

Resistance; as a Discourse and the Second Phase of the Islamic Revolution

Behzad Daneshfar*¹, Naser Pourhassan²

DOR: 20.1001.1.26767368.2021.3.8.4.6

1. Instructor, Islamic Teachings, Islamic Azad University of Karaj, Karaj, IRAN.
2. Associate Professor, Political Sciences, Ayatollah Boroujerdi University, Khorramabad, IRAN.

(Received: 30 January 2020 - Accepted: 31 May 2021)

Abstract

The resistance issue brings to mind the "Islamic Resistance Front" in the West Asian region, while the Resistance Front is only part of the resistance discourse. Therefore, the present study aimed to the theoretical and empirical explanation of resistance as a discourse. Resistance in the Supreme Leader's political thought and action is a discourse rooted in the Qur'an, the history of Islam, Iran, and especially the first four decades of the Islamic Revolution. According to these religious, historical, and political principles, the discourse of resistance plays the leading role of the Islamic Revolution in the second phase of the Islamic Revolution. Furthermore, resistance is a pervasive discourse encompassing various Islamic Republic's domestic and foreign policy areas. To this aim, the roots, levels, and function of the resistance discourse are analyzed based on the Supreme Leader's statement and especially the upper hand document of the second phase of the Islamic Revolution with the descriptive-analytical method. This research data has been extracted from the first sources, including the Supreme Leader's statements and the latest sources.

Keywords: Resistance Discourse, Second Phase Statement, Islamic Revolution, Supreme Leader, Dominance System.

*. Corresponding author: b.daneshfar@iran.ir

Introduction

The Islamic Revolution of Iran has entered the fifth decade of its life, which has faced a wide range of restrictive actions and hardware and software barriers over the past four decades. Despite the changes that have taken place in the international system, the confrontation between the United States and its global and regional allies with the Islamic Revolution has continued and intensified. Actions against the Islamic Republic include a range of direct and proxy military, cultural, diplomatic, political, and cyber activities. Economic warfare has been added to these measures in recent years. According to the U.S. Secretary of State Mike Pompeo: "Sanctions against Iran Are the Strongest in History" (Euronews.com/2018).

With maximum pressure on the Islamic Republic on the eve of the 40th anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution, U.S. officials explicitly stated that Iran would not celebrate the 40th anniversary of its accomplishment. U.S. National Security Adviser John Bolton, referring to the 40th anniversary of the Islamic Revolution victory, said: "I do not think there will be many more anniversaries ahead" (Newsweek.com/2019). In such circumstances, the statement of the second phase of the Islamic Revolution was issued by the Supreme Leader in February 2017. The statement came amid growing international pressure on the Islamic Republic. At the same time, the Islamic Revolution has reached a stage in its history where the outlook for the life of the Islamic Revolution is drawn for its second phase or the following decades. This paradoxical situation is the subject of this research that is analyzed through the next question. 'What was the reason for the survival of the Islamic Revolution during the last four decades and the drawing of its future vision in the second phase of the revolution?' The initial answer to this question is: "The main reason for the survival of the Islamic Revolution is the fulfilment of the resistance discourse in various areas of domestic and foreign policy, and on this basis, the vision of a sustainable future for the Islamic Revolution is regarded in the second phase statement". The present study aimed to examine the discourse of the Islamic Revolution resistance theoretically and empirically in the history of the Islamic Revolution, the Supreme Leader's statements using the first and new categories of resources. To this aim, we should explain the permanence secret of the Islamic Revolution, which clarifies some hidden aspects of the Islamic Revolution and helps understand the developments facing the Islamic Revolution. Various articles and researches have been done on resistance discourses and the second phase of the Islamic Revolution.

Regarding the second phase of the revolution propounding at the end of 1397, this issue's research is less than the resistance. Muhammadi (1392) has analyzed the discourse of resistance under Islamism; according to him, political Islam has led to the formation of

a resistance address to Western domination. Motalebi et al. (1397) have examined the positive and negative elements of "Resistance Discourse" in the political thought of the Supreme Leader, and the role of this discourse in engineering and operationalization of "Anti-Arrogance, Denial of the Domination System and Anti-Hegemony and Islamic Awakening" in the continuation of the Islamic Revolution. Mottaqi and Abdullahinejad (1398) have studied the resistance idea in the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic towards the United States. These articles are more focused on resistance, not on the second phase of the revolution. Another researcher has analyzed the role and position of Velayat-e-Faqih in the second phase of the Islamic Revolution (Kazemzadeh: 1398). Regarding a critical review of the research literature, has done no independent research in this field.

1. Resistance Essence

Revolution theories were incapable of analyzing the occurrence of the Islamic Revolution as a remarkable phenomenon. Therefore, it emerged a new generation of revolutionary approaches, and essential theorists such as Theda Skocpol changed their idea to revolutions. However, then cannot analyze the continuation of the Islamic Revolution and its futurism with existing theories. Accordingly, the "Resistance Discourse" is a specific discourse of the Islamic Revolution and should be analyzed according to the criteria and principles of this revolution. In this direction, there is no theory or discourse called resistance in theories of politics and international relations. Some approaches, such as dependency, self-reflection theory, or cosmopolitanism, may have a typical dimension with resistance but are not comparable.

The elements and structures of discourse, a meaningful set of linguistic and meta-linguistic points and symbols (Tajik, 1382: 21), are: "Nodal Point," which is equivalent to the nodal point of identification that other points are arranged around it (Hoseinizadeh, 1389: 20). "Floating Point" whose sense is unstable and numerous. "Articulation" is a combination of elements that find a new identity by placing it in a new set (Jorgensen and Phillips, 1389: 56). "Other-Making" creates and stabilizes the political boundaries of identity (Hosseinizadeh, 1383: 193-194). "Accessibility and Credibility" means having acceptance and social status and value adjustment with society. "Chain of Equivalence and Chain of Difference" covers plurality and difference and emphasizes similarities, but the logic and chain of difference highlight differences and distinctions and pluralities (Hosseinizadeh, 1389: 21). Finally, "Hegemony" is domination and determines rules and concepts based on who will be superior (Stoker and Marsh, 1384: 209).

Resistance is called discourse, strategy, or doctrine that looks at resistance from a specific perspective; in the Islamic Republic, and especially from the perspective of the Supreme Leader, resistance seems to be a discourse; which is consequently beyond doctrine and strategy. Therefore, these two concepts consider as objective and operational aspects of the resistance discourse. According to the Supreme Leader, discourse means the thought that shapes a public and popular form (10/5/1398); in other words, “discourse means that common thought among the people, the general demand of the people. When something becomes a public demand and a discourse, it will naturally come closer to action”. (3/6/1396). This view of discourse is a concept beyond what discourse theorists intended.

2. Genealogy and the Roots of Resistance Discourse

The discourse of resistance is rooted and genealogical from two perspectives. First is religious roots, that is, the religious context in which the Islamic Revolution was formed. Second is the historical context and far and near experience. Distant experience means the tradition, history, and history of Islam and even the history of Iran and the experience of four decades of the Islamic Republic life.

2.1. Religious Foundations of the Resistance Discourse

The Islamic Revolution is a meta-discourse or super-discourse that its transcendent and central point is Islam. A person who is the author of more than one book or a theory, tradition, or discipline that other books and authors find a place in it puts in a position of extra-discourse (Yazdanjoo, 1381: 132). According to it, universality is the main element of extra-discourse, knowing guiding all people in all times and places as a mission. Having a global audience, holism, other-making, simulation, and their message transcends the terrestrial and celestial boundaries is conceptualized as meta-discourse (Motaharnia, 1382: 83). According to the definitions and characteristics of meta-discourse, Islam is the supreme and transcendent point of the Islamic Revolution, which defines its mission as guiding human beings in the spheres of private and social life in Iran and the whole Islamic and non-Islamic world. According to its pervasive and universal goals, the Islamic Revolution has always worked on principles of the victory's first days. These principles include establishing just governments globally, the fight against arrogance, the support of libertarians and oppressed nations, the denial of domination, and the preparation of the ground for the emergence of Imam Mahdi (a.s.) righteous world government.

Resistance as a discourse under the super-discourse of the Islamic Revolution includes a set of elements and components that its central and transcendent point is "Islamic Dignity."

Dignity has two general and specific meanings; in Persian encyclopedias, dignity means pride, greatness and benevolence, honor, esteem (Dehkhoda: 1377).

Dignity in its specific meaning means invincibility and a state preventing a man to be defeated. It has initially derived from "Arz Azaz," which means the firm and impenetrable earth (Wiki Fiqh, Izzat, n.d.). In the Holy Qur'an, the word dignity is used in the same sense; that is invincibility, ability, and not being defeated. The word "Al-Izza" ten times and "Aziz" 92 times and its other derivatives are mentioned a lot in the Qur'an, and refers to invincibility. The word "humiliation" is used seven times in the Holy Qur'an and is explicitly used in front of "Dignity:" "توتى الملك من تشاء و تنزع الملك ممن تشاء و تعز من تشاء" (Say [O, Messenger]: O, Allah! You are the owner of the kingdom You give the kingdom to whomsoever You will and take away the kingdom from whomsoever You will, you exalt whomsoever You will and abase whomsoever You will; in Your hand is all the good; verily, you are powerful over all things) (Al-Imran/26).

The first Qur'anic basis of this principle is this verse 141 of Surah Nisa: "المؤمنين سييلاً لن يجعل الله للكافرين على" Islam, Muslims, and the Islamic community have the highest status and honor in the sight of God, which Muslims should not distort in social relations. God has equal the Muslims' and believers' dignity to His and Prophet Glory. In contrast, the domination of infidels over Muslims and Islamic societies is the most obvious example of humiliation and is strictly forbidden. Accordingly, in the Holy Qur'an, God has rebuked those Muslims who take the infidels as their guardians and ask them for honor instead of their fellow believers. Furthermore, the Qur'an emphasizes the dignity of Muslims by pointing out that Islam is higher and no religion is superior to it (Dehqani Firoozabadi, 1390: 131).

The most important result of Islamic dignity is anti-hegemony. According to the discourse, domination and objective concepts, i.e., arrogance and tyranny, are considered anti-Islamic dignity. Resistance means resisting and rejecting this domination in its various aspects. Opposition to this hostile element is rooted in the Qur'an, which has made the principle of Islamic dignity the main criterion of Islamic societies and governments. In different verses of the Qur'an (Al-Taubah/7; al-Fussilat 6 and 30; Ahqaf/3; Ma'idah/54; Fath/29; Hood 112 and 113; Furqan/52; Noor/21; Taubah/21; A'raf/16; Mu'minun/115; and jinn/16) the issue of dignity has been explicitly or indirectly addressed, which can be considered as the foundations of resistance. These and other verses have discussed the necessity and benefits of resistance. For example, in verse 16 of Surah Al-Jinn, it is promised that: "and if [the people] persevere in the right path, we will certainly give them refreshing water". Verse 30 of Surah Al-Fussilat says: "O, you who believe! When you meet an Enemy force,

hold firm against them and Invoke severely to Allah's remembrance and attributes that you may succeed". Verse 45 of Surah Anfal: "O you who believe! Whenever you stand firm against an army (of the enemy) and remember God constantly, may you be victorious".

These verses are one of the essential foundations of the strategic culture of the Islamic Republic. The resistance discourse has derived from this strategic culture. Based on the above verses, Supreme Leader has interpreted resistance and endurance as preconditions of the revolutionary forces and as the secrets of the Islamic Revolution's permanence. In the sermons of Friday prayers in, Dey: 1398, referring to a part of verse 5 of Surah Ibrahim, he said: "Patience means people who are united in patience and perseverance and do not leave the field with little" (27/10/1398).

2.2. Empirical Foundations of Resistance Discourse

Despite the Supreme Leader's emphasis on resistance in recent years, this discourse is rooted in the experience of the first phase of the Islamic Revolution and historical backgrounds such as the boycott of Muslims in Abitalib branches. The historical-empirical course of the resistance discourse in the Islamic Revolution can be analyzed in different stages. The Islamic Revolution is an exceptional experience that reproduced the Islamic resistance based on its religious teachings. When the Islamic Revolution took place, the previous regime was being backed by its international patrons and had the most advanced army and security and repressive forces. The repression machine of the Pahlavi regime included police units (guards, police, imperial guard, and imperial gendarmerie) and intelligence units (Savak, pillar 2, military intelligence, imperial inspection, and unique office) (Halliday, 1358: 84).

The revolutionaries' resistance during the struggles destroyed this repression structure and caused the victory of the Islamic Revolution. Western thinker Michel Foucault has better introduced the nature of the Islamic Revolution. He proposed a new definition of power based on the experience of the Islamic Revolution. Power is not a simple top-down and grammatical concept, but it runs in a complex network of relationships rooted in different social and discursive layers. Foucault well illustrates two definitions and two faces of power. He considers the king and the army as a symbol of naked power and pure violence and against the general will of the people and their consolidated power as the software aspect of power. He says: "Lack of struggle between different elements surprised me in Iran. The confrontation between all the people and the power that threatens the people with weapons and police gives beauty and importance to this struggle. This point is evident in the confrontation of the people's will with machine guns" (Foucault, 1377: 42-58).

After the revolution's victory, the imposed war played a pontificate role in forming the idea of resistance. Thus, the Iranian people learned

the resistance experienced in continuing the ideology that led to the Islamic Revolution victory in an unequal war. Saddam's regime, supported by many countries in the region and the two superpowers of the East and the West. He exerted widespread economic, political, and military pressure on the Islamic Republic by explicitly violating humanitarian rights. This situation reproduced the resistance idea. During the imposed war, resistance combined with religious teachings. The American Iran-ologist James Bell has described the various aspects of the resistance thought in the imposed war as follows: "The basis of the high morale that supports Iran's war efforts lies in the concepts of Jihad and martyrdom. The belief system of Islam, which is based on jihad and martyrdom, has many effects on the spirit and vitality of the Islamic Republic of Iran. This belief system creates powerful forms of martyrdom and fearlessness that are vital to victory on the battlefield" (Bell, 1368: 420-423). The founder of the Islamic Revolution had proposed meaningful statements about the nature of power in the Islamic Revolution: "Martyrdom is the key to victory" (Khomeini, 9: 445).

Simultaneously with the end of the imposed war, the confrontation of the international domination system with the Islamic Republic gradually entered a new phase. After the liberation of Kuwait from the occupation of the Iraqi military, the Bill Clinton administration implemented a restraining strategy against Iraq and Iran. However, despite U.S. pressure, it failed to favor other countries over sanctions on Iran. Because of this, D'Amato's law, which banned investment in Iran's energy industry, failed. Unilateral international sanctions gradually became more widespread with proposing Iran's nuclear activities. Following the referral of Iran's nuclear case from the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) Board of Governors to the Security Council, five resolutions were passed to impose sanctions on Iran. Then the European Union joined the sanctions on Iran. The withdrawal of the United States from the U.N. Security Council and the widespread return of primary and secondary sanctions placed severe economic pressure on the Islamic Republic, which led to the strengthening and institutionalization of the resistance discourse.

3. Resistance Levels

The resistance discourse has different levels, and it should not reduce to a foreign policy strategy of the Islamic Republic. Although the formation of the Islamic resistance discourse has led to the superiority of the position of the Islamic Republic in West Asia, this discourse has different levels. Understanding the levels of resistance discourse requires an understanding of the international system of domination. This system has always tried to control the Islamic Revolution at various levels and destroy it if necessary. A global sovereignty system is a set of military, political, economic, cultural, and diplomatic

arrangements formed over several centuries after the middle ages. The international system of domination, with the support of its hard power, especially military power, has created "Regimes" to consolidate and institutionalize its authority in the international arena. International regimes are principles, rules, norms, and practices where the expectations of [major] actors intersect and are met. This collection gives meaning and concept to the political actions of the international system and regulates the behavior of the participants, and shows the authorized and unauthorized activities and the way of resolving the conflicts (Ghasemi, 1392: 146). In other words, the international regime is a framework of rules, expectations, and guidelines among actors in international relations. This framework is based on identifying a type of common need and on the principle of reciprocity. An international regime operates in a particular area (Evans, 1381: 337).

The international regime of the global system of domination has formulated its desired rules in three related sections: political-military, economic-financial, cultural-social. In the political-military globe, we can mention the United Nations and NATO. In the economic, free trade and the World Trade Organization have been formed to institutionalize the polarization of the world. In the socio-cultural, the domination system has included another part of its domination in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the so-called right to free access to information. In recent years, the system has established the Human Rights Council to promote so-called liberal freedoms. One of the functions of international regimes is to socialize international political units concerning the existing values and norms of the international community (Ghasemi, 1392: 170). These three sides of the global domination system are constantly reproduced in international regimes created by the system. However, some aspects of the domination system are introduced in some international relations theories and address the need to face it. However, the Supreme Leader has repeatedly explained the various aspects of the world domination system and suggested an outflow of it through the resistance discourse. In several cases, the Supreme Leader has considered the domination system components in cultural, political, economic, and scientific dimensions. He says: "The truth is that the world today is made up of domination poles; collections that, unfortunately, together have created a system of global domination in this period" (24/8/1379). "The main issues that the hegemonic powers in the world domination system rely on to maintain this hegemonistic and destitute relationship are three issues: cultural domination, economic domination, scientific domination" (1/4/1383).

He also believes: "Denial of the West means the denial of Western domination, which are political domination, economic domination and cultural domination" (13/11/1377).

“In today's world, the need for this arrogant demand is to make a rapid move to conquer various fields, especially in three areas: economy, politics, and culture” (7/3/1381).

“Today, the terrible and hated demon of domination threatens nations. This threat is not limited to the Iranian government and the Islamic Republic; the whole world; concentrated the principle and basis of humanity” (30/9/1384).

“The macro-policy of the domination system is the enslavement of nations and domination over the nation's destiny without paying the slightest attention to the interests of nations and the wishes of nations individuals” (1/5/1393).

“In a domination system, the centers of world domination look at the whole world as a prey; everything must be available to them that is the basis of the domination system: the world's financial resources, the world's wealth resources, the world's markets, and labor power” (15/8/1383).

After explaining the various aspects of the international domination system, the Supreme Leader introduced the outflow of it as a resistance discourse. The Islam's nature as a monotheistic religion does not accept hegemony and destitution. According to this Quranic primary teaching "لا تظلمونَ وَ لا تُظلمونَ" Supreme Leader says: "Islam is the religion of monotheism and monotheism means the liberation of man from servitude and obedience and submission to anything and everyone except God; breaking the bonds of human systems domination; breaking the spell of fear of evil and material powers; relying on the infinite powers that God has placed in the human nature and has required him to use them as an inviolable duty" (10/3/1369). He knows the reason for the Islamic system success against the hegemony, this factor: “If there was not Islam, there was not faith in God, and trust in Islamic teachings was not a commitment to religious duties, the Islamic Republic system, like others, went under the control of the same domination system and arrogant power of the United States and non-America” (31/5/1395).

This principle is the primary Islamic identity that Muslim nations must follow it: “the Islamic Ummah and the political and cultural elites must not allow the Islamic countries enemies to overcome the Muslim nation's decision. Today, Muslim nations must return to their original and Islamic identities. Belief in Islam and the power of divine support and reliance on God Almighty causes inner strength and greatness, a power that no one can overcome. We must express this as much as possible in our hearts and actions” (6/6/1390).

3.1. Inner Level

3.1.1. Cultural Resistance and Arena

The Islamic Revolution was established in protest of the international domination system and rebuilt its revolutionary identity. In the Pahlavi period, Iran had become a part of the global domination

system. An American researcher uses the term "Vassalage" for the relationship between Iran and the United States and says: "In this regard, the United States was a supporter and Iran was its follower" (Gaziurski, 1371: 151-152). Thus, the second Pahlavi government had become a "Western Follower" and a "non-Identity" society. The Supreme Leader introduces the primary goal of the Islamic Revolution as turning Iran into an "A Society with an Identity and a New Word" (Mottaqi and Abdullahinejad, 1398: 18-19). "The Islamic Revolution ended the humiliation era of the Iranian nation; previously, the Iranian nation was humiliated by foreigners and powers ... The Islamic Revolution came and removed this unbearable humiliation and honored the country and the nation" (28/11/1394).

In the statement of the second phase of the revolution, while explaining the bipolar world system, the Supreme Leader interpreted and emphasized the occurrence of the Islamic Revolution as a model that denies the two important ideologies of that era. He says: "This revolution has openly and courageously stood against the arrogant and defended the needy and the indigents". "Revolutionary chivalry and virtue, honesty, frankness and authority, the scope of global and regional action alongside the oppressed of the world, is the source of pride for Iran and Iranians". "The Iranian nation, in the life-giving atmosphere of the revolution, was able first to remove the United States puppet and the traitorous element of the nation from the country; after that, to prevent the re-domination of global bullies over the country with power and intensity" (22/11/1397). Regarding the Supreme Leader, the Islamic Republic of Iran is a successful example of resistance against the hegemonic system. "Political scholars of the world and public opinion of many nations recognize that the cause of this eternal hostility is the nature and identity of the Islamic Republic of Iran, which arose from the Islamic Revolution. Resistance of the Islamic righteous positions in opposition to the domination system, resistance against extravagance and encroachment on weak nations, revealing U.S. support for medieval dictatorships and repression of independent nations, relentless defense of the Palestinian people and patriotic resistance groups, a logical and worldly cry over the usurping Zionist regime" (29/7/1594). "The hostility of our enemies is because the Islamic Republic stands against the domination system. It stands against the bad habit of dividing the world into hegemonies and destitute" (31/2/1393). "Because the nation has not surrendered to this domination system, they are under pressure to abandon" (12/7/1391).

According to the Islamic Revolution nature and its willingness to honor the international domination system after the Islamic Revolution victory, and especially after the end of the imposed war, acted to re-dominate Iran in various ways by the "Cultural Method." Supreme Leader under the titles of "Cultural Invasion" (1369), "Cultural Ambush" (1371), "Cultural NATO" (1385), "Soft War"

(1388), "Cultural Breach" (1392) (Pour Hassan, 1393), have emphasized the resistance against this aspect of the domination system explaining the efforts of the domination system.

The movement of the country's scientific training and compensation for backwardness, the pattern of Iranian-Islamic lifestyle against the Western-style, cyberspace, and confrontation with the enemy's field of action will be possible with the resistance.

3.1.2. Resistance and the Economic Arena

The economic arena is one of the most objective aspects of the resistance discourse. When the Islamic Revolution enemies concluded that military, political and cultural strategies would not lead to the collapse of the Islamic Republic, maintaining these strategies they would prioritize economic pressure. Despite the Islamic Republic facing sanctions since 1358, in recent years, and especially during Trump's presidency, it has replaced "Tools of War" with "Tool of Coercion" (Drezner, 2019: 16). The sanction arms are considered the vital tool of the United States and one of the tools of U.S. global governance and have been widely repeated in U.S. national security doctrines (Rosenberg and et al., 2016: 9). Trump administration officials seek to use economic weapons to deter the Islamic Republic, and the concept of "Economic Deterrence" has been added to the CIA's international economic literature. In this strategy, by depriving the target country of financial and international markets and punishing the parties that violate the sanctions, it is tried to change the behavior of a country in various areas (Kim, 2019: 180-181).

Ever since the strategy of economic pressure was the formula of confronting the Islamic Revolution, facing it was the Islamic Republic's duty. The analysis of the Supreme Leader's statements and the naming of the 1390s show this strategic analysis so that economic resistance has become one of the essential parts of the resistance discourse.

After acknowledging the enemy's economic war and the soft war, in Nowruz 2007, the Supreme Leader raised the issue of "Resistance Economy" for the first time in 1389. This issue has since become one of the keywords in leadership statements. With increasing economic pressures, the Supreme Leader, like the cultural sphere, has used more concentrated and intense words and lexicons to explain it and has emphasized resistance with the same intensity. He says: 'Where is our war today?' and said that "Economic warfare is actual. The enemy has started an all-out economic war against us. They also have a war room, check carefully, have an officer, and constantly move; there is no doubt about it" (15/6/1397). Explaining the economic war of the enemy and the strategies to deal with it, he said: "Their medium-term goal is the country's economy, the people's livelihood. Therefore, the economy must not move, the livelihood must remain sluggish, labor and production must remain low in the country, unemployment must

become a public calamity in the country, people should be disappointed with the Islamic Republic and the Islamic system of their livelihood problems”.

It is the enemy's goal; they are trying, they are planning for it, forming think tanks to do these goals in our country. It is their questioned medium-term goal. When we learned it, we must heal, cure; if we are vigilant, we should pay attention and follow (20/2/1396).

Elsewhere, he introduces the strategy of economic resistance as follows: “The country will not grow without a resistance economy, and financial problems are not solved, but its troubles will increase day by day if we do not practice to resistance economy. Therefore, I asked our dear brothers in the government to form a base of resistance economy, give it the command. It is a war, economic war, no gun, arrow, but more dangerous tools than guns and arrows. It is a war and needs headquarter, and the headquarter needs commander. We offered, and they accepted, preliminaries are also underway, but these actions should be sensible and seen. The criteria of all economic work, our economic activities, must be the great and comprehensive plan of the resistance economy. I am not a person who speaks about the resistance economy but has regulated collective thought and reason. Then everyone, without exception - for or against - has endorsed the plan and said: “The only way to save the country is resistance economy” (20/12/1394).

Supreme Leader naming years from 1386 to 1399 shows the belief in the resistance discourse in the economic field. The names of these years in chronological order are saving; innovation and prosperity; moving people and officials to reform the consumption pattern; double effort and work; economic Jihad; national production, support of Iranian labor and capital; political and economic epic; economy and culture with national determination and jihadi management; state and nation, empathy and harmony; resistance economics, action and practice; resistance economy: production and employment; Iranian goods support; and production boom, production leap.

In the statement of the second phase of the revolution, the Supreme Leader provided a comprehensive interpretation of the economy and economic resistance: “The Islamic Revolution showed us the way out of the weak, dependent and corrupt economy of the Taghut era, but poor performance has challenged the country's economy from outside and inside. The external challenge is the enemy sanctions and temptation that correcting the internal problem will be ineffective. The internal challenge is structural flaws and managerial weaknesses.

The essential defects include the dependence of the economy on oil, governmentality parts of the economy that are not the government duty, look to the outside and not to the internal capacity, little use of the country's human resources capacity, faulty and unbalanced

budgeting, and finally, instability of the organizational policies of the economy, non-observance of priorities, the excessive and extravagant expenses in some parts of the government apparatus. Thus, problems in people's lives, such as youth unemployment, income poverty for the poor, etc. The solution is the policies of the resistance economy. They should prepare executive plans for all sections, pursue and act in governments with vigor, delight, and a sense of responsibility.

The internalization of the country's economy, means productivity and knowledge-based, popularization of the economy and government non-involvement, extraversion using the capacities mentioned earlier are essential parts of these solutions. Undoubtedly, a group of young, knowledgeable, faithful, and well-versed in economic knowledge within the government will achieve these goals. The period ahead should be the field of activity of this collection” (22/11/1397).

3.1.3. Resistance and the Political Arena

Resistance has been highly regarded by the Supreme Leader, both culturally and economically, and in other areas of domestic politics, including the political arena. Internal resistance examples include: trying to maintain the legitimacy and efficiency of the Islamic Republic, strengthening the bond between the people and the system, raising hope among all. Each of them needs independent research. Military resistance is one of the most significant aspects of the resistance discourse.

In this regard, the Islamic Republic's success created a kind of deterrent that has curbed other pressures of the revolution opponents. The missile, unscrewed aerial vehicle, and cyber capabilities are among the aspects of military resistance that, due to their breadth and importance, we cannot pay to it. In addition, the Iranian-Islamic civilization had a significant role in the internal issues and problems, such as the spread of the Coronavirus, which added to the legitimacy of Islamic rule.

3.2. External Level

The resistance discourse, which was first manifested at the domestic level, gradually emerged at the level of the West Asian region. This reason spread was the trans-discourse of the Islamic Revolution and its reflection in this region. With a definition of the revolution reflection to “the effect of any revolution out of the territory borders where the revolution took place” (Khorramshad et al., 1390: 18), we can observe the massive reflection of the revolution given the lofty goals of the Islamic Revolution and its context in the West Asian. Thus, the reflection of the spontaneous Iranian revolution in the region shaped the idea of resistance. Regarding the revolution's nature, revolutionary countries, instead of governments, communicate with nations. The transnational ideology of these revolutions also naturalizes their export. The export of the revolution is a two-way relationship between the revolutionary country and the others. Both

the revolutionaries consider themselves obliged to do so, and the transnational supporters of the revolution naturally want the revolutionaries to help them. Since the great revolutions wish to reconsider the order of the international system and to overthrow the new plan, the custodians of the established world order seek to eliminate, control, contain, and transform the revolution. In such circumstances, revolutionary governments conclude that they must transfer their defense borders farther from their geographical barriers. Thus, export of the revolution is regarded deterrent (Khorramshad et al, 1390: 30-31).

3.2.1. Regional and International Resistance Groups

The formation of Islamic resistance groups is a critical aspect and example of the resistance discourse in the West Asian region. Unfortunately, in the political literature of the domination system, resistance groups are interpreted as proxy groups of the Islamic Republic. However, despite their support and advising the Islamic Republic, the resistance groups are social and indigenous realities. They are very different from the proxy force, which is a dependent phenomenon. Resistance in the West Asian region has two general and specific meanings. Its particular purpose is more focused on the issue of Palestine.

So, the Palestinian struggle groups and the Hezbollah, which face Israel, are named Islamic resistance groups. Still, in its specific sense, resistance includes forces that stand up against the international system of domination. Today, resistance groups from the Ansarullah Yemen to the Islamic Jihad in the Gaza Strip and the popular uprising in Iraq and similar groups in Pakistan and Afghanistan are fundamental realities in the most sensitive strategic region in the world that has changed the equations of power. In Iraq, the popular uprising, which alone includes 63 different groups (Seliktan & Rezaei, 2020: 157), has prevented U.S. domination of Iraq. According to Western thinkers, numerous Islamic resistance groups have led to Iran's regional authority. For example, the American Council on Foreign Relations thinks tank has analyzed the network of resistance forces in the security environment of the Islamic Republic in a detailed study (Robinson: 2020).

According to the Supreme Leader in the second phase of the revolution, two essential and simultaneously related issues are signs of national dignity in West Asia. First, he refers to the failure of U.S. policies in the West Asian region and the capture of their traitorous colleagues in the area; also, he notes the expansion of the Islamic Republic's solid political presence in West Asia. Thus, he says: "The world stage today is witnessing a phenomena that have taken place or are about to emerge: the new movement of the Islamic Awakening Movement based on the resistance model against American domination and Zionism; the failure of U.S. policies in the West Asian

region and the trapping of their treacherous counterparts in the area; the expansion of the powerful political presence of the Islamic Republic in West Asia and its comprehensive reflection throughout the domination world” (22/11/1397).

3.2.2. New Order and Strategic Depth of Resistance

With the emergence of the Islamic Awakening Movement, Iran turned the West Asian region into the strategic depth of the Islamic Republic. With a deep understanding of regional and international relations, Iran has put on the agenda a coherent plan to upgrade its soft strategic depth to smart. Supreme Leader says: “Prepare ourselves to play a role in creating a new order, prepare the country to create a map... note that we have capacities and abilities not inside; we have essential degrees in the country, in the region, abroad, we have supporters, we have strategic depth. Islam, Shia faith and language, are the strategic depth of the country and one of our capabilities that we must use all of them” (13/6/1393).

Iran has been expanding its strategic depth by defeating the United States and its regional allies with strategic plans such as a mediator and support for allied groups. “The fact is that today the resistance front in the last forty years in the region and centers even beyond the area is in the most cohesive situation. The opposite point is arrogant power. The arrogant power of the United States, the sedition power, and the malice of the Zionist regime have significantly been reduced to forty years ago; we should notice in our calculations” (14/3/1398).

The Islamic Republic authority in West Asia has realized while a wide range of measures has been taken to limit the Islamic Republic in this region. Nevertheless, the Zionist regime and Saudi Arabia have not given up any action to counter the regional power of Iran. On the contrary, with the widespread support of regional and Western media, they have portrayed a negative geopolitical image of the Islamic Republic and tried to present Iran as a center of regional insecurity. Meanwhile, Saudi Arabia has incurred a lot of costs in both hardware and software. Moreover, with the beginning of the Islamic Awakening Movement, its wave quickly trespasses Yemen. Following the ouster of Abdullah Saleh, the Ansar al-Houthi movement occupied various parts of Yemen. In this situation, it announced that it would not allow a fourth Arab capital - after Baghdad, Beirut, and Damascus - to come under Iranian control (Al-badi, 2017: 202).

Moreover, Saudi Arabia occupying Bahrain confronted the people of Bahrain and launched one of the bloodiest and most unequal attacks against the Yemeni people in four years. In addition, extensive efforts have been made in other Muslim and Arab countries to counter the spread of the wave of awakening centered on the Islamic Revolution. As a result, some Western scholars have used the term "Islamic Cold War" to describe Saudi Arabia's confrontation with Iran (Hiro, 2018: 212).

Despite the high costs of Saudi Arabia, the experience and performance of the Islamic Republic have turned the resistance discourse to the hegemony discourse in the region. “Today in the West Asian region, the common word of the nations is resistance because everyone accepts resistance. Although some do not dare to enter the resistance field, many dare to enter the resistance field. The American defeats of the last few years in Iraq, in Syria, in Lebanon, in Palestine, and the like, are the product of resistance groups' tolerance. Thus, the resistance front is strong today” (14/3/1398).

3.2.3. The Future of the Palestinian Issue

One of the essential aspects of Islamic resistance is the issue of Palestine. The Islamic Republic insists on paying a lot of money and reproduces its national and Islamic dignity among West Asia and the Muslim world. “In the Islamic Republic, we accepted the costs of defending Palestine. We said we are supporting Palestine, the arrogant world stood against us and struck, but we persevered, we stood, we will stand again. We know absolutely the final victory belongs to the Palestinian people” (15/3/1398).

At the recent Islamic Unity Conference: “Our position on the Palestinian issue is a moral position, a definite and principled position. Before the revolution victory, from the movement beginning, our great Imam clarified the danger of Zionism influence and the Zionism intervention and the oppression of Zionism. Since the revolution beginning, we are in this position; up to now, we are in our position. We supported Palestine, we helped the Palestinians, we help again, we do not have any consideration in this matter” (24/8/1398).

The importance of resistance on the Palestinian issue became clear after Donald Trump announced the details of the Century Deal. Since 1991, when compromise and negotiation on the Palestinian issue began, the two main currents inside and outside of Palestine have competed. The first current seeks to negotiate with Israel and its supporters, and the second current has chosen the policy of resistance. As a result, Palestinian supporters were not invited during the deal of the century, but they lost the few concessions they had gained in previous agreements. In the century deal, a country without a capital, without borders, an army, and independence and sovereignty are proposed (Map number one). A nation under complete siege by Israel. It is the destiny of submission, negotiation, and leaving the resistance.



Map Number One: The Domination Process of the Palestine Land

Regarding Palestine's experience in negotiating with the hegemons, the Supreme Leader's statements about dealing with the United States are better understood. The reason for the Supreme Leader's opposition to not negotiate with the United States is, on the one hand, the experience of Barjam and, on the other hand, his knowledge of the United States nature, and the latter has longer roots. He said in 1993 in this regard: "The United States is saying, let's negotiate. It does not say let's have a relationship. 'What does negotiation mean?' That is to say, the connection that the Islamic Republic cut caused all the sincere emotions of the world nations to be attracted to this system; they want that connection again establish" (12/8/1372).

Despite the Supreme Leader's unwillingness to negotiate with the United States over its nuclear program, Iran conducted the nuclear talk to demonstrate the Islamic Republic's goodwill over peaceful nuclear activities.

With the U.S. withdrawing from the Barjam, despite Iran's adherence to its commitments, the Supreme Leader, in confirming his predictions, stressed the futility of negotiations with the United States. Nevertheless, he interpreted it as a significant experience in maintaining Islamic dignity and guarding border with enemies in foreign relations. 'Should we negotiate with this government, with this rogue coercive regime?' 'Why negotiate?' Barjam is a clear example. It is not possible to negotiate with this government. If we intervene, it will be to our detriment. Dealing with a bully will be to our detriment (22/5/1397).

In the statement of the revolution phase, he explicitly emphasized: "The solution is not to kneel before the enemy and kiss the wolf's paw" (22/11/1397).

Meanwhile, the martyrdom of Qasim Soleimani and Abu Mohandes Mustafa and its aftermath, as well as actions such as the

installation of Qasim Soleimani images in the exercises of Palestinian resistance battalions such as the Martyr Abu Ali Mustafa Battalion near the borders of the Israeli occupation, confirm growth and confusion of resistance. Martyr Soleimani is a symbol of the international martyr of resistance (Supreme Leader).

We can analyze another critical point in the process of resistance in the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic and negotiations with the EU. In the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic, the West is a homogeneous group that consistently opposes the Islamic Revolution; the experience of the imposed war confirms it. However, during the Barjam negotiations, and especially after the United States' withdrawal from it, Europe was separated from the United States. Europeans promised to create a unique financial mechanism called Instex, keeping Iran faithful to its commitments despite the United States' withdrawal from Barjam. In a statement on the second phase of the revolution, the Supreme Leader said about Europe: "Today, in addition to the criminal United States, the Iranian people consider several European governments to be deceitful and unreliable. Therefore, the government of the Islamic Republic must carefully maintain its borders with them, not retreat from its revolutionary and national values, not be afraid of their absurd threats. In any case, it should consider the dignity of his country and nation and should solve its solvable problems wisely and expediently and, of course, from a revolutionary view" (22/11/1397).

He also analyzes the resistance against the Europeans in another way: "Another critical experience is the experience of Europe accompanying the United States in the most urgent cases. We do not want conflict and opposition with these three European countries, but we must know the facts. These three countries have shown that they are with the United States in the most critical cases and follow the United States. They talk, but in practice, we have not seen anything so far. I do not remember - that they are standing up to the United States to defend the right" (2/3/1397).

Conclusion

The present study aimed to analyze the resistance as the central discourse and the secret of the permanence and continuity of the Islamic Revolution. Based on the analysis of various data, especially the Supreme Leader's statements, the results indicated that the international system of domination has interconnected nature, components, and elements, whose mutual and functional relations have created a relatively broad set. Moreover, this system is constantly trying to reproduce itself through the international regimes and the tools at its disposal. While this system was able to defeat its ideological rivals such as Nazism and Communism - which, of course,

were also part of the system - it faced a phenomena called the Islamic Revolution. The international system has dominated this revolution at various political, military, cultural, diplomatic, cyber, and economic levels over the last four decades. The resistance discourse preserved this fledgling system and its developmental stages at the local and regional levels. The issuance of the second phase of the revolution after the intensification of international pressure against the Islamic Republic shows that the Islamic Republic is going through essential crises that could have endangered its life and existence. Therefore, the Islamic Republic is gradually undergoing the five evolutionary processes outlined by the Supreme Leader.

Regarding the stages of the Islamic Revolution, the Islamic system, and in the current phase of the Islamic State, the country and the Islamic society are shaping and accepting the fifth stage, the new Islamic civilization. This civilization is a significant rival to the international system of domination. The main reason for the hostility and actions of the domination system against the Islamic Republic is their assessment of the growing trend of the Islamic Revolution and establishing a new model of civilization in which the domination relations have no place. The second phase of the Islamic Revolution is a stage based on the experiences of four decades of the Islamic Revolution history and based on fundamental principles such as the principle of human dignity and generosity. In addition, the Islamic Republic is strengthening and institutionalizing its model based on the resistance discourse in various domestic and regional areas. This model's success has been established, but at the same time as its effectiveness, the wave of pressures and actions against it will intensify. So, it is predictable that the domination system's methods of confronting the Islamic Revolution will change in the future. Still, at the same time, it will continue and intensify. According to the Supreme Leader in the second phase statement, the all-encompassing discourse of the resistance perpetuated by the Islamic Revolution will be the key to its continuity and role in the future and the second phase of the revolution.

References

- Al-Badi, A. (2017). Saudi-Iranian Relations: A Troubled Trajectory, in Bahgat, Gawdat anad et al, Security and Bilateral Issues between Iran and its Arab Neighbours, Neighbours Palgrave Macmillan, Available at: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/311894882_Saudi-Iranian_Relations_A_Troubled_Trajectory.
- Bill, J. (1367). "War, Revolution and Spirit; Iran's Power in the Persian Gulf War." *Recognition of Aggression and Defense*

Aspects. Tehran: Secretariat of the International Conference on Aggression and Defense.

Dehghani Firoozabadi, J. (1390). *Foreign Policy of the Islamic Republic*. Tehran: Samt.

Dehghani Firoozabadi, J. (1391). Statement by the Supreme Leader, Available at: <http://farsi.khamenei.ir>

Dehkhoda, A. (1377). *Dehkhoda Dictionary* (digital version, <http://dehkhoda.ut.ac.ir>) based on the vol. 15 physical version published in 1377. Available at Dehkhoda Dictionary Institute and International Center for Persian Language Teaching, University of Tehran, 1399, <https://dehkhoda.ut.ac.ir/fa/dictionary/301578/%D9%85%D9%82%D8%A7%D9%88%D9%85%D8%AA>.

Donald Trump's National Security Adviser. (2019). 'I Don't Think You'll Have Many' Years Left, Available at: <https://www.newsweek.com/bolton-iran-ayatollah-many-years-trump-anniversary-1327159>.

Drezner, D. (2019). "Economic Statecraft in the Age of Trump." *The Washington Quarterly*. Vol. 42, no. 3, pp. 7-24.

Evans, G; Jeffrey N. (1381). *Culture of International Relations*. (H, Moshirzadeh; H, Sharifi. Trans). Tehran: Mizan Publishing.

Foucault, M. (1377). *What are the Dreams of Iranians?* Translated by (H, Masoumi Hamedani. Trans). Tehran: Hermes.

Gaziurovsky, M. (1371). *American Foreign Policy and the Shah*. (F, Badraei. Trans). Tehran: Markaz.

Hallidi, F. (1358). *Dictatorship and the Development of Capitalism in Iran*. (F, Nikoain. Trans). Tehran: Amirkabir.

Hiro, D. (2018). *Cold War in the Islamic World: Saudi Arabia, Iran and the Struggle for Supremacy*. London: Oxford University Press.

Hoseinizadeh, M. (1389). *Political Islam in Iran*. Qom: Mufid University Press.

- Kazemzadeh, H. (1398). "The Role of Velayat-e-Faqih in the Second phase of the Revolution." *Payam Quarterly*. Vol. 12, no. 132, pp. 31-52.
- Khorramshad, M; et all. (1390). *Reflections of the Islamic Revolution of Iran*, Tehran: Samt.
- Kim, D. (2019). "Economic Deterrence Through Economic Engagement." *Foreign Policy Analysis*. Vol. 15, no. 2, pp. 176-186.
- Motaharnia, M. (1382). *Analysis of the Discourse Literature of the Islamic Revolution*. Tehran: Porseman Publications.
- Motallebi, M. (1397). "The Discourse of Resistance in the Intellectual Sphere and Thoughts of the Supreme Leader." *Studies of National Interests*. Vol. 3, no. 11, pp. 118-138.
- Mottaqi, E; Abdullahinejad, M. (1398). "Analysis of the Islamic Republic of Iran's Resistance to the United States of America." *Journal of the Islamic Revolution Approach*. Vol. 13, no. 46, pp. 3-22.
- Phillips, L; Jorgensen, M. (1389). *Theory and Method in Discourse Analysis*. (H, Jalili. Trans). Tehran: Ney.
- Pompeo: Iran will face the strongest sanctions in history (21/5/2018), Available at: <https://fa.euronews.com/2018/05/21/secretary-of-state-pompeo-will-outline-new-iran-strategy-after-usa-nuclear-deal-exit>.
- Pourhassan, N. (1393). The Evolution of Cultural Hostility Concepts in the Thought of the Supreme Leader; From Cultural Invasion to Cultural Breakthrough, Basirat Website. Available at <https://basirat.ir/fa/news/270479>.
- Qasemi, F. (1392). *Theories of International Relations; Theoretical Foundations of International Order and Regimes*. Tehran: Mizan.
- Resistance Discours; Reality or Dream (28/5/1391), Available at E <http://farsi.khamenei.ir/others-dialog?id=20780>.
- Robinson, K. (2020). Iran's Regional Armed Network, Available at: <https://www.cfr.org/article/irans-regional-armed-network>.

- Rosenberg, E; et all. (2016). "The New Tools of Economic Warfar Effects and Effectiveness of Contemporary U.S. Financial Sanctions" <https://www.cnas.org/publications/reports/the-new-tools-of-economic-warfare-effects-and-effectiveness-of-contemporary-u-s-financial-sanctions>.
- Khomeini, R. (1363). *Sahifa Noor*. Tehran: Imam Khomeini Publishing House.
- Seliktar, O; Farhad R. (2020). *Iran, Revolution, and Proxy Wars*. U.S: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Stoker, G; Marsh, D. (1384). *Methods and Theory in Political Science*. (A, Haji Yousefi. Trans). Tehran: Research Institute for Strategic Studies.
- Tajik, M. (1382). *The Experience of Iranian Political Game*. Tehran: Ney.
- Wiki Fiqh, seminary encyclopedia (n.d.), Entrance of honor, available at: <https://wikifeqh.ir/%D8%B9%D8%B2%D8%AA>.
- Yazdanjoo, P. (1381). *Towards Postmodern Poststructuralism in Literary Studies*. Tehran: Markaz.