Changing Landscape of Party Politics In Iran – A Case Study', *The Journal of the European Society of Iranian Studies* (1), 2005. http://www.sssup.it/UploadDocs/4525_6_The_Changing_Landscape_of_Party_Politics_in.



democracies, their activities are unclear and have no real political role. As a result, people have little trust in them.

Political parties in Iran are divided into four generally recognized sections, namely a hard-line mullah group or the right wing (The Society of Combatant Clergy), a conservative or left wing mullah group (The Assembly of Combatant Clerics), Independence Group and Ansar-e Hezbollah. who is a staunch defender of the Islamic Republic. Even extreme armed opposition groups such as the Mojahedin-e Khalq Organization (MKO), the people's Fedayeen and the Democratic Party of Iranian Kurdistan have existed, although they are now inactive because they do not have the ability to interfere with the government. The existence of new parties formed into the Islamic bloc which is divided into right and left wings arises due to disagreements regarding government control over the economy. These two wings of the political spectrum contribute to the idea that most of the best ways to achieve economic growth through cooperatives or private companies should be religion-based or non-religious.⁴⁶

The right party is a party that leans on the Shia tradition where religious leaders play a central role in shaping the party's thinking. They believe that a major factor in the credibility of the entire political system is centered on the decisions and ideas of religious rulers. Their main parties are the Islamic Republic Party (*Hibz-I Jumhiiri-yi Islimi*), the Islamic Coalition Party (*Hizb-I Mutalifah-yi Islami*), the Islamic Society of Engineers (*Jemeayi Islami yi Mohandesin*) and The Population of Defense of The Islamic Values (*Jamiate Dfea as Arzeshhaye Eslami*) aims to counter liberal movements to uphold Islamic values by emphasizing the vital role of religious rulers. Meanwhile, the emphasis on the goal of forming a leftist party is the implementation of the constitution to respect the rights of the people and work to increase political freedom. They believe that guaranteeing legal and political freedom are priority values for social and political growth in Iran. Support for leftist parties extends to the middle class, lower class, religious groups and

⁴⁶Hossein Asayesh, et.al, 'Political Party in Islamic Republic of Iran: A Review', *Journal of Politics and Law*, Vol. 4, No. 1; March 2011. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/314426491_Political_Party_in_Islamic_Republic_of_Iran_A_Review.



bureaucratic groups. The well-known parties are The Association of Combatant Clerics (*Majma'-l Rouhaniyyun-l Mubariz*), Islamic Revolution Mujahideen Organization (*Sazman-l Mujahidin-l Inqilab-l Islami*), The Executives of Construction Party (*Hezbe Kargozarane Sazandegi*), Islamic Iran Participation Front (*Jebheye Mosharekate Iran-e Eslaami*) and National Trust Party (*Hezbe Etemade Melli*).⁴⁷

Good Governance In Iran

An Iranian-style divine democracy that prioritizes Islamic values based on the perspective of the Itsna Asyariah Shia school cannot be said to be fully democratic because the highest government is the wilayatul Faqih which has an important role in the government. However, the concept of wilayatul faqih applied in Iran is a variant of democracy. Imam Khomeini's idea about the authority of wali faqih does not always see the limits of Islamic law alone, but the concept of balance and the mechanism of alignment (checks and balances) must work so that the government is not unjust.

Democracy and Islam are actually a single value in the application of Islamic political principles. Islamic values are generally in line with democratic values such as justice, freedom, equality, deliberation, and guaranteeing basic human rights. Imam Khomeini's political thinking has received sharp criticism where the dominance of the ulama leadership makes the role of the people as the main control in pure democracy very low. In response to this, Khomeini reiterated that the Islamic democracy model is a true democracy where the sovereignty of the people is limited by the sovereignty of God.⁴⁸ This divine bond makes the people's power not absolute, but still a majority vote is needed to elect just jurists and fulfill the special requirements of leaders. He claims that Iranian-style Islamic democracy is different from liberal democracy which only prioritizes people's happiness by ignoring God's blessing.

⁴⁷ACCORD-Austrian Centre for Country of Origin & Asylum Research and Documentation, 'Iran: Organization and Functioning of Political Parties', *Query Response [a-10095]*, 2017. <https://www.refworld.org/pdfid/5943a4a14.pdf>.

⁴⁸Irnaningsih, "Republik Islam Iran: Studi atas Theo-Demokrasi Pascarevolusi 1979-2005", Jakarta: Universitas Islam Negeri Syarif Hidayatulla Press, 2008.



To investigate further about the implementation of true democracy in Iran by seeing whether their way of democracy can produce complete prosperity for its people? The implementation of democracy in substance should be the foundation for the creation of good governance. According to Khomeini, a democratic system is a system of government that brings the common good of the people, namely to freedom, justice and general welfare. This idea of democracy is understood as a means to an end, as stated by Jawaharlal Nehru "Democracy is a means to an end, not the end itself."⁴⁹

Good governance as an independent variable has six indicators in assessing the success of democracy in a country according to the World Bank model. These indicators are control of corruption, Government Effectiveness, political stability, regulatory quality, rule of law and voice and accountability.

1. Control of Corruption

The implementation of theo-democracy is the same as the journey of implementing democracy in other countries. Corruption in Iran has become systemic. The mechanism of systemic corruption followed by political decay has formed a vicious circle in Iran. The close ties between the world of economy, politics and the military have contributed to the growth of corruption and nepotism. According to the latest World Bank and Transparency International, Iran has a fairly high perception of corruption. Iran ranks much worse than China and India which are notorious for having high levels of corruption as well.

A far more serious fact is the practice of punishing reporters and journalists who expose corruption cases in Iran's judiciary rather than officials who commit acts of corruption. Forms of corruption in Iran include; non-transparent campaigns,

⁴⁹Brainy Quote, 'Democracy and Socialism are Means to and End, not the End itself', Jawaharlal Nehru quoted in Brainy Quote, 2001. https://www.brainyquote.com/quotes/jawaharlal_nehru_383325.



manipulation of statistical data especially in difficult times of the country, administrative corruption such as bribery, theft, embezzlement of money, fraud, conflicts of interest and nepotism are the dominant forms of petty corruption in Iran. The factors that cause corruption to become systemic cannot be separated from the restrictions imposed by the state on business and export activities which create opportunities to earn money through illicit means.⁵⁰ Especially when the US repeatedly imposes economic sanctions on Iran, the dark economy is increasingly widespread. The times of economic sanctions did not support transparent governance and economic progress.

To eradicate corruption, Iran ratified The United Nations Convention Against Corruption (UNCAC) in 2003 and is active in a number of corruption eradication organizations such as the Convention on Combating Bribery of Foreign Public Officials in International Business Transactions, United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime and Interpol. The results of Iran's anti-corruption policies are three important mechanisms, namely whistle-blowers, civil rights organizations and press freedom, which function to uncover hidden corruption cases.⁵¹ Finally, the implementation of comprehensive anti-corruption policy and law enforcement without exception.

2. Government Effectiveness

⁵⁰Helena Bennett and Mark Pyman, 2018, "Corruption In Iran: Experience, Perception, and Reform Efforts – A Literature Review, ResearchGate, page. 3.

⁵¹Habeeb Abdulrauf Salihu. 2020. "Corruption and Anti-Corruption Strategies In Iran". *Journal of Money Laundering Control*. 23 (1), 77-89. <https://doi.org/10.1108/JMLC-01-2019-0001>



The effectiveness of the government in serving public affairs, improving public administration and reforming the structure of the public sector is an initial effort to achieve sustainable economic development and improve people's living standards. In the modern era, the public sector must be a peaceful partner for the private sector, not even dominating one of the parties which results in a decline in the national economy. In a study on the qualification of public sector management through government effectiveness showed that the situation of government effectiveness in Iran is weak and not in the standard trend. Iran is ranked 15th among 25 rival countries in the South West Asian Country.⁵²

The ability of the state to carry out radical reforms is impossible given the lack of trust between the state and the people, the fear of massive social upheaval and hence could exacerbate public discontent. The state is trapped in political and social pressures and is unable to maneuver through critical long-term reforms. In addition, the credibility of the government's commitment to a policy is very low. When President Hassan Rouhani came to power in 2017, mass demonstrations quickly emerged expressing popular disapproval of the regime's policies in Iran because Rouhani was unable to keep his election promises.⁵³ The protests are the largest since the 2009 Green Movement protests, Iranians are demanding economic, political and social demands.

3. Political Stability

⁵²Yadollah Dadgar and Rouhollah Nazari. 2018. "Difficulties of Public Sector Structures as Main Obstacle for Economic Progress In Iran". OIDA International Journal of Sustainable Development.

⁵³BTI 2020 Country Report, page. 4.



A number of militant-separatist Sunni Baloch and Kurdish parties and organizations have been established in Iran in response to the central government's discrimination against minorities since the Islamic revolution erupted. Although the government controls Iran's border areas, there are still some borders that are not covered by government protection.

During the history of Modern Iran, many civilians including men, women, children, government officials, activists, secular intellectuals and clerics have been the targets of victims of murder, victims of terrorism or violence against non-combatants. Terrorist attacks strike in various forms including state terrorism. State terrorism endangers the peace, security and human rights of the people which often targets parties in the development of science and technology such as the killing of individual elites including nuclear scientists. In addition, clashes between the Iranian Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDPI), the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) and the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC) erupted violently in 2018, when a missile hit the KDPI headquarters.⁵⁴ The tension of the attacks also increased, resulting in 12 people being killed and more than 50 people injured. The series of attacks continued in the same year.

In the relationship between good governance and economic growth, political stability is a determinant for economic growth. Political stability is able to absorb foreign investment, therefore the authorities are advised to promote political stability in order to achieve the target of economic growth.

4. Regulatory Quality

⁵⁴BTI 2020 Country Report, page. 6.



Regulatory quality is one indicator of the quality of public sector management in a country. Iran is ranked 22nd out of 24 competitors which are South West Asian Countries. This means that there is a very large gap in comparing Iran's status in regulatory quality index regulation with other competing countries. Nevertheless, the quality of regulation shows a positive effect on economic growth in the last 8 years.

5. Rule of Law

On the rule of law, Iran ranks 19th as a rule of law, which means it is almost at the bottom of the list and shows a problematic status in terms of the rule of law. The rule of law if applied ideally can positively affect economic growth. However, due to its radical and constructive implementation, economic growth is not statistically significant.

6. Voice and Accountability

The level of accountability for Iran is ranked 21 out of 25 competing countries. Accountability of the government system is very low for a country that claims that its democracy is better than liberal democracy. Opinion expression variables show a deterrent effect on economic growth where the direction of growth does not show a positive side. There is even a negative correlation, namely the expression of opinion has a negative impact on Iran's economic growth.

Iran as A Role Model of the Islamic Republic

Judging from the indicators of good governance, the democracy adopted by Iran has led to bad governance. However, if examined more deeply, deviations from the implementation of Iran's democracy are considered reasonable considering the many pressures from the international world. Being more democratic is Khomeini's goal, he makes democracy a means to his end, not democracy as an end.

Despite Iran's low level of democracy, Iran is the only Islamic country that has managed to survive western pressures by optimizing



its national power. The quality of Iran's good governance as a tool to achieve national interests at home and abroad. One example is Iran's diplomatic strategy in an effort to prevent sanctions from being imposed by the United Nations and the European Union by building positive relations with countries such as China and Russia in order to prevent the emergence of new international sanctions.⁵⁵

In addition, Iran's human resources, which are dominated by young people, are not wasted, the spirit of Iran's scientific horizon is growing rapidly which will give birth to other cutting-edge technologies inspired by the Islamic revolution, making the West and its allies increasingly aggressive in imposing various sanctions on Iran. With this national power and the implementation of the theo-democracy government system, it can become a role model for other Islamic republic countries. Iran's activeness in supporting acts of terrorism based on the observations of the United States Institute of Peace and Iran's ambition to make nuclear weapons made the US re-impose sanctions on Iran in 1980. It can be said that the theo-democracy ideology adopted by Iran made the US more wary of any moves. movement of the network of Islamic extremist groups, especially those in cooperation with Iran.

CONCLUSION

The results of the discussion of this paper are the basis of an analytical study of the success of theocracy and democracy in Iran which was inspired by the Islamic Neo-Revivalism movement to end the dependence of Muslims and Iran on the west, which derives several conclusions:

1. The wave of Islamic Neo-Revivalism in Iran emerged as a result of the affirmation of the clash of cultural and spiritual fundamentalism to combat the influence of western modernization which was interpreted as westernization of the degradation of traditional cultural and religious values of Iranian society. This is contained in the basic claims of the neo-revival

⁵⁵Irnaningsih, "Republik Islam Iran: Studi atas Theo-Demokrasi Pascarevolusi 1979-2005", Jakarta: Universitas Islam Negeri Syarif Hidayatulla Press, 2008.



movement, namely; a) the correct legal model for society or sharia is contained in the Qur'an and As-Sunnah; b) Islam is a total lifestyle as a tool for religion, politics, state and society; c) an Islamic state should be established; d) westernization and modernization are considered to have failed in responding to the political challenges of corruption, economic decline, social injustice, and spiritual malaise, such as the pre-Islamic period.

2. The Islamic Republic of Iran implements a system of government in the form of Shia Imamiah or constitutional Islamic sharia commitments based on theocracy and democracy and recognizes the trias politica or division of power (executive, legislative, judicial) but also includes elements of the al-faqih region within its government. Faqih is the great leader of Iran with his main function as overseer of the wheels of government based on the Qur'an and As-Sunnah or (Islamic Law Experts) and is elected through a national election process by the people. The executive branch includes only the president and his cabinet. Legislative institutions include the Islamic Shura Council (parliament), the Guardianship Council (Guardian Council), and the Expert Council. And judicial institutions including the Supreme Court are tasked with overseeing the implementation of laws and ensuring uniformity in court procedures which are divided into two, namely the General Court which handles general cases and crimes and the Special Court which is responsible for adjudicating cases relating to matters relating to criminal matters. things like national security and drug trafficking.
3. Indicators of the success of theo-democracy in Iran have the maintenance of recognition of western liberal democratic values, such as: a) public participation in politics; b) fulfillment of the rights of women and minorities; c) freedom of the press; d) effectiveness of general elections; e) a pluralistic political party system; f) good governance. Recorded in the 2005 general election, Setote Intikhobot Milli (KPU Iran) revealed that there



were more than 32 million Iranians participating in the election or about 69% and about 46 million who had the right to vote. And there are more than 2,336 city and village councilors, as well as a third of civil servants in Iran are women. In fact, it is stated in Article 13 that native Iranians who are Zoroastrians, Jews, Christians, and adherents of other recognized religious minorities, according to the constitution have the right to hold religious ceremonies, receive religious education, and practice religious teachings.

4. The success of the Islamic Republic of Iran in implementing the principles of theocracy and democracy is justified by the west as a threat to the existence of United States influence in the Middle East. The reason is, the birth of the Iranian Revolution has inspired many insurgency movements based on Islamic Neo-Revivalism in Muslim countries. This paper emphasizes that in fact theo-democracy and western democracy are inspired by the same basic democratic values of people's sovereignty and the recognition of the voting rights of the majority. Therefore, democracy cannot be seen from a universal (western) perspective, when democracy is static in nature to be adapted by certain states and government systems to the values contained in society. This can be seen in the variations in the implementation of democracy in Indonesia and Turkey or even in the United States and Great Britain.



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