

In the Name of God

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- Political philosophy and political thought
- Sociology and future studies
- Welfare and social justice
- Foreign policy and Islamic Ummah
- New Islamic civilization
- Constitutional law and jurisprudence

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A Comparative Inquiry Regarding the Party's Activity and Performance in Iran and Turkey (The Study Case: Participation, Justice and Development Party)

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Abstract

Many social sciences researchers call the presence of democratic parties and systems as two faces of a coin; they regard the development and survival of democratic parties and procedures related to each other. In Iran's cultural and political domain, the participation party presented itself as a significant movement in its socio-political sphere. This party has introduced itself as the defender of Islam in the region and the world. This research emphasizes two categories of structure and performance than the two flows of Iran's participation party and Turkey's Justice and Development Party using an analytical – descriptive method. In response to the research question ‘what are the similarities and differences of the participation party and the Justice and Development Party in terms of structure and performance?’ presented this hypothesis that the participation party and the Justice and Development Party lacked a similar party structure. The difference between them is that the participation party has less coherence and antiquity than the Justice and Development Party. Both parties have an Islamic approach; with the difference, the participation party has a variation in trend (national and Islamic) with a no secular system. The Justice and Development Party enjoy a single direction (Islamic direction) with a secularist approach.

Keywords: Structure, Agent, Construction, Participation Party, Justice, Development Party.

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Introduction

The term party refers to a group of people who struggle and compete with other groups according to common ideology; therefore, the term party consists of three main elements: difference, similarity, and struggle (fighting) (Ayoobi, 2000: 38). Edmund, park, and Bon claim that parties have a special place in Almond and levels sociological studies. They also claim that the parties should prioritize specific issues and find new topics to gain their candidates' support, arouse the indifference (Almond and Powel, 2002: 69).

What is certain is that the institutionalization of parties in today's governments is one of the main manifestations of democracy's existence. In relating to society's function and structure, these parties can enhance their members' cultural, social, and political knowledge through different sociability ways. In contrast, these parties can cause instability and anxiety in society. Although parties' existence can have positive aspects, they can cause anarchy and chaos (Damyar, 2016: 26-35).

To institutionalize a party in any society, the structure of that society should have the capacity to accept the party system. The party should perform and do activity in this institutionalized structure; therefore, explaining the parties' structural and functional factors is necessary. In this research, the agent- structure theory describes both the justice and development parties' function structural aspects and participation. These parties are led by people who have had the highest executive authority in their country as agents in their own time. Finlay, we try to explain the structural and functional similarities and differences between these two parties in two Islamic countries of Iran and turkey.

The theoretical framework (construction theory) of such periods, the relation between structure and agent, has been a fundamental issue governing the methodological, discussions, ontology, and epistemology. The root of the system must seek an agent issue in thoughts and ideas of Karl Marx (Bashiriyeh, 2007: 125), this his famous sentence: Humans make history, but not in the frame of condition, selected by themselves, this is an indication of mark attention to the structure and agent issue in sociology (Fay, 2006: 125); but recently we witness a sort (re) exploration and returning to the structure and agency issue in the sphere of political analysis. This transformation has accompanied an entirely a formative and coordinated attempt to go beyond the much known limitation of indulgence in structural and operational explanation; it seems that social and political theories of the decade of 1900 have continuously involved that indulgence (Hay, 2010: 17).

Before the presentation of the Giddiness theory of construction, there were two groups of theorists. One group (such as multiplicity believers and elitist theorists) emphasizes decision-makers' ability to inform events' flow (Marsh and stokes, 2011: 190-187).

In contrast, the theorists' group of Baverter structure (such as many institutionalism (and Neomarksist) emphasize the state agents' freedom of action and the amount of limitation for which the form, performance, and structure of the state is shaped (Hay, 2010: 151). Giddiness started his work to go beyond dualism of design and agency in existing social theory and understand the logic in the process of this work to which he can attribute his current fame. From a Giddiness point of view, structure and agency have an internal relationship or ontological entanglement. They involve a sort of dualism, and this implies that design and agent are two faces of a coin and this similarity id because the relationship between structure and agent is on internal one but not an external; this means that both are interdependent and they form each other (Hay, 2010: 197).

This theory focuses on adjusting the structure of interactions between beliefs, intentions, goals and choices, and individual and collective actions from one hand and structural conditions of thought and action. From Gidden's point of view, structures are not independently existed; but are covered in the action coverage. They are only in activities and existed by actions and existed by steps that produce and reproduce them (Haghighat, 2009: 13).

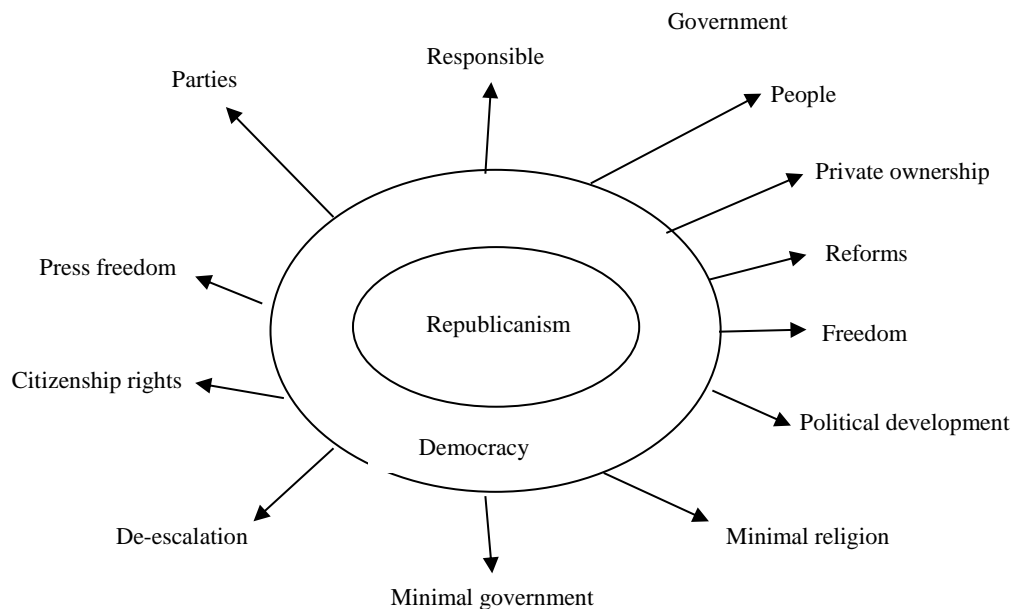
In summary, Giddiness's structural theory investigates the question that 'Are people the ones who shape the social reality, or social forces?' He avoids taking extreme positions and believes that although they are not entirely free to choose their activities and their knowledge is limited, they are agents who reproduce the social structure and create social changes (Hay, 2010: 198). Giddiness's main argument in constriction is as follows; people build society but, at the same time, are constrained by society. They cannot analyze action and structures separately, so define the systems as a combination of rules and sources which involve human activity (Agha Mohammadi, 2011: 14).

1. Process and Cognitive Discourse of the Participation Party

With the emergence of the Islamic revolution in Iran and the rule of religion-political structure manifested this ideology in the constitution. The constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran was designed and drafted to have the capacity of readings by combining democratic aspects, on the one hand, and Shiite-religious elements, on the other hand. Among these,

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one of the significant Islamic parties after the Islamic revolution victory in Iran has been the participation party that could declare its existence in the Iranian political system's structure. After the revolution, this party claiming to benefit from the teachings of the Islamic course (Islamic republic and ideology) and the use of achievements of western civilization and modernity, raised in the sphere of Iranian politics. This party received a license in Tehran on December 5, 1998. Yet, the beginning of its activity dates back to the before presidential election in 1997. At that time, the party's leader Seyed Mohamad Khatami became the president of Iran until 2005. This party was declared illegal and dissolved by the security and political officials of the country. The general components considered by this faction are shown in the figure below:



Formed The discourse of the participation party around the central sign of the republic (people) and democracy by articulating other floating discourse elements like freedom, political development, Civil society law, a responsible government, minimal government, minimal liberal relegation, parties, private ownership, selection right, press freedom, and de-escalation, in international sphere (Bashiriyeh, 2007: 134). Although their conception was unreliable and also rested in Iran and Islamic and socio-cultural environment because of knotting with secularism and modern democracy liberal discourse in two decades revolution, again the participation party came out of the traditional left speech on a change which has been occurred within the Islamic revolution discourse (Darabi, 2009: 140). Based on this framework, the participation party discourse

presented itself as an Islamic reformist organization in the modern form and content in the structure of the time's political system. It caused a rift between the processes and fraction claiming to be reformists in Iran. Among radical reformers, more emphasis is placed on elements of modern discourse. The conflict within them with the moderate reformists is that the reform discourse wanted both Islamic and republicanism based on Iran Khomeini (Islamic republic not more than other or less words. yet, formed the republicanism dominated in the later participation party discourse and was categorized as the identity of central signifier and other discourse elements around it (Akhavan Kazemi, 2009: 355). This process had a unique and exclusive power regarding the status and recognition of the participation party's performance in Iran's socio-political sphere. It did not allow others to take control except its members, and in the government, parliament, councils, and other institutions had appointed only their party agent (Akhavan Kazemi, 2009: 356). The plants proposed in the parliament and the bills put forward by the government's party members were mainly challenging and controversial.

On the other hand, the members of a party often have clear and coherent goals and plans for and political development in religious democracy, a practice to which the reformist movements like the participation party considered themselves committed it. Still, the reformist body's different tendencies had their basic concepts: democracy, national sovereignty, human rights, civil society, freedoms, civil law, and various parties' competition (Abbasi, Sarmadi, Mehrnoosh, 2010: 270). In such a situation, the forces that formed June's event (Second of Khordad) did not follow any single and clear purpose or any coherent political, social, and economic plan (Moshirzadeh, 2002: 109). The groups referred to as the Khordad groups (Khordad in Persian is the equivalent for June in English) also morally and ideologically formed a contradictory and disharmonic spectrum. There were groups of believers to the Islamic secularism and west liberalism of believers and opponents of Velayat-e Faqih system from one hand. There were critical values and some of Imam's close companions. On the other hand.

Heroism and cult of personality have been among the most critical features of Iran's political and social history. This issue, like other processes, was at its highest rank in the participation party. The political parties in general and the participation party (precisely) in Iran have been dependent on the person or individual personality or derive their identity primarily from the founding person, not from legal, group, or party personality. Therefore this party could not enjoy an essential feature of

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parties, namely the public support (Sardarnia, 2011: 115). The participation party discourse presented some issues about the rule of law, tolerance, and livelihood of citizens ambitiously that they could not cope with them, which caused the citizens to become frustrated and bored with the parties. This feature led to the party's low output showing negative feedback and a loss of public trust in the party and finally faced with the widespread crisis of legitimacy and the problem of making a general motivation.

But the central issue of the party's failure in all parts of the world like the participation party, the exclusive claim of power and removal party, the entire claim power and removal of various seals, even from the member of its parties in the spheres of decision making. In the moments of the political open space like the Mashroteh period, the early year after the Islamic revolution victory in June 1997, the country witnessed narrow-minded rivalries of political parties and groups demanding more political power has been an essential driver of such an atmosphere. The participation party got into trouble in the first round councils and sixth parliament and faced many contradictory views due to its totalitarianism and monopoly (Akhavan Kazemi, 2009: 354, Damyar, 2016: 130).

This world is black or white; we want "All" or "Nothing" the party or group work requires cooperation with others. If we don't look at people as absolutely good or bad, absolutely friend or absolutely enemy. We will maintain this cooperation.

2. Discourse and Cognitive Process of Justice and Development Party

One of the essential processes (flows) in Turkey's counterparty history is the development and justice party that presented itself as a fundamental process (flow) in the socio-political after the 2002 election. Before the 2002 election, many Western media described the development and justice party as a "Fundamentalist" party. After the elections, the same media gave the adjective "Islamic" When the party started joining the (Copenhagen criteria for membership in the European Union; they regarded this party as having "Islamic Roots."

Following the approval of several major reform packages in parliament, the development and justice party formed the Islamic party. Then, in the process of recent legal debate on adultery in parliament, the utopian media again used the adjective "Islamism" or "Islamic." After the 2007 election, the economist magazine called the Justice and development party a "Relatively Islamic" party (Chavez, 2010: 22). The heads of the Justice and development party are Islamic in training and education, political

activity, and the party's history. Still, it formed the thought of establishing a Justice and Development Party. The party's founder sought a contemporary discourse to get out of the massive pressures on Turkey's Islamic movements, which was not separated from their Islamic root. Simultaneously, do not clash with the ruling system and do not make excuses for the coup of February 28, 1997, to be repeated, and Islam is under pressure. Erdogan describes his change of mind in the same context: I object to what we called the Islamic movement. I am a Muslim, and any Muslim can have his/ her particular political viewpoint. I think adding the adjective political to Islamic reduces the greatness and importance of this religion. So Islamic is a religion, and every citizen has the right to live with his/ her belief in a way he/ she wants. This right is also reserved for Jews and Christians. When we decided to form the justice and development party, we proclaim that this party is not an Islamic one based on religious principles or created from a religious viewpoint. Our audiences are the Turkish 65 million population (Jancis. 2005: 138).

After establishing the justice and development party, Abdullah Gol proclaims that: our party is not religious, and we try to represent a religious party meaning everyone among the establishers, their women with hijab and without hijab (Islamic wearing) and hijab, men having a beard or beardless; the political party is not a means a tool for advertisement but active and work for providing a new concept in the policy (Salamat, 2008: 102).

Based on internal socio-political developments and extensive communication with the western world and, most importantly, attempting to join the ideological union, conservatism has become the Turkish political system's dominant culture. Recep Tayyip Erdogan to gain the trust of the majority of the Turkish people and western politicians says :“Justice and development, instead of conservatism built on stagnation and immobility, are built on modern conservatism that embraces modernism. The party's conservatism has to do with its traditional roots” (Jansis, 2005, Yavez, 2010: 24). Despite its Islamic roots, this party knows itself as a conservative democratic party and rejects its Islamic plan. The Islamists and some secularists argue that this rejection is nothing except a cover. Because the party cannot legally describe itself as Islamic, there is no escaping for it pretending to be conservative (Yavez, 2010: 22).

The essential principles of this party's ideology are as follows: Nostalgic attitude toward the culture and civilization of the past, acceptance of cultural and religious diversity, exploitation of all religions and various discourses to provide Turkey's goals, gradual reforms in the

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country's other spheres, limiting the government's authorities and emphasizing on the civil power and majority rule, extensive communication with the western world, the Islamic world, and so far (Yavez, 2010: 135-150).

3. Matching the Function and Structure of the Two Parties, Partnership, Justice, and Development

After the above preparations, we try to address the research's main problem: the similarities and differences between these two parties in Iran and Turkey.

The table below briefly provide these cases:

Similarities and Differences between the two parties: Participation, Justice, and Development	
Similarities	Differences
The Central Role Personality in bout Parties	Kind of their Attitude Towards an Ideology
Islamic Ideology	Coherence and Function
Opposition to the Status Quo	How to form
Adjusting Member's Attitudes towards their initial ones	Government- made and State-Building
Lack of attention of the two Parties to the Parties Hidden Function	Establishers and their Combination

3.1. Structural and functional similarities

Given the table's contents, we should say that while bout parties claim to try to institutionalize democratic processes and political open space, their administrative formed structure and attitude through exclusive power and individualism. In bout parties, a boss is at the top that this is parties in Iran and a clear example is this the participation party which lost its high primary face with the end of the presidency of Seyed Mohammad Khatami so that it was removed entirely from the scene (Akhavan Kazemi, 2009: 350).

One of the Justice and Development Party characteristics emphasized by liberal, Islamic, radical, and fundamentalist movements is to gain reputation and importance in Islamic societies. The bases the Islamic principles; it presents itself as the claimants of revival and recreation of Islamic thoughts at various company levels. Because of the secular constitutional structure and other groups' (Sentence fragment) existence, this party rejects its Islamic history. It claims that it is created from the completely Islamic parties such as Refah and Fazilat, which were

dissolved on the charge of begin anti-secularism. The leaders of the Justice and development party often have conservative religious training.

The leaders of this party perform religious duties. Their wives often wear Chador (a wearing for women), and also the women who were the establishment members of the party have hijab (wearing Chador). Some of them were ministers in the Refah party government in 1996 and 1997, including Abdullah Gol, the minister of state for foreign affairs (Ahmadi Hatamabadi Farahani, 1390: 25). About the participation party, we should also say that a group of people who introduced themselves as followers of Dr. Shariati believed in Islamic without clergy (Rohaniat).

Some of Dr. Soroush's students and Halgheh Kian's group believed in revisionist and reforming ideas in some Islamic teachings; some of the traditional lefts who were remorseful of their past; and finally, the modernist thinkers who considered a secular ideology. Some also believed in the original ideals and values of the Islamic Republic derived from the line of Imam Khomeini, that to the prevailing atmosphere in the party and lack of listening to their views, they preferred to gradually distance themselves from the party and withdraw completely (Jalali, Gholizadeh, 2013: 132). (Hard-to-read Sentence) In general, in this movement, the people under Dr. Soroush's teaching tried to advance secularism principles, believing in Islamic teachings. They emphasized strengthening the Islamic Republic's foundation and considered themselves believers and adherents to the Islamic norms. The complete caused them to use attitude opposition towards the status quo.

By representing a moderate and transformational figure which take advantage of the differences between other groups, the Justice and development party was able to establish a close relationship with the general public, Islamic intellectual groups and even secular and ethnic groups and other involved influential sections of Turkish society and with accurate knowledge of the realities and development of society to become a comprehensive discourse and able to end the eleven years of the formation of a coalition government in this country (Matlabi, Zamani, 1393: 141).

The participation party introduced itself as a symbol of opposition to the status quo and, explicitly and seriously criticizing the past, presented itself as Iran's future savior. The construction report card party questioned the government before itself. The participation party members criticized the past performance of the left and strongly governmentalization of affairs (Akhavan Kazemi, 2009: 350).

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Another critical issue of the similarity between the two parties is a deviation from its primary and stated goals; thus, the emphasis is placed on peaceful behavior and denial of violence in official statements and statements by members of the central councils. Like a letter on the second anniversary of Jane (Khordad) to Seyed Mohammad Khatami, a part of which says: The participation front which knowing itself as your partner in your concerns and all sympathizers of the country has to defend the Islamic Republic whether on territorial or identity borders by appropriate tools and a weapon of tact logic and a calm manner against what threatens these borders (Shamsi, and salami, 2012: 21): But with a look to the party's performance and some of the members in intensifying the incidences like the university dormitory accident on July 9, 1999, khoramabad scandal, 2009 sedition, and stimulating student's emotions, observed an amount of violence in their behavior, and also an emotional stimulation and violent orientations were observed in some of the leader's activities and arrested speeches and many of the leaders because of taking part in the students' riots (Yavez, 2010: 22).

Regarding the justice and development party, we can say that its members didn't follow what they know as their goals and followed new plans using the same conservative policy. One of the cases faced them with was a state of ups and downs in regulating Islam and the foreign political sphere. Before gaining power, they wanted an Islamic government, but they ruled the country with a secular structure after gaining control. Also, the stated party though emphasizing de-escalation in regional affairs and foreign policy, have recently faced charges in the region, including financial support for Isis (Daesh).

3.2. Differences Between the Two Parties

Perhaps the most important, most prominent, and most significant areas of competition and conflict in the Islamic Republic of Iran and Turkey are introduced in the impact of an ideological element in policy marking and targeting the two countries. After the Islamic revolution in Iran, the system presented the religious democratic based on Islamic teachings at different levels (social, cultural, economic, and political, and security). It indicates a new model for society and policy management from the revolution theorist. The pillars of this Islamic system are the combination of the two dimensions of Republic and Islamic. Most of the parties in Iran have accepted this principle and base their action on it. Still, in Turkey, with the ruling secular political system's history, Islam's electric ideology is considered. Each country's constitution is regarded as a law approval document in any political system in Turkey.

Recap Type Erdogan, the president and leader of the justice and development party, and also Abdullah Gol have emphasized over and over again that they do not have any plan to establish an Islamic government in Turkey and they adhere to the constitution of their country (Naghdinejad, 2008: 225).

But formed the participation party with an utterly Islamic approach; though some of the party's members disagreed on various issues, this party did not deny Islam and teaching in general; their deviations were because of their political confrontations. However, a combining ideology has been used in the participation party. It's evident that if we accept that this feature has also existed in some members. Still, it was incapable of being implemented in society, but it must not interfere in religion's government affairs.

Regarding the difference between the two parties' incoherence and function spheres, we should say that after its establishment, the participation party could not gain an internal coherence or at least could not keep the primary unity achieved at the beginning of its establishment. After a while, their organizations got a superficial aspect, and every one of the members went their way. In contrast, the justice and development party has more internal coherence than the participation party. Although this party has not been able to keep primary popularity, it has a level of coherence and function to win the elections.

Another difference between the two parties is the way of their establishment. Regarding the history of attempting to establish Islamist parties in Turkey, it's first Islamic party on the date 1960 was established by the name "Nation a System" and ten years after the coup (coup date), another party named "National Health" was formed. After the coup (coup debate) on September 12, 1980, this party was closed. After four years and the freedom of parties, "Professor Arbakan" established the "Refah" party, the third Islamist party in Turkey. This party was closed by generals and politicians in a post-modern coup on February 28, 1997, and politically banned my Arabian. After the dissolution of the "Refah" party, the "Fazilat" Islamist party headed by "Rajayi Kottan" was formed, but branched Erdogan and Abdullah Gol and about 20 people of his companions out of this party. They claimed that Arbakan, the representative of "Rajayi Kottan," has been targeted by the United States and cannot form an Islamic party in Turkey. Thus, the Fazilat party was divided into two parts: the "Saadat Party" headed by Rajayi Kottan, who was representative of Erdogan, and the "Justice and Development Party" established by Erdogan and his companions. Arrested Erdogan later

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because of composing some Islamic poems, and of course, some members of his party criticized Ataturk. Erdogan Was jailed for about three months and then left for the United States; he met the US's political circles. After returning, Erdogan participated in elections and won, and now it is 15 years that Erdogan and Justice and development party are in power in Turkey. Regarding the participation party, we can say that this party was a post-event and was formed after June 2 (second of Khordad). It means that this party is not created from a dissolved party or existed before Junes 2 (second of Khordad), 1997. Therefore, the participation party is different from the justice and development party in the context of formation. After gaining power, its members decided to form the party.

Regarding the participation party, as we talked about its establishment, we concluded that formed this party from those governmental parties formed with the coming to power government (Khatami's government). We immediately began its decline with the expiration of its legal period, and then after the end of life, the mentioned government could not take part in any election. Branched the justice and development party out of its previous parties could win in three following polls in Turkey and form a government. The justice and development party won the November 2002 election, with 22% of the vote against the secular People's Republic party. The later party comes in second place with 19 percent of the vote. Nearly 203 seats of the national assembly became those of the Justice and development party representatives. They could form the new government by themselves (Etezzad-Asaltaneh, 2010: 144).

Thus, unlike the participation party, the justice and development party started government by itself and existed before the election after them. The number of the participation party's establishment was about 110 people composed of other groups that were the cause of the split between them. But the members of the Justice and development party were from a single class and the society intellectuals. People like Erdogan and Abdullah Gol, who were the main establishers of this party, have tried to keep their moral cases to the lowest possible level.

Conclusion

Once the various political parties come into power, they must meet their supporters' demands in the frame of their legal duties and authorities, and their proper performance will continue their political life. A political party must know when its purpose is and know what strategies to achieve that purpose. When this party designs its slogans and promises, it must fulfill

them. If we want to consider the researchers' two understudy parties based on this feature, we should say that the Justice all development party has done this better.

Unlike its previous parties, the justice and development party has been able to leave a good record and keep people satisfied. The breakdown of the 2016 coup and Turkish people's support for the mentioned president at the top shows that the government's party performance has caused people's welfare; otherwise, an unsuccessful coup would succeed the coups happened before. Despite the primary slogans that deprived people's satisfaction and pulled them towards it, the participation party could not adequately perform. After the formation of the current government, the members of this party each had different demands and goals and even could not come to an agreement on other issues within themselves and among the prominent members of the party establishers.

In general, regarding the research problem that was trying to reach differences and similarities between the two parties, we should say that a type of personality is seen in both Islamic countries. Naturally, their considered ideology was Islamic; of course, with the difference in their attitudes toward Islamic, both parties and their heads entered into the policy with the slogan of making change and development in their own country. Regarding this standard feature, the two parties indicated the same was turning away from the most critical goals: their policy of change. Another familiar part of these two parties was that they could not pay more attention to other parties' hidden performances, unlike the actual parties. Regarding that what elements and characteristics caused what features and characteristics caused the difference and separation of these two parties from each other, we should say that some of these differences are natural because of the way of their formation, as well as the kind of their attitudes toward ideology, depend on the type of macro. Structure and organization in their own countries, and naturally, this element will cause their differences.

The participation party started the government after establishing the current government in the Islamic Republic of Iran. Still, the justice and development party started the government after its establishment and selected its head as its president. The prominent members of the Justice and development party follow a single purpose and have done their best to coordinate, cooperate, and contribute to various issues, which was the opposite in the participation party.

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Analytical Study of Hijab in the Islamic Republic of Iran

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Abstract

Covering and Hijab's problem after the Islamic Revolution's victory has always been one of the most critical challenges of the Islamic Republic, especially in youth, students, and society's elite. The present study investigates the crucial doubts and questions about the Hijab and expresses scientific and convincing solutions and answers with the analytical-descriptive method and library resources. While describing the history of the Hijab in Islam and the Islamic Revolution of Iran, the present study responds to the vital and new suspicions that have recently been raised by opponents of the Hijab and some anti-Islamic media. Doubts are as follows: the conflict between the Hijab and the freedom and progress of women, the lack of connection between the Hijab and innocence, the different perceptions of Muslims about the Islamic Hijab, the incorrect citation of the legality of the Hijab, etc.. Based on the results, the Islamic Hijab has no conflict with freedom (in its real sense) and never hinders the individual's growth, perfection, and maturity. Innocence and modesty accompanying Hijab can strengthen family privacy and lead to society's intellectual and spiritual health. All Islamic jurists agree on the necessity of the Hijab. There should be no confusion between the decisions of the rulers of Islamic countries and the people's behavior about Hijab, with the exact order of Islam that it is necessary to observe Hijab.

Keywords: The Islamic Republic, Hijab, Challenges, Solutions.

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Introduction

The clothes and type of people covering are one of the actual examples of appearance maintenance is. Human beings dress according to their needs, time-place conditions, and the environment atmosphere regarding historical sources. The dress aimed to protect it from heat and cold, and then added other purposes to it. Today, clothing has become a vast and complex industry that has entered the scientific field and taught in universities as art, which takes on new dimensions over time. The critical point is the Muslim clothing (both men and women) because clothes are a symbol of a person's personality, which shows many of his moral characteristics. Some chapters of the Quran introduce Hijab as a necessity and protect humans from many physical and mental diseases. According to historical studies and the world survey's great movements, the struggle against women's Hijab and chastity has sometimes become a political tool for implementing colonial ideas. It has sometimes been the best tool for anti-religious opposition. The type of women's clothing identifies the religious community.

By studying the books about Andalusia and the memoirs of Mr. Humphrey, the colonial spy in Islamic countries, determine the necessity of institutionalizing the Hijab in religious communities and the role of governments in this regard. With the institutionalization of chastity and hijab culture, society will be safe from the storm of cultural aggression (Sayyed Muhammad Keykavousi, <https://sccr.ir/news/4909/1>).

Mr. Humphrey, an English spy, says: “we must work hard for women not to wear the Hijab so Muslim women will be eager to leave Hijab and veil. After leaving the Hijab through propaganda and [our] efforts, our agents have to encourage men to have illicit relations with women to spread corruption in Islamic societies. Non-Muslim women have to appear entirely without a hijab to Muslim women imitate them” (Humphrey, 1377: 112).

Unfortunately, the same thinking is being instilled today by some skeptics with new tricks and methods - without mentioning the Hijab's removal - to weaken the hijab principle and promote the nudity and depravity culture and trample on women's dignity.

According to the recent lecture of the Leader¹ and the Faqihs commands in response to the enemy's internal and external movements in fighting the

1. What makes me sensitive is the issue of "compulsory hijab" through properties That is, some ignorant people - God willing, unknowingly - follow the same line that the enemy has not been able to complete that line in the country at all costs; Like journalists,

"Compulsory Hijab," the need to address this critical issue and answer the doubts of students and the young generation seeking the truth is felt more than ever.

1. Define Research Concepts and Terms

1.1. Hijab

Hijab means a barrier, which separates two things and covers (Sitr) (Zubaidi, 1994; Ibn Manzur, 1375: the Following of the Word Hijab). Today, the word hijab in the vernacular and jurisprudential texts means the religious cover of women.

The word hijab has been used seven times in the Holy Qur'an with a barrier meaning. In the Quran 33:53, the verse of Hijab, men are instructed to speak to the Prophet's wives behind the curtain (مِنْ وَرَاءِ حِجَابٍ) (Tabatabaei, 1375: 16, 337).

1.2. Doubt

Doubt (on the weight of Shebh and Shabah) means like and similar. The word implies similarity and secrecy (Moein, 1392: the following of the word doubt). Other meanings of doubt include error, the possibility of fault, suspicion, something in which right and wrong are unknown.

But in the term, doubt means any fault, question, or ambiguity that in the perceptions, analyzes, decisions, and behaviors relating to the bliss of the individual or society causes error and mistake in recognizing right from wrong. Undoubtedly, doubt is similar to the truth and makes it difficult to distinguish right from wrong and make people doubt.

2. Hijab History

2.1. In Islam

In Islam, Islamic Hijab refers to the various cover of Muslim women. It is a concept derived from the Holy Quran and Islamic jurisprudence and structured in Islamic culture, which refers to the legal cover contrast

intellectuals, mullahs and mullahs [They say] "The Imam, who said that women should wear hijab, did not say all women!" Talk nonsense! We were there then and we know. The Imam stood like a mountain in the face of a clear denial created by the Pahlavi and Pahlavi followers in the country, saying that there should be a hijab. Now sir [says] that "Sir!" This sin is no greater than backbite; 'Why do you not pursue anyone in the backbite of someone, in the face of [not wearing] a headscarf or without veil, for example?' See what [error]? No diagnosis; what man suffers from is not discernment. We did not say that if someone removes his headscarf in front of a stranger in his house, we will pursue him; [no] we do not follow him, he is in his own house, he does personal work. What is done in public, on the street, is a public work, a social work, a public education. This [task] creates a task for a government that has come to power in the name of Islam. There is no forbidden work, small or large; what is forbidden by Sharia should not be done openly in the country (Statements in the Meeting of the Ahl Al-Bayt Praisers, 96/12/17).

stranger, especially women. Hijab is sometimes taken from Sharia's rules and sometimes related to social contracts and the individual (Pakatchi, entry of Hijab).

In the Qur'an, the famous verses of a hijab are verse 31 of Surah Noor and verses 53 and 59 of Surah Al-Ahzab. These verses contain valuable points and contents about the Hijab, including the limits of hijab contrast strangers, the hijab necessity's philosophy, the exceptions of the hijab limits, the identification of mahram and strangers, and so on. According to the order of revelation and appearance of the verses, first, in verse 53 of Surah Al-Ahzab, God instructs the believing men to deal with the wives of the Prophet (PBUH) (behind the Hijab). Then, in verse 59, he asks the believing women to cover themselves with (Jilbab) to be safe from strangers' harassment. Finally, in verse 31 of Surah Al-Noor, he draws its limits well by mentioning the details of the Hijab.

In Dhi Al-Qaeda in the fifth year of AH (The year of marriage of the Prophet (PBUH) with Zainab bint Jahsh) revealed verse 31 of Surah Al-Noor is the first verse of Hijab. It orders the believers to explain their needs to wives of the Prophet (PBUH) behind the curtain (behind the Hijab) to save their hearts from temptation. Allama considers the request of property from the Prophet wives as an allusion to talking to them (Tabatabaei, 1374: 16, 506).

The practicality of this order is to protect men from temptation. Zamakhshari, like Allameh, considers the references of pronoun (هُنَّ) in the phrase (سَأَلْتُمُوهُنَّ) are the wives of the Prophet (PBUH) (Ibid. And Zamakhshari, 1407: 3, 555).

A famous fatwa among jurists and the view of most of them is that women should cover their whole body except face and two hands from strangers (Najafi, 1362: 77, 29).

Allameh says that all scholars except Abu Bakr Ibn Abd al-Rahman agree on the face and Shiite scholars except the hands (Helli, 1414 AH: 2, 448). According to Fakhr al-Muhaqiqin, the exception of the face and hands is all Muslim scholar's consensus.

2.2. In the Islamic Republic of Iran

After the revolution's victory, most government offices and clerical work were in the middle modern class's hands created by the Shah's government modernist system. Hence, the main problem in the early days after the revolution was thousands of secular and unveiled female employees in government offices. On the other hand, the revolutionary classes that had risen to protect spiritual values did not tolerate this situation (Ramazani, 1387: 1-8).

Maryam Muhammadi writes in an article entitled (Hijab yesterday, Hijab today): After the Islamic Revolution's victory, revived adherence to Islamic values and observance of Hijab and chastity, so that many women in the country tended to the chador. Less than a month after the victory of the revolution and the presence of unveiled women in various departments and organizations intensifies the revolutionaries' dissatisfaction with the current situation (Mohammadi, 1393: 40).

Imam Khomeini said in a speech on Isfand 6, 1357: in the Islamic Ministry should not sin. In Islamic ministries, women should not be naked; women work, but with Hijab. There is no problem with their work, but with a religious hijab (Khomeini, 1362: 5, 150).

Following the Imam's speech and its symmetry with International Women's Day commemoration, some women's protest movements accompanied this day's ceremony. From Isfand 16, secular women gathered in various halls with multiple rituals performance and expressed their opposition to the Hijab. Also, extended discussions about Hijab to departments and ministries, and in some units, the work was interrupted for several hours. On the morning of Isfand 17, Radio Iran, in an interview with Hojjat al-Islam Ishraqi, Imam Khomeini's son-in-law, asked him for his opinion on Hijab. He answered: "Hijab must be observed and must implement Islamic laws face-to-face and must consider this issue in all institutions, departments, schools, and universities. Hijab is not just a chador, but covering women's hair and limbs and wearing dignified clothes in any form. The chador is a standard and perfect thing, but depending on the type of women's work, sometimes covering the body and hair in other ways can also be a hijab. According to the Imam, the Islamic Hijab should perform by women with enthusiasm; but people should not repel indecent with another indecent" (Ibid).

Imam on religious minorities' situation, emphasizing respect for them, said: "It is better if the women of religious minorities also observe the Islamic hijab" (Ibid).

Ishraqi's words did not calm women protesters but escalated protests against the Hijab. For example, female employees of the sales department of Iran Airlines, the Villa branch, announced: A woman's Hijab must be inner decency and purity. On their part, they sent a representative to Ayatollah Taleghani's house. Various groups of women marched to oppose the Hijab. The protests also spread to girls' schools such as Marjan, Hashtroudi, Kharazmi, and Azar. Female employees of hospitals such as "Beh Avar" and "Hezar Takhte Khabi" as well as women working in the

telecommunications of 118 and 124 wards and employees of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs participated in this march (Ardalan, 1380: 164).

Twenty days after the end of the women's protests contrast the Hijab, on the 10th and 11th of Farvardin 1358, the people voted for the "Islamic Republic" in a referendum. With the majority vote of the people to the Islamic Republic, being without the Hijab became more intolerable. From the second half of Farvardin of the same year, plans such as cleaning in the press, a new strategy for selecting students, separating the sea for the men and women, and banning demonstrations and gatherings at the University of Tehran were introduced (Ardalan, 1380: 169).

As a result, the hijab observance gradually became widespread in society, so people refused to accept women without the Hijab even in shops and grocery stores. Many shops had signed similarly to "we apologize for not responding to women without hijab" or slogans encouraging women to observe Hijab (Author's observations). Also, one year after the Cultural Revolution, universities set out to "a change in the foundation of the educational system and a broad and profound revolution based on the originality and values and truths of the Islamic Revolution" (Kayhan, 31 Farvardin 1359, part of the announcement of the Cultural Revolution Council) were closed. The need to observe the Hijab for women employees in offices and schools and public places became legal (Kayhan newspaper, 11 and 12 Tir 1359).

The people welcomed this situation widely, and secular women became like other women in the face of the Hijab's generalization, and some of them fled abroad (Ramezani, 1387: 1-8).

3. The Situation of Hijab During the Imposed War

Imam Khomeini, on July 4, 1980, in response to an inquiry about the assault of some ignorant and possibly counter-revolutionary individuals, sent a message to unveiled women to the Muslim nation of Iran not to attack unveiled women: "The assault on women in the streets, alleys, and bazaars may be from deviants and opponents of the revolution; so, no one has the right to attack, and such interference forbid for Muslims, and the police and committees must prevent such movements" (Khomeini, 1362: 12, 502).

Following this message, from Tir 14, 1359, unveiled women were banned from entering government offices and organizations, and women were required to wear long-sleeved clothing and scarf. Since Ramadan 1360, regulatory and judicial institutions have tried to crash with the manifestations of denial, especially the lack of Hijab, based on the new

laws. Under the new rules, public places should install signs that read, "Do not Accept Unveiled People."

In the following years, due to the people's and official's sensitivity, the country's conditions and atmosphere will change significantly in favor of the Hijab. Still, since 1362, the problem of lousy Hijab has replaced the lack of Hijab. Once again, public opinion on Hijab provokes and clashes between people and people with lousy Hijab (Mohammadi, 1393: 41).

According to one group, Iranian abroad feminist groups made great efforts to bring their cultural and behavioral views. On the other hand, some secular women, who had become discouraged and impatient in the hope of a government change in Iran, soon linked these feminist groups. But the revolutionary and religious atmosphere of the country and the holy war and defense do not allow them to develop such issues. During the war years, religious and extreme enthusiasm and a sense of need for unity contrast of the enemy, even before the legislators decided, made Iranian women eager and united by choosing Islamic dress. Their goal was not only to fulfill a divine duty but to defend Islamic values and support their children and husbands who owed their blood on the fronts (Ramezani, 1387: 10).

During the war, social solidarity was so strong that it thwarted all secularist efforts, at home and abroad. It thwarted foreign publications' attempts to make the Iranian Muslim woman's face look ugly (Mohammadi, 1393: 42).

4. Hijab after the End of the Imposed War until Today

After this period, the issue of lousy Hijab, which has raised to some extent, occasionally catches public opinion and officials' attention to the influence and growth of feminist ideas in Iranian society become stronger. With the efficiency of the constructive Government, the socio-cultural policies of the community take a different path. On the other hand, since the beginning of the 1370s, Western governments have provided the ground for the lousy Hijab in society through careful and intricate planning for Iran's cultural invasion. Accordingly, in 1371, it raised the issue of Manto or tent in various circles. In the last years of the constructive Government, the lousy hijab slope in society becomes steeper, and girls move towards fashion. It continues with the development of a lousy hijab with forming the reform government, the design of the freedom slogan, and its misinterpretations (secular interpretations); in such a way, many objections, without effect, are formed. In 1382, the Supreme Council of the Cultural Revolution, to heal the open wound of a lousy hijab, approved a plan entitled

"Development of Hijab and Chastity." This project seeks to revive Islamic dress in all governmental and non-governmental centers (Ibid, 42-44).

5. The Most Important New Questions and Doubts about Hijab in the Islamic Republic of Iran

The debate over women, gender, and the relationship between Islamic teachings and women's rights, including covering style, at the turn of the century, was considered for some reasons. Reasons such as the active presence of Western interventions in Islamic countries in the thirteenth to nineteenth centuries and the influence of modern culture and the subsequent spread of issues related to women's social and legal life in the Islamic world, as a result of what happened in the new Western world. A clear example came during British rule in Egypt. Their use of feminist literature and the Hijab's introduction as a symbol of Egyptian women's oppression and subjugation made Muslim women's clothing a central theme of nationalist-feminist discourse.

Opponents of Hijab in Muslim societies claim that this type of women's covering in Islamic societies is taken from other civilizations, such as Eastern Rome and Iran, and is not from Islamic rules (Motahari, 1396: 205).

According to the feminist movements, the Hijab reflects a woman's gender rather than covering her body. In their view, Islam considers the female gender to be a potential threat to society's moral security and obliges women to observe the Hijab prevent sedition in the community, which is the realm of men.

According to them, the Hijab is a symbol of gender segregation and discrimination between the sexes. Its legislation manifests the continuity of the ignorance mentality towards women and Islam's retreat from social equality principles. Simultaneously, man has long had to impose specific social laws to maintain the social system and continue human life. However, these restraining and imposing rules in themselves impose restrictions on individuals. Indeed, the laws enacted by reformers and committed to moral principles have been in human beings' collective interest. Therefore, violation and non-compliance with these laws in many cases not caused harm to the offender but endangered others' mental and biological health in some cases. We follow our discussion about important religious and social laws as Hijab and chastity with this view and introduction. In this section, we analyze the crucial doubts and answers regarding this divine law.

5.1. Conflict of Legal Hijab with Human Rights and Freedom of Persons Choice

One of the immediate and most serious suspicions is the conflict between the compulsory Hijab and the provisions of the Convention on Human Rights and human beings' freedom to choose their lifestyle.

Concise answer: 'which free and civilized country teaches people to make drugs or explosives on TV with the slogan of freedom?' Because when the harm of work outweighed its benefits and the interests of society were prohibited and opposed to it, legislators of community bound freedom to principles such as moral principles to no one could endanger the physical and mental health under the pretext of freedom.

Detailed answer: first, Hijab does not mean capturing a woman at home and forbidding her to leave. Although it is recommended to leave the house less often, our jurisprudence and religion have never prohibited women's presence in society. A woman can engage in cultural, economic, social, and political work outside the home, observing the Hijab and Islamic customs. Therefore, in this regard, women's freedom is protected. Like men, women have the opportunity to achieve growth and perfection, just like education and science.

Then, to determine whether the Hijab is an obstacle to freedom or a means of liberation, it must recognize liberty's meaning and truth.

Freedom, in one sense, divided into two types:

A) Real, Positive, and Desirable Freedom

This kind of liberty removes unnecessary and extra restrictions from human hands, feet, tongue, eyes, ears, and intellect. Man does not depend on what he should not be attached to and should remove what is disturbing the growth of custom, reason, and revelation. Therefore, the bravest people are victorious over their souls (Sheikh Saduq, 1363: 4, 394).

The most hostile enemies of human beings are their souls and inner desires (Majlisi: 36, 67). True freedom must be following reason, nature, revelation, virtue, and humanity; accordingly, the Hijab as opposed to space and a great help in finding positive freedom. It is an outstanding achievement when a woman understands and commits, restrains the heart with full cover, and suppresses the temptation to adorn and manifest and charm. Freedom from others' shackles and not being captive to others' lusts is another significant victory, and this is lively and desirable freedom.

B) Negative Freedom or Anti-Freedom

Will and choice are what the heart wants or what others want from a woman; others who think of their lust, not the humanity of women. Of course, Islamic dress suppresses the desires and passions of the individual and deprives the freedom animal. There is no doubt that the desirable

covering of religion is the greatest obstacle for secularists. That is why we see that the masters of colonialism and the leaders of infidelity and depravity are making great efforts to eliminate this value. The freedom conception is a liberty violation and deprivation of the rights of those who want to have a pure body and soul. Contaminating toxins with colorful, tasty, and smelly food is not life-giving but deadly. So the Hijab provides freedom ground, not a nuisance, and deprives freedom.

Third, any society, wisdom, or religion does not accept the covering necessity for men and women is a customary, intellectual, and religious principle; undoubtedly, complete nudity. However, freedom meaning is limited, and there is some difference in taste and opinion about the coverage limitation, especially for women. Because no one's idea and desire are preferable to others and even himself, the best rational and paternalistic way is to choose God's path and limits, the Creator of man and the universe, for salvation and happiness humanity. Finally, if a person suffers from certain limitations to maintain a value or achieve perfection, this is neither bad nor a new offer. There is no doubt that a person who seeks science sacrifices part of his recreation and pleasures, which should be the case, but neither custom nor reason nor religion condemns this restriction.

5.2. The Necessity of Women's Freedom in the Amount of Covering and at the Same Time, Ensuring Their Security by the Government

The benefits of Hijab, including women's security and comfort, non-encroachment on women in the workplace and school, etc. Opponents of Hijab believe that these reasons for restricting women and depriving them of their liberty are not correct, citing the benefits of cover. Instead, we must release women so they can appear in public as they wish, and at the same time, the Government must ensure the full security of women at all times to no one disturbs them. They can be present in the community freely, and with the cover they want.

Such a request is practically impossible because no country has enough military and security forces to provide women's security 24 hours a day in all city streets, alleys, back alleys, workplaces, university environments, etc. That is why even countries with low crime rates have not been able to prevent the phenomenon of rape, aggression, sexual harassment, etc. in their country. Should note that sometimes these sexual crimes were committed by the police officers themselves, who were supposed to provide security.

Because they, too, are human and have the power of lust, and may be exposed to women due to provocation. Common sense dictates that

prevention is better than cure. A person can enter society by wearing suitable and appropriate coverage for a woman and engaging in her daily activities without attracting others' opinions or endangering her safety tranquility.

5.3. The Need to Fight Against False Laws and Non-Compliance with Them

Another suspicion has recently raised by the anti-compulsory hijab movement (White Wednesdays)² led by Masih Alinejad³. They say that we accept that observing the Islamic Hijab is a law in the Islamic Republic, but 'why must the law be obeyed?' For example, slavery in different societies or racial discrimination between blacks and whites has been legal in the US for many years. If everyone accepted these unjust laws, we would not be witnessing eliminating these unfair laws today. We must confront and change the inhuman laws that are incompatible with the intellect of modern civilized man. The law of Hijab in Iran, which deprives human beings of their freedom, is one example of these oppressive laws.

In response, I should say that the analogy between slavery or racial discrimination with the Hijab is incorrect. The majority of society's people and the wise men of each group required the violation of human dignity and the right to freedom of individuals rejected and condemned those laws. Proper Hijab and covering have many benefits for society and the individual so that every wise and fair person acknowledges these results. Even if you are right and the religious Hijab is cruel, fighting it is not lawlessness and creating chaos in society. Every country has envisaged peaceful and correct ways to change the law, through which individuals can pursue legal change. If someone has a problem with the law forbidding the sale and purchase of weapons, drug trafficking, human organ trafficking, drug use, orgy, etc., and considers it cruel and wrong, 'can he do these things in society and invite others to do it?' and then say in court, I think these things were okay and right.

5.4. Differences about the Limits of the Islamic Hijab in Muslim Societies

2. White Wednesdays is a Social campaign aimed at combating the compulsory hijab in the Islamic Republic, which was founded in 2017 by Masih Alinejad, the founder of the Sneaky Liberation Movement. It was an online movement with a similar goal, to bring protests against the hijab to the context of society and the streets. <https://fa.wikipedia.org>.

3. Masoumeh Alinejad Qomi, born on September 11, 1976 in Babylon (known as Masih Alinejad). She is an Iranian journalist, writer, television presenter, women's rights activist, and feminist. She is the founder and designer of the Sneaky Freedom and White Wednesday movements aimed at freeing the hijab and removing the obligatory hijab in Iran. She started journalism with the newspaper Hamestagi in 2001 and later collaborated with ILNA. She has also been published in Shargh, Bahar, Hamihan and Etemad Melli newspapers. Alinejad was a parliamentary correspondent in the sixth and seventh Islamic Consultative Assembly. <https://fa.wikipedia.org>.

There is a definite difference in the status of clothing in different Islamic societies. Some Islamic countries, such as Iran, consider covering the whole body (except the face and hands) for women. Still, Turkey and some Arab countries do not believe it necessary for women to protect their heads and even their arms or under their chins. Thus, this difference in the limits of the Hijab shows that there is no consensus among Muslims themselves about Hijab.

There is a confusion between the views of Islam and Islamic governments on Hijab and covering. Although Islamic governments, for various reasons, have considered a particular limitation of Hijab in their country, a group of Islamic scholars, both Shia and Sunni, agree on the issue of Hijab⁴ (covering the whole body except the face and hands). Even some Shia and Sunni commentators have considered it obligatory to cover the face (Mughniyeh, 1421: 86).

Therefore, there should be no confusion between governments and states' decisions or the people's behavior with Islam's view.

5.5. Hijab Causes More Curiosity and Arousal

Observance of Hijab makes a man more curious, and arousal as humankind is greedy for what is forbidden.

The phrase "humankind is greedy for what is forbidden" is a famous saying used by religious thinkers in their books. Although this phrase is correct in its place, but should not use as a pretext to remove the boundaries of forbidden religious and social activities. For example, it is not permissible to infringe on others' property to quell the people's greed for money and wealth because removing the limits does not solve the problem.

Detailed Answer:

1. Because of this greedy human being, everyone tries to maintain her property, honor, and privacy to be safe from the bite of greedy human beings. For example, due to the property's greed, people protect their money in safes banks and close their doors. Even honor is much more important than wealth. Therefore, we must be more careful about protecting it to avoid the intrigue of greedy people.

4. For further reading, see: Mohammad Ibn Hassan Tusi, *Al-Mabsut Fi Fiqh Al-Imamiya*, vol. 4, p. 160, published by Mohammad Baqir Behboodi, Tehran, 1388. Yusuf Ibn Ahmad Bahrani, *Al-Hadaiq Al-Nadherah Fi Ahkam Al-Etra Al-Tahira*, vol. 23, p. 5556, Qom 1363-1367. Ahmad ibn Muhammad Mahdi Naraq, *Documentary of Shiism in the rules of Sharia*, vol. 16, p. 46, Qom 1419. Ibn Hazm, *Al-Mohalla*, vol. 3, p. 210. Muhammad ibn Ahmad Shams al-A'imah Sarakhsi, *Al-Mabsut*, vol. 10, pp. 152-154, Beirut 1406/1986. Ibn Qadameh, *Al-Mughni*, vol. 1, p. 431. Ahmad Dardir Abu al-Barakat, *Al-Sharh al-Kabir*, vol. 1, p. 214, Beirut: Dar-ehiya al-Kotob al-Arabiya, (n.d) Abdul Rahman Jaziri, *Fiqh on the four religions*, vol. 1, p. 172.

Javadi Amoli says: "Islam's attitude towards women and the regulation of their rights, and that their dignity has the aspect of God's righteousness, not the liberty of the people, and sanctity of her pride is not permissible for anyone, and everyone is obliged to protect the status of women, is evident in religious rulings. For example, if someone violates her position and insults her honor, the Hadd must impose, and nothing causes the Hadd to fall, neither the consent of the husband nor the consent of the wife herself. Because her honor has the aspect of God's right, and it is not like property that steals and the plaintiff consents, the Hadd will break. Western or Eastern materialistic civilization considers women's honor as a commodity, so with the wife or husband's consent, the accused is acquitted, and the case is declared closed; like the old ignorance that with the advent of Islam, the law of the new and the old ignorance disappeared" (Javadi Amoli, 1386: 30).

1. Although typical, immature people are usually greedy, they will try to protect their privacy and others if they grow culturally and spiritually. They will realize that they should not do anything that is forbidden. For example, stores put up a sign saying, "Do Not Touch the Goods" or "Do not Allow Miscellaneous People to Enter This Place." People with personality respect and do not protest why you forbade us, which is a sign of their personality;

2. Man has a physical characteristic and a mental characteristic that his desire is satisfied physically by providing a limited amount. For example, his stomach has a limited capacity. But mentally, he is very diverse and infinitely demanding, so if there is no limit for him, there will be many anomalies. As a result, this phrase (whether it is a narration or not) is a news sentence that expresses immature human beings' reality, not an essay sentence that all human beings should be like this;

3. The phrase "Humankind is Greedy for What Is forbidden" is correct but needs to be explained. Man is greedy for something forbidden and aroused by it; that is the desire to awaken something in a person and then ban him. But if something is not offered at all or offered less, greed and craving will be less toward it (Motahari, 1379: 19, 461). Therefore, removing social constraints does not solve the problem but adds to it. In the sexual instinct and some other instincts, restraints kill true love, but it defiles and burdens nature. In this case, the more supply, the greater the desire for diversity. Tiredness comes from a certain kind of immorality, but not in the sense that the desire for purity replaces it, but in the mind that the fire and thirst quench the tongue and demand another kind of prostitution, and these demands will never be exhausted. (Ibid, 456);

4. Compulsory Hijab will not make men and strangers greedy. A person secretly looks inside a house when its door is open, and something inside that catches her attention; in this case, he stimulates to see, but if the door is closed, there will be no stimulus to see. If a woman observes the Islamic Hijab and does not arouse the lustful lust, she will not attract the man's attention;

5. We do not want to lose the tension between men and women, which is the beauty of life, which is very wrong. The tension between men and women, which is one of the beauties of life, should not be eliminated, but this tension should be adjusted, controlled, and regulated, not abandoned; maintaining traction and attractiveness with privacy is crucial for Hijab.

6. Hijab Hinders Women's Progress

One of the hijab problems is that it hinders the scientific and practical progress of women and causes the stagnation of society, and generates half of the community's strength to lose.

Firstly, the full Hijab of women does not hinder their social, economic, and political activities. Throughout history, women's presence in all these areas and Muslim women activists' recent experience, especially the Islamic Revolution's history, is the best evidence.

Then, we believe that what hinders the scientific, practical, and moral progress of men and women is the lack of a Hijab. A woman who enters the social arena without Hijab spends part of her time, energy, and financial income on makeup, clothes, and other expenses. She also attracts the amount of men's time and energy, which prevents her from being more productive. Third, keeping a woman at home and housekeeping is not a waste of time and effort, but the holiest places and jobs and the most productive jobs are the mother's job, housekeeping, and marriage. 'Is there no scientific logic and reasoning that wives and mothers' work is not working at home and is not worth spending life and time on?' 'Is it a job to build doors, windows, tables, chairs, and machines, but to develop and nurture human beings is a waste of time and energy?'

Fourth, According to various expediencies and appropriateness of working with individuals' physical and mental structure and other matters, God Almighty has placed the task of earning money and a living to men, not women. Accordingly, he has put the charge of managing his wife on him. So, economic activity in the specific and common sense of the word has not been asked of women. Not working outside the home is considered a waste of energy. In compliance with all religious norms, the social and economic work of committed and responsible women contributes to

society's economic growth, and no one hinders this activity. It does not mean that men and women oblige to work outside and participate in the economy, which leads to the disintegration of the family unit and the growth of human qualities. If a woman is not present in the office and factory, we consider the community has lost its force.

7. Lack of Connection Between Chastity and Hijab

There is no connection between Hijab and chastity; Chastity is necessary, but Hijab is not required. It is justified by citing the Hijab and covering rural women and women in the north of the country's paddy fields, who do not have a full hijab but are chaste. Therefore, what is valuable for a woman is purity, not necessarily the observance of the Hijab. It should cover the eyes and the heart, but rotten chador is not a Muslim foundation from virtue (Parvin Etesami, 154).

The poet violates the chador as a symbol of Hijab and innocence and believes that virtue has no relationship with the Hijab and covers women (chador).

Hijab in dictionaries means covering, veil, and barrier. The guard is called an obstacle because it prevents strangers and others from entering a specific area and environment. Therefore, the Hijab and covering of a woman are also barriers against strangers who intend to infiltrate and occupy others' honor. The same concept of prohibition and refusal exists at the root of the abrogation of chastity. Chastity: Stopping what is neither permissible nor beautiful (Ibn Manzur, *Lisan Al-Arab*, the word Chasity); Chastity: The occurrence of a state of the soul in which it refuses to overcome the desire (Ragheb Isfahani, *Dictionary of the Words of the Qur'an*, the word chastity).

Therefore, the two words, "Hijab" and "Chastity," basically have an ordinary meaning of prohibition and refusal. The difference between the banning of Hijab and virtue is the difference between the appearance and the interior. The ban and restraint in Hijab are related to the build. The prohibition and condition in purity are related to the inside.

Chastity is an inner state, instead of considering the effect of appearance on the inside and the impact of the scoop on the impression is one of the general characteristics of human beings (Bagheri, 2016: 1, 66); therefore, there is an interaction between the Hijab and the outer covering and chastity and the inner restraint of man. Hijab and better appearance have a more significant effect on strengthening and cultivating chastity's internal and inner spirit. More inner and esoteric virtue causes more and better Hijab and covering in the face of strangers. The Qur'an mentions this effect

with extraordinary delicacy. First, God allows older women to remove their outer garments, such as the chador, in front of strangers without the intention of showing off. Finally, He says: If they are chaste, they do not even take off their clothes such as chadors, it is better (Al-Noor: 60). A relationship between the exterior covering and the inward purity like the sign and the sign owner; In other words, the amount of outward Hijab is a sign of a particular stage of inner purity of the owner of the Hijab. Of course, this does not mean that every woman who has Hijab and appearance covering necessarily has all the degrees of virtue and purity. So, the answer to people's suspicions that use the excuses of some women with Hijab shows the Hijab ineffective. These women's problems are the inner Hijab's weakness and the lack of faith, and a strong belief in the positive effects of the Hijab and the outer covering. Islamic Hijab has wide dimensions. One of the most critical and necessary dimensions is the inner, esoteric, and mental Hijab that gives a person a firm inner belief and faith in the face of sin and corruption. This mental and ideological Hijab is based on the other hijabs, including the Hijab and the outer covering because human thoughts and ideas shape her behaviors. Just as Hijab and covering does not necessarily mean having all chastity levels, chastity is inconceivable without observing covering. A woman or a man who appears naked or half-naked in public cannot be considered chaste. Because the outer covering is one of the signs and symptoms of chastity, and there is an interactive relationship between the amount of innocence and the Hijab (Tayebi, 1378: 39).

Some have considered the relationship between celibacy and Hijab as a kind of relationship between root and fruit. It means that Hijab is the fruit of innocence, and virtue is the root of the Hijab. Some people may wear the Hijab, but they have not developed inner innocence and purity; this Hijab is only a shell and an appearance. On the other hand, people claim to be chaste and entertain themselves with expressions such as "I Have a Pure Heart, God Deals with Hearts." Such people must accept that a pure inside cultivates a pure outside, and a pure heart will never produce the impure fruit of the unveiled (Ibid, 40).

Conclusion

The issue of Hijab and covering and related questions and doubts, especially in the Islamic Republic of Iran, is an efficient and challenging issue that by analyzing this critical issue in this article, obtained the following results:

1. The Islamic Hijab is proven through the verses of the Qur'an and hadiths and also rational reasons. Hijab is a matter of consensus and coincidence among all Islamic jurists, and the majority of scholars agree on its limitations (all bodies except face and hands);
2. After the Islamic Revolution's victory in Iran, despite the opposition and protest of some women with the Islamic Hijab, most people accepted the Islamic Hijab. With the valuable instructions of Imam Khomeini, the Hijab gradually found its place in Iran and took legal form. Then, due to the enemy's cultural invasion and various other factors, bad Hijab replaced non-hijab;
3. One of the most critical factors of opposition to Hijab and also bad Hijab in the Islamic Republic of Iran is the raising of various suspicions by the opponents of hijab and dissident currents. This article examined the significant doubts raised, such as the conflict between Hijab and women's freedom and progress, the lack of connection between Hijab and chastity, different perceptions of Muslims about Islamic Hijab, the incorrect citation of the legality of Hijab, etc. convincing and worthy answer give to each of them by providing a correct and complete explanation;
4. Based on the results, the Islamic Hijab does not conflict with true freedom and women's real progress and promotion. By observing the Islamic Hijab (along with chastity and modesty, which is directly related to the Hijab), women can be present in society and have scientific, material, and spiritual progress and protect society's privacy the family from any filth, corruption, and corruption.

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Infrastructures of New Islamic Civilization in the Thought of Ayatollah Motahhari

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Abstract

Given that Iran's society and political system have a religious nature and are on the path of progress, understanding religion's role in civilization is significant. There are three views on the relationship between religion and culture: the philosophical view, which introduces religion as an obstacle to civilization and progress; The post-secular view, which, with an instrumental perspective, considers religion conditionally and as part of the traditions of any society, has a beneficial effect on modern society; And the third view is the view of political Islam, which considers religion as life-giving, facilitating and a factor of progress, development, and civilization, thinks the decline of Islamic societies as a result of Muslims' departure from the teachings of Islam and the feeling of weakness and humiliation of the Islamic Ummah in the face of the West. Based on this research results, which have been done by the library-documentary method and analytical-descriptive approaches, Ayatollah Motahhari, as one of the greatest revolutionary movement philosophers and leaders, agrees with the last theory. According to him, the infrastructures for the transformation towards a new Islamic civilization are provided by the establishment and development of religious democracy, the reconstruction of religious thought according to the time requirements, and Western material teachings' transformation into the comprehensive epistemological foundations of Islam.

Keywords: Decline, Divine Philosophy of Islam, Motahhari, New Islamic Civilization, Religious Democracy, Revival of Religious Thought.

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Introduction

In consideration with Iran's decline historical course against with West, before 1978 revolution, which exactly was accompanied by religion isolation and Western modernity emphasis, especially after constitutional movement, and new Iranian evolution epoch beginning, based on religion and move towards a new Islamic civilization; understanding the relationship between religion, culture, main religion and culture role progress is of great importance.

In this research, by analytical-descriptive approach and by using library works and texts;

The votes and views of Ayatollah Morteza Motahhari, who is an intellectual thinker of the seminary and familiar with the principles of religion and Western civilization, will be examined in the following cases:

A) The reasons for the decline of early Islamic civilization are Islamic societies are in the Third World and backward conditions and have been sensitive to the state of decay for more than a century. It is obvious, but what are the reasons for this decline? From the fourth to the eighth century, Islam created a glorious civilization and gradually fell into a state of decay;

B) Religious civilization refusal possibility, the relationship between religion and civilization has been the most controversial contemporary religious-political issues, like a conflict, in the Christian world which led to secularism and religion political role decline, reduction of thinkers who encouraged the same war of Islamic world reconstruction;

C) Islamic civilizing foundations by proving Islam's agreement with civilization components such as reason, science, and order show religion can lay constructing a new civilization in the Islamic world.

1. Research Background

The research entitled "Backgrounds for the Realization of a New Islamic Civilization in Islamic Society from the Perspective of the Supreme Leader" describes the background for the formation of a new Islamic civilization in the intelligent system of the Supreme Leader and the process of realization of new enlightenment, which includes the following steps: The Islamic Revolution, The formation of the Islamic system, The construction of the Islamic State, The shape of an Islamic country, The structure of the Islamic world (Arefi Gorvan, 1397: 49).

Mentioned in the article, "Islamic Revolution and Its Axial Role in Formation of a New Islamic Civilization with Emphasis on the Doctrine of Imamate," the concept of New Islamic civilization; has been introduced as a project which uses the capacities of Islamic culture and the Islamic Revolution. This exactly is based on Imamate's doctrine for the Islamic teaching introduction possibility in the Iran political geography and the Islamic world (Najafi and Gholami, 1397: 121).

A study entitled "Requirements of the Realization of a New Islamic Civilization Based on the Political Biography of the Prophet (PBUH)," based on Shiite narrative sources, introduces the components of the realization of Islamic civilization according to the political biography of the Prophet (PBUH), which includes these cases: Creating the necessary organizations and institutions to exercise sovereignty, paying attention to the principle of unity and cooperation of Muslims, implementing justice and constant confrontation with infidels and hypocrites (Jamshidi Rad and Adib Behrooz, 2019: 102).

In the article "General Economic Principles of the New Islamic Civilization Based on the Prophetic Tradition," Islam's principles and axes concerning worldly affairs are explained. The desired economic system's desired structure in the new Islamic civilization, justice, and the rule of the religious tenets over financial actions in the desired economic system have been studied in the contemporary Islamic culture (Jokar and Mahdavi Rad, 1399: 69).

Although the above valuable works have been researched on the subject of new Islamic civilization, this research is diverse and innovative in two ways: the first is that it examines Ayatollah Motahari's view on new Islamic culture. The second is that it deals with the foundations of Islamic society's transformation into a new Islamic civilization.

2. The Theoretical Framework of the Relationship between Religion and Civilization

One of the foundations of modern Western civilization is secularism or the separation of state and church. In Europe, from the fifteenth century onwards, during the Renaissance and the Reformation, the position of religious authority and absolute monarchy of the pope abolished the king's secular rule eighteenth century during the intellectual period. Religion marginalizing caused Republican system forming in France and Constitutional monarchy in England and developed.

These developments highlighted the philosophical views that introduced religion as an obstacle to civilization and society's progress. According to Max Weber, in the formation of western civilization, the decline of religion is related to the general process of rationalization, and rational attitudes have replaced the perspectives taken from religion. Although Weber initially considers religion effective in creating early capitalism, he does not assume any possibility for religion to play a pivotal role in modern civilization (Forrest, 1394: 265).

Marx and Engels state that popular thoughts at any given time, including religion, legitimizes the interests of the ruling class (ibid, 111). Although he believes that religion supports morality, Sigmund Freud prevents society's disintegration through wolfish biology and considers religious concepts exclusively psychoanalytic (ibid, 140). Also, in our day, some thinkers try to accuse all religions of religious prejudice, violence, terrorism and introduce religion as the opposite of civilization

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and progress, democracy, human rights, fundamental freedoms, prosperity and development, and the enemy of science, culture and social life (Hemmati, 1390: 29).

The post-secular view sees religion as conditionally and as part of any society's traditions. It makes it marginalized and secular in an apparent turn, having a beneficial effect on western civilization. Jürgen Habermas considers modernity to be an unfinished project, criticizing parts of modernity thought and hoping for aspects of it for liberation, and attributing post-secularism to three phenomena: first, the decline of modern belief in the inevitability of the removal of religions from politics and the public sphere; Second, the survival of the universal influence of religions in the political arena; Third, the integration of predominantly Muslim of third world immigrants into western societies (Habermas, 2008: 20).

The third theory has a comprehensive and meta-secular view of religion. Motahhari and theological intellectuals believe that religion, especially Islam, agrees with rationality and science and includes politics and government. It is life-giving, facilitating, and a factor of development and civilization. Motahhari believes that requisite development and progress in Islamic society is the combination of politics and religion; Because Islam is a comprehensive ritual that includes all human life aspects and responds to all individual, social needs. Secular leadership is Islamic religious leadership result. (Motahhari, 1389: 4, 714).

3. Possibility or Refusal of Civilization Based on Religion

Historically, there is a possibility of the establishment of Islamic civilization.

In the book named "Mankind and Destiny," Motahhari believes; not only is Islamic culture possible, but also this talent and ability had already been proven, and Islam emergency has led to such a glorious civilization formation in the first centuries, which brought humanity significant achievements.

There is no doubt that Muslims have gone through a period of greatness and pride. The Muslims built a tremendous and glorious movement and civilization that lasted for several centuries and is still considered one of human society's shining rings. For centuries, Muslims have dominated the world in industrial science, philosophy, art, ethics, and higher social systems. Although the extraordinary and astonishing of new European civilization has dazzled the eyes and astonished the minds, it dominates the entire world. According to Western scholars, more than anything else, it is inspired by the glorious Islamic civilization. The Christian world was influenced by Islamic civilization through commerce, the Crusades, and the translation of thousands of books from Arabic into Latin (Motahhari, 1389: 1, 350).

In the book "Revelation and Prophecy," he considers the main reason for creating such a great civilization in the motivating content of Islam's

teachings towards science education. The Prophet (PBUH) encouraged his companions to learn literacy; and he said that the search for knowledge is obligatory for every Muslim and seek learning, even though it requires you to travel to China. These emphases and encouragements caused Muslims to diligently search for scientific works and translations and research and became links between the ancient Greek, Roman, Persian, Egyptian, and finally, the new European civilizations. They created the most glorious civilizations and cultures in humankind's history, known as Islamic civilization and culture (ibid).

Logically, it is also possible to establish an Islamic civilization because religion and culture and faith and science have a complementary relationship, not an aggressive one, 'Does science call for something and belief in something else against it?' 'How does science want to make us and faith the opposite?' 'Does science lead us in one direction and trust in another?' Religion and civilization or faith and science are complementary and harmonious; Science makes up half of man, society and civilization, and faithfulness the other half (ibid).

4. Reasons for the Decline of Islamic Societies

Following mentioned above, Motahhari believes the Islamic civilization phenomenon has existed for centuries in the world and then destroyed. Today Muslims are declining compared to many nations of the world and their glorious past: 'How did it happen?' 'Did the Muslims return to regression after all the progress and advancement in science, education, industry, and systems?' 'Who is responsible for this decline and regression?' In the book "Man and Destiny," Motahhari has expressed several views about the cause of the deviation and degeneration of Muslims:

- A)** Islam; For Western intellectuals and some Orientalists, who are caught up in Christian prejudice or self-humiliation or a colonial mission: Islamic beliefs are responsible for the decline of Muslims;
- B)** Muslims; Muslims, including rulers, religious scholars, and the general public, are responsible for backwardness and degeneration due to their shortcomings and deviations from Islamic teachings;
- C)** Aliens; Non-Muslim nations and tribes, enemies inside or outside, Jews, Christians, etc., are responsible for the decline of Islamic societies by distorting Islamic truths or creating sects and crusades, Mongol invasions, and Western colonization in recent centuries;
- D)** the appropriateness of time; The nature of time requires that each nation go through only a limited and definite period of progress and excellence and then follow the path of annihilation and degeneration (Motahhari, 1389: 1, 351).

Motahhari believes that, at first, the Islam religion is flexible and in harmony with the time requirements; then, because of time conditions, it did not cause the Islamic civilization declination. Second, Islam's

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incredible teachings and beliefs have been creating the foundations and drive the Islamic civilization.

Therefore, the current situation of Islamic world declination is due to the deviant Muslims beliefs, which has caused Muslims sluggishness and immobility one side, and foreigners influences and colonialism in Islamic societies on the other hand;

But it must be mentioned that even though Islamic civilization has been destroyed, the Islam religion, has remained an alive, active, and expanding force, and Islamic nations are awakening (ibid).

5. The Necessity of Establishing a New Islamic Civilization

The original Islamic civilization is a human-centered civilization with a religious and spiritual approach. It is based on the four values of insight (worldview and religious beliefs), knowledge (wisdom), action (culture of jihad and effort), and character (adherence to morals and values). These values gave Muslims five centuries of political and scientific authority and proved the possibility of Islamic civilization; reviving and strengthening those values among the Islamic world citizens will bring about a new Islamic civilization (Memari, 1396: 23).

Given that Western culture has been formed based on science and reason without faith and religion and has been able to save humanity from misery, poverty, war, and deadly diseases, what is the need to establish a new Islamic civilization? According to Ayatollah Motahhari, the establishment of such a society is necessary; because modern Western civilization is one-dimensional and does not meet human needs in all dimensions of existence. Historical experience has shown that the separation and substitution of science instead of faith, and the abandonment of religion from human civilization, has caused irreparable damage; because science and faith do not contradict each other and are complementary to each other. On the other hand, Islam is associated with rationality and science, which are the main foundations of civilization: “the jurists of Islam believe in an inseparable relationship between reason and sharia and call it an attached rule; They say: Whatever the intellect finds, the Shari'ah rules according to it; And whatever the Shari'ah dictates has a rational basis” (Motahari, 1389: 3, 190).

Following Motahhari, Science is as light and ability in the external and internal world that makes man enable changing the external and internal world, but the power and capacity of science are of the tools' strength and ability; it means humanity can work better with the science tools, and science has chosen the best man's backup in the achievement of goals and path walk. Man considers the destination before using the tools, and the tools are always employed through the destinations. Humanity requires religion and plans creation faith and cultivating his human talents; man, according to his animal nature, moves towards the natural animal aims and purposes of his selfish, materialistic individual and uses tools in the same way.

Therefore, humanity needs a kind of force that is not the same as a human tool; this power transforms man from within and activates his hidden and neglected talents, making a soul revolution and inspiring a new direction.

Science and the discovery of the laws governing nature and man cannot do this: such an effect is born of the sanctification and preciousness of specific values in the human soul, and it is itself the result of a series of transcendent tendencies in man, which in turn arise from a particular conception and way of thinking about the world and man, which cannot be found in laboratories, It was obtained and not from the content of analogies and arguments (Motahari, 1389: 2, 37).

Motahhari believes that based on the past and present history of human civilization, the separation of science and faith has had harmful consequences.

In mankind's history, which and there was only the faith and was not Science, the individual's efforts have been the harmful prejudices and conflicts root.

In today's current societies, now where science, and faith is neglected, all of the scientific power has been spent on selfishness, extravagance, supremacy, exploitation, enslavement, and deception.

In the last two or three centuries, Western civilization has been a period of worship of science and escape from the faith. Many scientists and intellectuals believed that science's solution would solve all human problems, but experience proved otherwise. Today no thinker denies the human need for some faith, even non-religious belief. It is often found today that pure scientism and pure scientific training are incapable of making man whole. Progressive scientific education makes half-human, not whole human; it makes a man capable and powerful, not a virtuous man; Man creates a one-dimensional, not multidimensional man. Today, everyone has realized that the age of pure science has come to an end, and an ideal vacuum threatens societies (Motahari, 1389: 2, 34).

In Motahhari's view, this spiritual and ideal gap is filled only with establishing a new Islamic civilization based on Islamic mystical thinking and religious attraction about the world and man.

Pure philosophy, literature, art, humanities, culture, and humanistic literature are incapable of overcoming such a shortcoming,

In actuality, Western culture and civilization's fundamental flaw is that it is plagued by world consciousness and self-forgetfulness. It is precisely the same as the main secret of the human fall in Western society.

‘What does it do for a person gaining the world, when mankind loses himself, following holy Qur'an (loss of soul)?’ (Motahari, 1389: 2, 306).

6. Infrastructures of Transformation to the New Islamic Civilization

Some thinkers consider the creation of a "New Islamic Civilization" necessary to change the lifestyle and network of social relations based on Islamic teachings and material progress and such things as innovations,

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tools, institutions, political and international authority based on the Qur'an, scientism, Islamization of knowledge and globalism (GhaffariHashjin and NasserKhaki, 1395: 123).

In his book "Society and History," Motahhari believes that along with all kinds of material struggles, there are value-seeking struggles, free from profit-seeking led by prophets and believers, which have advanced humanity in the field of civilization, society, and spirituality. This struggle's primary driving force is the intuitive and natural factor of the tendency towards truth, perfectionism, and justice. Man's talents will gradually flourish, and in the future, he will free himself from material and economic constraints and turn to belief and faith. He will lead to man's evolution and the final victory of righteous people and Islam's new world civilization. Mercy »God is the evolution of beings and the emergence of God's training in nature and human life (Motahhari, 1389: 2, 473).

Accordingly, from Ayatollah Motahhari's point of view, the foundations of the transformation into a new Islamic civilization include the following:

6.1. Scientific Movement, Reform of Beliefs, and Religious Awakening

The primary foundation of culture is spiritual growth and lifestyle promotion. The instrumental part of civilization is society's material growth in science, invention, industry, politics, economics, political and military authority—the new Islamic civilization in the software section of culture is a lifestyle. In the instrumental and hardware part of the culture, science, industry, economics, and material and spiritual progress are related to the scientific movement, the revival of religious thought, and Muslims' awakening (Abu Talebi, 2017: 97). In the book "Man and Faith," Motahhari considers the criterion of human privilege and the basis of moving towards the establishment of any cultural and civilizational foundation in his ability to acquire knowledge and awareness and, at the same time, the growth and development of his religious and faith tendencies.

According to him, man's vast insight into the world is the result of mankind accumulated effort of, which under specific criteria and logic named as "Science," but he believes that lonely the science is not enough for creating a humane and advanced world; because man's spiritual inclinations are his faith in general and immaterial truths birth.

Such sublime and super-animal tendencies take on the name of "Faith" when they find a doctrinal basis: "the main and fundamental difference between man and other living beings - which is the criterion of his humanity and humanity depends on it - is knowledge and faith" (Motahhari, 1389: 2, 24). The religion of Islam emphasizes scientism in man that its prophet's miracle is of the book type.

Unlike the miracle of the previous holy prophets, which were temporary and fleeting, it is an eternal miracle. According to him, the importance of Muhammad's (PBUH) work is that he subdued the people

who did not surrender except to unnatural matters to reason, logic, and science, and introduced the thought of the people who offered only by natural points to a sense in higher level (Motahari, 1389: 2, 194 & 208).

But the desirability of science is conditional on its association with religion. According to Motahhari, Science can be used as a tool for good or evil purposes, and it cannot change goals, values, and scales. Still, religion is a force that can enable man to overcome animal instincts and stimulate human instincts: “science dominates everything except man and his instincts. Man acquires knowledge and uses it in any direction he wants; but religion takes over a man; it changes the direction of the man and the destination of man” (Motahari, 1389: 3, 358).

Islam's recommendations to science and all science education restrictions will cause Muslims' speed and progress in achieving science and creating a new civilization. Motahari says in the book "Mutual Services between Iran and Islam," one of the main reasons for Muslims rapid progress in science that were not prejudiced in acquiring science, technology, industry, and arts. They found science everywhere and in everyone's hands, used it, and so-called today, the spirit of tolerance ruled over them (Motahari, 1389: 14: 393). Therefore, one of the essential pillars of establishing a new Islamic civilization is tolerance and acceleration in learning and developing sciences.

In his book "Revival of Islamic Thought," Motahhari acknowledges that the Islamic spirit is dead in Muslims. Islam is alive in the form of Islamic rituals, the holy book, and the tradition of the Prophet (PBUH); but the spirit of Islam is dead in Islamic society; Of course, there is a possibility of Islamic revival: “the challenge is in the thinking of Muslims; Muslims' way of thinking about Islam is not alive; it is dead. It is as if you are burying a living seed in a way that is contrary to the principles of agriculture” (Motahari, 1389: 25, 423).

This shortcoming must be remedied by reviving the comprehensive and all-encompassing material and spiritual demands of Islam.

Therefore, the comprehensiveness and Islamic teachings and beliefs comprehensiveness are all required for new Islamic civilization establishment.

According to Motahhari, the pillar of reviving the original religious thought is to pay attention to all material, spiritual, personal, and social aspects of Islam. Islam does not deal only with the form and appearance of life, and Islamic teachings focus on the soul, meaning, and the way that leads human beings to those goals and intentions. Islam has taken purposes and meanings and provided a way to achieve those goals and intentions in its realm and has set human beings free from other matters: “In Islam, there is no material means and an external form that has the aspect of sanctity, and a Muslim considers it his duty to maintain that form and appearance; therefore, avoiding collisions with the manifestations of the development of science and civilization is one of the aspects that facilitates the adaptation of this religion to the

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requirements of the time and removes the great obstacle to immortality” (Motahari, 1389: 3, 191).

To adapt the religion to the requirements of the time, Islam has prescribed the mechanism of Ijtihad scholars, the most important duties and responsibilities of the scholars of the Ummah are Ijtihad; "Ijtihad means a wise effort with the correct method to understand the rules of Islam using the sources: the Qur'an, Sunnah, consensus, reason.

In Islamic civilization brilliant terms, Islam scholars proved if Islamic sources are well discernment and inference capable, moved forward with Variable, integrated community, could guide and adapt to time requirements and needs passage; which answer needs of every age (Motahari, 1389: 3, 198).

6.2. Establishment and Development of Religious Democracy

The new Islamic civilization seeks to embody Islamic teachings by purposefully using historical civilization's capital and relying on the Islamic Revolution's capacities. The political geography of Iran plays a central role. The Islamic world plays a central role in this civilization and political rationality based on the doctrine of Imamate, in addition to its legitimizing aspect, by providing a privileged political order of religious democracy, is considered the central pillar of modern Islamic civilization (Najafi and Gholami, 1397: 121).

Following Motahhari, there is a positive and agreeable relationship between Islam religion and people proved rule over people. Islam is opposed to authoritarian regimes and dictatorships; therefore, establishing a democratic government based on Islamic values and Sharia is one of the most critical and decisive new Islamic civilization preconditions.

One of the causes and roots of the anti-religious and materialist movement of modernity in Europe, which also spread to the outside world of Christianity, is the inadequacy of ecclesiastical concepts in political law.

Like Grotius, Hobbes, and Rousseau, the ecclesiastics and some European philosophers established an artificial link between God's belief and the deprivation of political rights.

They established authoritarian regimes, and a positive connection was made between democracy and atheism.

It was assumed that either we should accept God and the right of government delegated by him to certain individuals who have no clear privilege should be considered or should deny God to be able to consider ourselves righteous.

Contrary to West and Church political philosophies, which assume God responsible for people responsibility, God is obligated and sufficient for people to have no rights, they see justice as what ruler does, and oppression has no meaning for, assuming God righteousness cause people rights falling; following Motahhari, Islamic God believing is considered supporting justice and people rights; God believing is justice

foundation main idea and people inherent rights; And only by God existence acceptance and approved, intrinsic rights presence and true justice, made acceptably, and God faith is the best law and justice implementation guarantor (Motahari, 1389: 16, 445).

In his book "Mutual Services between Islam and Iran," Motahari argues that Islam transformed the principle of government based on blood, race, or monarchy in the field of political philosophy. The government's principle is based on wealth and influence into the principle of democratic government; in the Islamic era, we are no longer talking about the imperial race. The child of a fisherman, the child of a slave, and a poor person may see such competence in themselves; He wills and reaches the highest position. In the Islamic era, rulers relied more on their own merits than race. Islam removed from the Iranians' minds the idea that the clergy belonged to a particular class (Motahari, 1389: 14, 324).

Contrary to what has been the case in the premodern West, where religious concepts equate to social oppression and in modern times have opposed religion and freedom and the West's tendency toward secularism, in Islam, religious concepts have always been equal to rights, justice, and freedom. (Motahari, 1389: 1, 555).

Under Motahhari's book named "The Future of the Islamic Revolution of Iran," democracy in Western sense is different from democracy in the Islamic sense.

Western democracy means animal freedoms and emancipations based on the people's majority will, even if the majority opposes definite human morality principles.

But Islamic democracy, which is a new Islamic civilization basis, in sovereignty sense, based on human freedoms, because in Islam, there is freedom, national independence, people's rule over people, and people's right for electing government officials: "Islamic democracy means promoted humanity and western democracy means established animalism" (Motahari, 1389: 24, 348).

He considers the Islamic society a society based on a monotheistic worldview in which man achieves moral and social unity. In this society, monotheism is on three levels: theoretical monotheism, individual practical monotheism, practical social monotheism; Motahhari evaluates monotheism as equal to freedom and democracy (Motahari, 1389: 24, 320).

6.3. Resistance to the One-Dimensional Civilization of the West

With religious democracy system establishment, the Islamic world is in the position of new Islamic pre-civilization. Competition between great civilizations in the world arena put the Islamic world in the transitional stage. Every civilization, by human society overcoming crises, can organize a new civilization.

Hence, by resisting rival civilizations, especially Western culture, and facing emerging threats and problems, the Islamic world can pave the

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way for facilitating the transition from the current situation to the stage of a new Islamic civilization (Ghasemi, 1396: 3).

According to Motahhari, Western culture is not a complete and comprehensive model for human growth and development for various reasons; it is a material and one-dimensional civilization. It does not consider the spiritual dimensions of humanity and is based on imperfect philosophies. In the book "Causes of Materialism," Motahhari believes the West's material perspective and material ideas with all its beauties, apparent and devoid of content. The West is far behind in divine wisdom, and some may not accept that the West has not reached Eastern religious philosophy, especially Islamic philosophy. Most philosophical concepts are common issues among Islamic philosophy (Motahhari, 1389: 1, 493).

However, what has caused the Western colonial domination of Islamic countries is the neglect of Islam's transcendent truths and the Ulama and rulers' distorted beliefs: "the immobility of ijtiḥād over the centuries has contributed to these misconceptions". It is the authorities' duty and the Ulama to confront such erroneous tendencies as logically as soon as possible. Today, more than ever, the Islamic world needs a legislative movement that is rooted in the depths of Islamic teachings with a new, broad and comprehensive vision. To end the West's intellectual and political colonization of Islamic countries (Motahhari, 1389: 3, 199). Islamic sources have an endless talent for research, discovery, and inference and can fill the gaps (ibid).

As Motahhari says, humankind must resist various political, economic, and cultural dimensions of Western colonialism, especially Western cultural colonization; because western civilization identity conflicts with Islamic identity and one of the historical reasons for Islamic civilization collapse is the cultural Muslims decline: "the tribes and nations that decide killing religion spirit and morality and courage, bravery, masculinity in another nation, provide and complement their means of revelry then lust and carnal entertainment".

In the history of Islamic Andalusia, that is, present-day Spain, we read that the plan that the Christians plotted to capture Andalusia and take it out of the hands of the Muslims was western colonialism also carried out this plan precisely in Islamic countries in recent centuries (Motahhari, 1389: 3, 404).

Although Western bourgeois and colonial civilization have been fighting Islam openly and secretly for centuries, equip and united all of its forces against Islam and Muslims, then seeking conspiracies and actions to make Islamic slogans and teachings effect weak and weaker: "totally, these conspiracies and alliances strengthen common pain sense among suffering Muslims and strengthen their national conscience".

Mentioned vision and pain feeling, progress and develop today continuously; the Islamic nation is being born again; a country transcends conventional boundaries and embraces all Muslims, even all free monotheistic man; government denies every tribe sovereignty; class,

family, its basis and foundation are based on freedom and mankind liberation of all intellectual, social-political chains, and his guidance to universe Lord (Motahari, 1389: 14, 47).

6.4. Development of the Divine Philosophy of Islam and the Absorption of Western Civilization in It

Motahhari believes that Islam's principles and teachings have such a talent and capacity that not only does not feel weak in the face of modern philosophy but can analyze Western modernity in its epistemological and human foundations. In his opinion, because the West is not familiar with Islam's broad principles, it opposes it. At the same time, "how much do people today, even in the Western world, need to recognize our religious philosophy" (Motahari, 1389: 4, 55). He considers weakness to be the cause of the West's departure from metaphysical philosophy but considers Muslim philosophy to be rich: "the truth is that the strange reversal of metaphysical wisdom in Europe results from the weakness and inadequacy of the divine wisdom of the West In our view, there is no need to doubt the value of the supreme knowledge and divine wisdom of Islam; then we will run like thirsty in the desert without water, and we will not get anywhere" (Motahari, 1389: 5, 479).

It is a state of degeneration of the West and the imperfection, inadequacy, and one-dimensionality of modern Western philosophy that moves Muslims towards the reconstruction of Islamic civilization. In his book "Philosophy of History," Motahhari emphasizes the decline and fall of the West due to the removal of spiritual and moral values and better equipped, which will lead to its downfall, and for this reason, it must be said that it is declining; That is, it eats itself from within itself, and this will cause its annihilation and fall (Motahari, 1389: 15, 202).

Islam's divine philosophy must be developed to the extent that it absorbs Western civilization's positive achievements. According to Islam's history, Muslims did not treat arrogantly defeated societies and did not destroy their scientific and civilizational works. Instead, while striving to preserve and preserve the conquered societies' civilization, they modestly absorbed what they found useful and consistent with their principles and strengthened their scientific and civilizational foundations. This practice owed much to the solid and rational foundations of Islam. According to Motahhari, civilization is genuine and robust if it takes aggressive society and culture, absorbs its desirable elements, and repels its undesirable elements (Najafi and Arianjad, 1395: 59).

This strength can be seen more clearly in the invasion of the Mongols. In this invasion, despite the severe defeat of the Muslims, Islam survived and, in a short time, was able to convince the aggressors, "it was Islam that digested the Mongols and made the cannibalistic murderers knowledgeable and knowledgeable human beings" (Motahari, 1389: 14, 324).

Finally, for a new Islamic civilization to be built and Western civilization absorbing the achievements, the religious democracy system

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must be robust inlay the new civilization foundations because Islam has encouraged community leaders to produce power. The Qur'an describes the ideal Islamic society as strong, powerful, and with intensity, strength, and firmness against the enemies (Motahhari, 1389: 23: 507).



Table No. 1. Infrastructures of transformation to the New Islamic Civilization

Conclusion

The relationship between civilization and religion, especially the religion of Islam in the opinion of Ayatollah Motahhari, is neither a relationship of contradiction and conflict nor a general and specific relationship; it is a relationship of harmony and agreement. In modern Western civilization, due to Christianity's distorted religion and the church's irrational practice and interpretation, there was hatred and separation between science and faith and culture and religion, leading intellectuals and society to isolate religion and the church and establish a secular system of government. The community's urgent need for faith and social and moral crises led some thinkers to a post-secular perspective. To accept religion as a particular part of Western civilization, which has the function of integrating society.

Following Motahhari, Western civilization is in the middle of decline and falling; Because it is one-dimensional, materialism principles-based; human spiritual unaware and moral dimensions; on the other hand, as shown in Table 1, Muslims rely on the creation of glorious Islamic civilization experience in the past centuries and with an awareness of Islamic societies decline, by launching a scientific movement and reviving religious thought; by Islamic awakening, they establish a model of religious democracy, which will be withstood influence and domination of cultural, political, Western economic colonization, spiritual democracy development and strengthening divine Islam philosophy development which will provide Islamic societies the transformation conditions and new Islamic civilization establishment.

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Investigating the Balance of Power between Iran and the United States after the Islamic Revolution

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Abstract

Today, using international relations theories is essential for explaining and analyzing international events and issues. One of the most influential international relations theories is structuralism or neorealism, developed by Kenneth Waltz, which divides into offensive and defensive. Brett Hansen, Toft, and Wivel, with their amendments to Kenneth Waltz's neo-realism, have proposed a model of neo-realism to explain international politics and the foreign behavior of governments. In this model, the strategy of governments against a single pole is affected by the probability of their military conflict. Therefore, if the likelihood of military conflict is low, governments' strategy against a single pole is "Bandwagoning." If the probability of military conflict is high, their approach will be "Balance." What influences the balance and sequence of "Hard" or "Soft" will be "Ideology." In this article, using a descriptive-analytical method, we deal with the confrontation between Iran and the United States. We will say that due to the high probability of conflict and the tremendous ideological distance between them in the region, the Islamic Republic of Iran's strategy against the United States is "Hard Balance."

Keywords: Neo-Realism, Islamic Republic of Iran, America, Hard Balance.

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Introduction

The security strategies of international actors in nation-states have always been among the most critical concerns and issues in foreign policy and international relations. One way to explain and analyze governments' security strategies is to use international relations theories.

One of the most influential theories that researchers have always considered in this field due to its greater conformity with facts has been realism. As international actors' security situation has become more complicated in recent years, realist thinkers have tried to reconstruct this theory to answer global politics and relations between countries.

In this regard, these thinkers' efforts have led to creating various schools of realism, which can be referred to as structural realism (neo-realism) with both defensive and offensive, and neoclassical realism. One of the most recent realistic readings based on the theory of neo-realism by Kenneth Waltz relates to the efforts of Brett Hansen, Peter Toft, and Andre Viol, thinkers in the field. While maintaining Waltz's theory's central assumptions, these scientists have tried to modify it to meet the theoretical and practical challenges posed by the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War. In the following, using this model, we will deal with the regional security strategy of the Islamic Republic of Iran against the United States in the region.

1. Analytical Framework: The Neo-Realist Model of Hansen and His Colleagues

Brett Hansen, Peter Taft, and Andre Viol are among the realists who have attempted to modify the theory of balance of power to design a more in line with post-Cold War realities.

Hansen argues that Waltz's theory cannot elucidate the unipolar system because it has two significant drawbacks. First, it deals only with bipolar and multipolar systems, and second, Waltz's theory cannot elucidate the change in the structure of the international system (Hansen, 2000: 3-4). For this reason, he and his colleagues have attempted to explain the balance in a unipolar system while maintaining a framework of neo-realism by making changes to Waltz's theory.

In this model, the new post-Cold War world order is considered a system based on a unipolar model. According to Hansen and his colleagues, the original order's main feature is the asymmetric distribution of power that the United States is the only superpower. The only dominant force in this system is known (See, Hansen, Wivel and Toft: 2009, ch1).

Although this model is rooted in Kenneth Waltz's neo-realism theory, four corrections are made by Hansen and his colleagues; first, like most contemporary realists, the current international system is defined by a unipolar system with only one superpower.

Second, it is assumed that a state's response to particular world order is affected by the likelihood of military conflict, which will vary across the international system and determines the type of response of other governments' Bandwagoning and balancing strategies.

Third, a state's response to particular world order is influenced by the ideological divide of that state with a superpower. The ideological distance between the superpower and other governments varies across the international system and influences whether governments choose hard or soft security strategies.

Fourth, unlike Waltz, this model does not view governments as defensive position lists whose primary goal is to maintain the status quo through balancing strategies. Instead, it seeks to examine how relative power, relative security, and comparable ideology affect the defense or aggression of governments' security strategies (Hansen and others, 2011: 10-11).

As stated, Hansen and his colleagues' model does not go beyond the framework of neo-realism, and the basic principles of this model are the foundations of Waltz's neo-realism. Lack of monopoly on the legitimate use of power has led us to call the international system an anarchic structure. This lack of a legitimate monopoly on violence transforms the anarchic global system into a system based on self-help. Every government mainly insists on its security and survival (Hansen and others, ex: 18).

In such a situation, every government is faced with a fundamental strategic choice between "Balance" and "Bandwagoning" when faced with a potentially threatening power (Waltz, 1979). Realists generally think that an anarchic structure gives governments a strong incentive to balance energy so that weaker governments, when the more potent side threatens them, will unite on one side and thus feel more secure, and this is the balance of power. Many argue that if unipolar power is higher than weaker powers' aggregation, a Bandwagoning strategy may take precedence.

"Balance" and "Bandwagoning" are two extensive political-strategic choices, each involving several other minor strategies. We need to consider the "Soft" and "Hard" methods of these strategies to provide more appropriate and efficient analysis.

1.1. Balance

1.1.1. Hard Balance

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It is a strategy in which governments adopt behaviors to build and upgrade their military capabilities and formulate and maintain formal or informal coalitions and counter-coalitions to match the most potent government's powers or threatening government (Paul, 2004: 3).

1.1.2. Soft Balance

It is a strategy based on alliances and diplomatic interaction within international institutions and the lack of formal multilateral and bilateral military partnerships that seek to increase a unipolar or threatening state's costs to maintain its relative capabilities (Pape, 2005: 58).

1.2. Bandwagoning

1.2.1. Hard Bandwagoning

It is a strategy in which governments use behaviors to build and upgrade their military capabilities and form and maintain formal and informal coalitions and counter-coalitions to support the most threatening government or most powerful country (Mearsheimer, 2001: 139).

1.2.2. Soft Bandwagoning

It is a strategy that involves indirect, tactical, and limited Bandwagoning behaviors, mainly through diplomatic engagement and the absence of bilateral or multilateral military alliances to support the most powerful state or threatening state. But under what circumstances do governments adopt "Balance" and in what situation do they pursue "Soft" or "Hard" strategies as their particular approach needs to examine relative power, relative security, and comparable ideology.

1.3. Power and Security

1.3.1. Relative Power

Structural realism believes that what makes an actor essential or significant is "Power." In structural realism literature, power is more important than anything else in an anarchic system than other actors because it is relative power that guarantees the state's survival in an anarchic system. Realists generally regard the material capabilities of control as more important (Hansen and others, ex: 21).

According to Waltz, an actor to become a pole must have a high degree of competence in various categories that demonstrate power capabilities, including population and territory, abundant resources, economic capability, military might, stability, and political competence (Waltz, 1979: 131). The most powerful governments can become poles. According to Waltz, power policies are implemented differently depending on the distribution of power between states in the international system (Waltz, 1979: 129-138).

Based on the number of poles in the international system, polar systems can be divided into unipolar, bipolar, and multipolar. The existence of each

of these can have different consequences in the strategy of governments. With the collapse of the former Soviet Union, the United States' enormous power led the realists to consider the current system unipolar and to calculate its supremacy after 1991, both in economic and military power, unprecedented in modern history.

Hansen and his colleagues emphasize the mutual importance of power and how to exercise it to explain governments' strategy in the unipolar period. Overall, the asymmetric distribution of energy provides a strong incentive for governments to strike a balance. At the same time, there is a similar constraint on the ability of governments to attack it. Therefore we study other categories, including relative security and relative ideology and when, how, and why governments choose to bandwagon or balance strategies (Hansen and others, ex: 24-25).

1.3.2. Relative Security

The state's strategy in an anarchic international system and relative power is also affected by relative security, possibly military conflict. It is because governments are cost-sensitive. They try to reduce costs as much as possible and adjust their strategies based on the likelihood of war. In other words, governments behave differently in situations where conflict is high than in cases where the possibility of conflict is low. Governments make decisions based on assessing the likelihood of security threats. Relative security affects all governments in adopting balancing or tracking strategies in three ways;

First, the high probability of conflict motivates the balance. In contrast, the low likelihood of war motivates bandwagon because the increased likelihood of conflict motivates governments to focus carefully on their short-term security and survival. The international system's self-help nature naturally influences this. According to neo-realists, this motivation leads to balanced behavior. Conversely, when the likelihood of conflict is low, the international system's anarchic structure motivates governments to prefer less costly Bandwagoning strategies to expensive balancing strategies. Thus, while the goal of balance is to protect the government's immediate security interests, the goal is to pursue the benefits gained in the future for security.

Second, the role played by the unipolar is a significant factor in the likelihood of conflict. Unipolar can reduce the possibility of competition for a government by providing security by allying by deploying forces. In this case, the government that benefits from the unipolar guarantee will trade its independence with safety and have a strong incentive to pursue the unipolar strategy to obtain security benefits.

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Third, the unipolar may increase the likelihood of conflict by strengthening a regional or global organization [such as NATO] against a state's interests and forcing that state to follow the core elements of that local or international organization. In this case, the government has a strong incentive to balance against a unipolar. However, as hostility to the direct threat of unipolar occupation and aggression increases, the government may seek to alleviate the superpower and bandwagon it.

Fourth: Unipolar may play a passive role in the security of a state. It almost leaves the government free to choose its strategy of balancing or Bandwagoning on a case-by-case basis. The destructive power of nuclear weapons allows states to possess these weapons to disregard the usual influence of the international system's anarchic structure on governments' strategies (Hansen and others, ex: 25-27). Moreover, the potential cost of military conflict for nuclear powers and their rivals is intensity high.

1.4. Relative Ideology

In an anarchic international system, the great powers are interested in providing some public and collective goods, including security, freedom, progress, and a clean environment for some governments to manage their area of interest. In other words, they are protecting to achieve a stable order.

Unipolar resources demand the maintenance of a stable world order that keeps the world out of balance that is maintaining a highly asymmetric distribution of power in favor of the unipolar. In contrast, the administration says a lot about the number of unipolar management tasks; it does not say much about managerial content. Part of this management includes providing security for the unipolar system's supporters and creating insecurity for governments that challenge the unipolar system to control the challengers and deter other governments from challenging the existing order (Hansen and others, Ex: 28).

But another part of unipolar management in the international system stems from the political context of unipolar order. In addition to the highly asymmetric distribution of power in the international system, which makes one state significantly more robust than the others, a unipolar world order also consists of a unipolar political project. The key elements are the American market economy model, liberal democracy, human rights, and the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons (Hansen, 2000: 21).

While relative power tells us where to look for external influence on government strategy, relative security also teaches us about governments' motives for balancing or pursuing things. In contrast, a unipolar political project (comparable ideology) tells us what security policymakers are

likely to use to respond to this impact. It speaks about their willingness to use hard or soft security strategies.

While relative security provides the primary motivation for choosing balancing or trading strategies, comparable ideology provides the significant reasons that determine whether balancing or trading is pursued in hard or soft form. The unipolar political project (Relative Ideology) affects the rewards and punishments that the unipolar is likely to exert and the nature of responding to the unipolar actions. Three factors are essential. These are:

First, the ideological distance between the ruling elites in the unipolar and the ruling elites in other states is central. In this way, governments are likely to pursue a challenging balancing strategy against unipolar with a rival ideology compared to unipolar with a similar ideology. Second, ideological intensity means that the degree to which the unipolar and other governments emphasize strategic choice's ideological importance is of great importance.

Third, the ideological content of the order promoted by the unipolar is essential because the fundamental values affect the punishments and rewards that the unipolar may impose on other actors (Wivel and Mouritzen, 2005: 20-22).

Two aspects of ideological content are essential, both of which are about the motivation for using a hard balance versus a soft balance strategy. Pluralist states are inferior to authoritarian states in terms of centralism. Thus, in a situation where the international systems unipolar has a pluralistic and multiparty structure, other governments' representatives can more easily influence unipolar decisions by bargaining with the various influential groups and actors in the unipolar political system.

These actions relate to soft balancing actions such as diplomatic statements, voting in international organizations, or public diplomacy. It moderates the incentive for a hard balance because it can negotiate the most detrimental consequences of other governments' political decision-making through political processes (Hansen and others, ex: 30).

Robert Pip (Pope) believes that in the age of American supremacy. However, the vast and immense power of the United States may upset many countries, none of the great powers in fear of being conquered and usurped (Pape, 2005: 55), and this is due to the mild ideology of the United States.

Each strategy includes relative power, security, and ideology (Hansen and others, ex: 31). Governments with a high probability of conflict (such

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as the Islamic Republic of Iran) tend to use balancing strategies. Based on their relative ideology, these governments choose soft or hard balance one.

Governments that are likely to experience conflict and at the same time have a sizeable ideological distance from the unipolar in the current international order adopt a hard balance strategy. For these governments, unipolar is a significant threat to its security. Although the costs of balancing are high, the prices of accompanying a unipolar order are also high. In this situation, the pursuit is unconstructive because compatibility with the most potent state's interests or the dire state may jeopardize states' identity, security, and survival.

Although typically less expensive than hard balance, the delicate balance only offers inefficient tools in an environment where conflict is more likely. Governments that experience a high probability of altercation but have a small ideological distance from the unipolar in the current world order choose a soft balance strategy because of the lower cost of institutional and diplomatic tools than military tools. These governments benefit from a unipolar global order and usually rely on unipolar support when their security interests are threatened. These governments hope that the unipolar will support them in the face of possible threats. Thus, participating in costly, hard-balancing activities for these countries harms their security interests and wastes their financial resources.

Governments with little experience of conflict tend to use Bandwagoning strategies because the Bandwagoning approach allows these governments to reap the benefits they can use to strengthen their future military capabilities and latent power. When the likelihood of conflict decreases, the focus of rational states of short-term factors turns to longer-term factors, but whether these governments choose the soft or the hard will depend on their relative ideology.

Governments with little ideological distance between them and the unipolar are more likely to choose Bandwagoning policy. In this case, communication will be more comfortable due to the use of common ideological language. The consequences of the conflict will be less for governments committed to the unipolar values and aspirations.

Governments with a low probability of conflict are likely to adopt a soft Bandwagoning strategy if there is a significant ideological gap between them and the unipolar. These governments pursue their interests by reaping the benefits of Bandwagoning. Still, they are reluctant to surrender to the unipolar due to ideological distance because this distance makes communication more difficult and the consequences of the conflict more severe.

Therefore, relative ideology's importance and impact will vary according to how the unipolar and other governments emphasize the importance of doctrine in their strategic choice, i.e., ideological intensity. However, because of the ideological content of the unipolar world order that allows them to influence American policy and pursue different political-economic strategies in domestic society, the tendency for a tricky balance is diminishing among most governments. The table below shows the relationship between relative security and relative ideology and how to motivate them to adopt different security strategies (Hansen and others, ex: 32).

Relative security, Relative ideology, and our expectations

Relative security / relative ideology	Long ideological distance	Short ideological distance [low]
Low probability of conflict	Soft Bandwagoning	Hard Bandwagoning
High probability of conflict	Hard balance	Soft balance

2. The Islamic Republic of Iran and the United States: A Long Ideological Gap

2.1. Islamic Ideology

From the beginning of the Islamic Revolution's victory until today, the confrontation between Iran and the United States has been evident in most cases. It is the difference and even the conflict of identities and differences in the intelligent system and their attitudes, which have caused two different ideologies and intellectual networks. The essential features and principles of the Islamic worldview in the form of Islamic doctrine are:

2.1.1. Ontological Dimension

The principle of monotheism emphasizes God's absolute sovereignty as a fundamental and doctrinal principle, and no one has power in the world without his permission. Principles of causality, order, justice, and human beings' right to determine their destiny are the Islamic ideology bases (Dehghani Firoozabadi, 2014: 207-264).

2.1.2. Epistemological Dimension

In the epistemological dimension, Islamic ideology is realistic, pluralistic, and based on Islam's principles. Realism means believing in the possibility of valid and justified cognition of phenomena; epistemological pluralism also implies that the goal of knowledge is explanation, understanding, critique, and change of the existing situation and order and drawing possible charges to establish the desired order. Foundationalism means that the source of the imaginary knowledge of international relations, the

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senses and sensory data, and the affirmative knowledge source is intellect and reason (Dehghani Firoozabadi, 2014: 338-361).

On the other hand, in the value-oriented interaction mechanism, diversity and evolution are purposeful, making the whole world macro level based on units' interaction. These components explain and justify their various processes and structures.

Therefore, in Islamic ideology, God-centeredness is at the center of all issues, so that in the field of government and politics, the divine law has the first and last word. Morality, core values, equal attention to the individual and society, an inherent belief in matters such as freedom, justice, equality, and ultimately opposition to hegemony and domination in the international system all stem from Islamic ideology and political Islam.

2.2. Western (American) Ideology

But the world's fundamental features are the liberal democratic attitude of the West in general and the capitalist system and American culture in particular in opposition to the principles of Islamic ideology. The essential features of the American capitalist worldview as follows:

Materialist interpretation of existence and creation (materialism in ontology and worldview), humanism, liberalism based on individual originality and ultimate hedonism and unlimited personal freedoms, capitalism and utilitarianism in economics, and finally, relativism in the field of culture and beliefs.

Therefore, the confrontation between the Islamic Republic of Iran and the United States is a fundamental conflict that goes back to the two's intellectual and ideological systems. That is why Americans consider political Islam and Islamic ideology as their most crucial enemy after the defeat of communism. Americans view political Islam as a serious threat to their interests because of its opposition to liberal democracy. They see the Islamic Republic of Iran as the real source and foundation of any religious radicalism. Any compromise between Iran's political Islam and the liberal democracy of the West and the United States is complicated. Thus, Islamism and liberal democracy have different and conflicting values and ideological foundations. This conflict in Iranian and American values has led to an increase in disputes between the two countries. (Mohammadi and Mottaqi, 2005: 279).

With this description, the United States and the Islamic Republic of Iran are ideologically far apart, and for various reasons, the ideological distance between the two countries is considerable.

3. The Islamic Republic of Iran and the United States; High Probability of Conflict

With the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War, the world political system's pattern changed, and the world entered a period of strategic transition. The United States, as the victor of the Cold War era, introduced the doctrine of the "New World Order" by Bush (Hendrickson, 2001: 130).

Meanwhile, American politicians and political analysts sought to create a new unipolar system in which the United States topped the pyramid of power in its hierarchical structure. From the day after the Cold War, most thinkers in American politics and international relations address the central issue of hegemonic stability. The world needs a unique sovereign government to establish and enforce free trade rules among the system's most influential members. Thus, they introduced the United States as a hegemon and unipolar, which has ensured global stability and the continuation of a free economy by creating international regimes and forcing other actors to adhere to their principles, rules, and norms (Akhbari and others, 2011: 90-91).

To be hegemonic, the United States must be able to dominate strategic areas of the world of geo-economic, geostrategic, and geopolitical importance and legitimizing ideology, mastery of technology, advanced economics, and international domination political and economic institutions, and superior military power. Perhaps one of the most critical and unique regions of the world, which is of great importance in all three of the above respects, is the Middle East, where the Persian Gulf is located. The Islamic Republic of Iran is located in the center.

As in the past, in the new post-Cold War era, energy resources and transmission routes are significant. The importance of energy is so essential that the great powers and the consuming countries have included their goals and national security in producing countries and energy transfer routes and related technologies.

Meanwhile, the Middle East is of particular importance in fossil fuels from two perspectives: oil and gas resources and their transmission routes.

In terms of energy resources, the Persian Gulf and the Caspian Sea are essential because they contain about three-quarters of the world's known oil reserves (Akhbari and others, Ex: 95).

A significant percentage of the world's gas is located in the Caspian Sea and the Persian Gulf. The transmission route of fossil fuels is also found in the same areas, especially in the Persian Gulf. Regarding geopolitical approaches' developments and the importance of oil and gas resources in

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global equations, the Islamic Republic of Iran is in the heart of a region that plays a vital role in production and transportation of the world's oil and gas. The Persian Gulf contains 61% of the world's oil and 40% of its gas. Regarding southern reserves of the Caspian Sea, over 70% of oil and over 40% of the world's gas will be in this region (Kamp, J. Harkavi, 2004: 187).

The United States, trying to dominate the Middle East, especially the Persian Gulf, cannot ignore confrontation with Iran's Islamic Republic. Iran is the center of about 75% of energy in the region and world. As mentioned earlier, Iran's conflict with the United States at the regional level is due to Islamic ideology's rise after the Islamic Revolution's victory.

The main reason for Iran's opposition to US domination of the region is political Islam and Islamic ideology, which determine Iran's nature and identity after the revolution. Iran acts based on political Islam in the international arena. It is also the inspiration of the Islamic Republic of Iran's Constitution as the primary source of Iran's foreign policy behavior.

The essential principles in the constitution based on Islamic ideology as a guide to the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran are Denial of sovereignty as well as submission, fighting the imperialism and oppression, justice, protection of the oppressed and deprived, defense of Muslims' rights, peaceful coexistence, and peace, non-interference in the internal affairs of countries, mutual respect and commitment to agreements, International treaties and laws (Dehghani Firoozabadi, 2009:130).

According to these principles, the Islamic Republic of Iran considers itself obliged to help and support all Muslims, especially Muslim combatants' groups in the Middle East, not to compromise with the arrogant powers, deny any domination and submission, and general to bring order. It also considers the ruling international, whose reign is the United States, illegitimate and unjust, and to work for the fundamental change of this system and establish the Islamic world order.

That is why, after the collapse of communism, the United States considers political Islam to be the most significant rival to liberal democracy and is taking steps to combat it. On the other hand, the Islamic Republic of Iran considers the Zionist regime as a strategic ally of the United States in the region as a fake and illegitimate regime and tries to fight against it, which intensifies the confrontation between Iran and the United States.

We refer to these cases according to the contents presented above:

First, with the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War, the United States sought unilateralism and a unipolar order.

Second, one of the implications of consolidating US hegemony is the domination of sensitive geo-economics, geostrategic, and geopolitical importance areas.

Third: One of the most critical regions of the world to which a high percentage of the world's energy is related is the Middle East. So, the country must control the region's governments so that, in addition to obeying them, they do not oppose the Zionist regime.

Fourth: the Islamic Republic of Iran is one of the most critical countries in the Middle East, which is in unique and extraordinary conditions in terms of geographical location, energy resources, and reserves as well as its transmission route.

Fifth: After the Islamic Revolution's victory and the establishment of Islamic ideology, Iran, as an ally of the West and the United States, became a full-fledged opponent of the United States.

Sixth: Political Islam is the basis of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran. The essential principles of political Islam are Denial of submission, fighting imperialism, justice, protection of the oppressed and deprived, supporting all Muslims, especially Muslim combatants groups in Palestine and Lebanon, and the general rejection of the US order, especially the illegitimacy of the Zionist regime which is generally in complete conflict with the US demands in the Middle East and even the world.

Thus, US policies to consolidate its hegemony in the Middle East region are politically, economically, culturally, and ideologically in conflict with the Islamic Republic of Iran's policies. There is a conflict of interest between the two countries. In a battle of interests, either one of the two countries must deviate from its parts, which is unlikely, or it must be said that the likelihood of conflict between the two countries in the region is relatively high.

So: First, the ideological distance between Iran and the United States at the highest level. Secondly, the extent of the conflict between the two countries is quite probably due to the row of interests. Thus, both the ideological distance and the probability of a war between Iran and the United States are high. According to Hansen and his colleagues' model in such a situation, the strategy of the Islamic Republic of Iran against the United States will be a "hard balance" strategy that will naturally have a delicate balance.

4. Conflict of Iran-US Interests and US Threat to Iran

Some international political thinkers, including Mearsheimer, argue that the United States is not a global hegemon but a regional one in Western Hemisphere (See Mearsheimer, 2001). The country has sought to maintain its dominance over all sensitive regions of the world and prevent independent regional hegemons (Bill, 2001: 89-92).

The United States, as a superpower, seeks to dominate the Middle East and the Persian Gulf to maintain its supremacy. Still, to control this region, it has encountered a strong barrier called the Islamic Republic of Iran, which has a substantial, fundamental, and ideological conflict with this country. Due to the ideological distance and identity confrontation between Iran and the United States and, consequently, the difference in their goals and interests, Iran can't cooperate with the United States. It is the ground of confrontation and conflict between the two countries more than before.

This confrontation intensified with more US troops in the region after 9/11, especially after the occupation of Afghanistan and Iraq as two neighbors of the Islamic Republic of Iran, which also manifested itself in various forms in the nuclear file issue and the Syrian crisis.

In this regard, the United States has always suspected the Islamic Republic of Iran of various charges, the most important of which are: Iran is accused of supporting international terrorism, producing weapons of mass destruction, creating regional instability in the Middle East, human rights abuses, (Mottaqi, 2006: 49) and most importantly, Iran is accused of trying to develop a nuclear weapon. The United States has pretended that Iran's nuclear issue is a political issue, not a technical and legal one that endangers world peace. Washington eventually withdrew from the nuclear deal with Iran.

In response to a question about the possibility of a US military strike on Iran, former US President George W. Bush said on July 30, 2003, the US has all the options on the table in dealing with Iran. The US raised Iran's nuclear threat in 2003 and the possibility of a limited military strike on Iran. When Barack Obama entered the White House, he also threatened Iran with a military strike over its nuclear program. US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, Secretary of Defense Leon Panetta, and Obama himself and other US officials have repeatedly emphasized this position.

The US National Security Strategy Document (2010) also mentions the US's right to take unilateral military action to defend the country and protect its interests. Therefore, both US officials' statements and the national security document of this country confirm that the threat of a

military attack on Iran is still seriously considered an option in due time. (Hosseini Matin, 2011: 911).

Also, measures such as economic sanctions, political-diplomatic pressure, efforts to prevent scientific, technological growth, and other extensive measures to prevent Iran from gaining power and weakening the country by the United States in line with efforts have been made to establish the desired order in the Middle East and to dominate this region (Takhshid and Nourian, 2008: 120).

5. The Balance of Regional Power of the Islamic Republic of Iran Against the United States at the Regional Level

According to Hansen and his colleagues' neo-realist reform theory, when in an anarchic international system, a state in a region conflicts with a unipolar and sovereignty, it will be more inclined to a "Balance" strategy. Countries have used the method for years automatically or knowingly to solve their security issues and problems (Pillar, 2004: 254-5). Stephen Walt believes that a balance is formed against hegemony and unipolar if its power is threatening. It means that a balance is created against a threat and not control (Walt, 1987).

Also stated that in case of ideological incompatibility with the unipolar, "Hard Balance" would be the adopted strategy. In other words, in an anarchic system, if the probability of a conflict between the unipolar and another state is high, and there is an ideological distance between them, the chosen strategy against the single pole will be a "Hard Balance Strategy."

Some believe that governments are unable to confront the United States or destroy them (Ikenberry, 1999: 123-140), but what has happened so far about the Iran-US confrontation confirms Hansen and his colleagues' theory. First, due to different and even conflicting interests and goals between Iran and the United States in the region, the possibility of conflict between the two countries is high. Secondly, the ideological gap between the two countries is extended due to different principles, identities, and values.

Therefore, according to Hansen and his colleagues' theory, the Islamic Republic of Iran's strategy against the United States will be the strategy of "Hard Balance" which we will discuss in the following. Hard balance versus power concentration usually takes the form of introverted balancing and extroverted balancing.

5.1. Internal Balance

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In internal balance, a country tries to strengthen itself internally with its self-reliance policy (Haji Yousefi, 2008: 267). Inner balance refers to the means of increasing the sources of power. (Callahan, 2008: 83) Relying on national capabilities, the Islamic Republic of Iran unilaterally seeks to increase power and counter threats (Dehghani Firoozabadi, 2012: 48).

General Safavi, former commander of the Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps (IRGC), said, "We changed our strategy and equipped the IRGC with air and sea-based offensive systems against supra-regional powers. In the field of surface-to-surface ballistic missile systems with a range of more than two thousand kilometers, we equipped military forces with the most advanced long-range guided weapons with various systems. In air defense weapons, we are equipped with one of the most advanced surface-to-air weapons called "Thuram One," and our coastal missile systems to our sea can cover the Persian Gulf's width and Length Sea of Oman. No ship or vessel can cross the Persian Gulf unless coastal missiles target it into our sea. We have several thousand fast rocket launchers in the Persian Gulf region, and we have organized a considerable defense and offensive force in the Persian Gulf" (Eftekhari and Baqeri Dowlatabadi, 2009: 66).

Therefore, the Islamic Republic of Iran's defense and military doctrine is based on its ability to respond to all sources of threat, including trans-regional forces in bases and naval areas around Iran. It also includes Iran's ability to strike a second blow to the Zionist regime and other sources of threat by localizing all kinds of weapons, especially in the missile industry, with high and medium-range cruise production and ballistic missiles. The country has improved its internal capabilities in such a way that it can gain an acceptable balance against threats.

5.2. External Balance

External balance seeks to reform the distribution of power abroad (Callahan, 2008: 84). In the model of extroverted balancing, the Islamic Republic of Iran, by adopting a multilateralism strategy, has begun to build alliances and coalitions and balance against the United States and its allies in the region.

We see Iran's policy of looking to the east, based on its proximity to China and Russia, its observer membership in the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, and the development of relations with some third world countries as examples of Iran's extroverted balance to counter and neutralize threats from the US and its regional allies (Dehghani Firoozabadi, Ex: 48).

But perhaps the most important alliance of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the face of threats from the United States and its regional allies is Iran's strategic alliance with its friendly Shiite actors in the region, including Iraq, Syria, and Hezbollah in Lebanon. By forming the axis of resistance, Iran has created a hard balance against the United States and its regional allies in the region (Haji Yousefi, 2010: 120, Barzegar, 2009, 143).

However, the alliance with Syria has a special place. Iran's alliance with this country is ideological. Still, Iran and Syria, with a shared understanding of regional and surrounding threats, including the Zionist regime and trans-regional governments, cooperate against the threats. The United States, with its alliance tries to create a regional balance and repel the external threats (Rasouli Thaniabadi, 2014: 186). The alliance of Iran and Syria is a sign of an asymmetric conflict. In this situation, the actors, although with different identities, unite to respond to threats (Garnett, 2005: 32). Regarding Iraq and Hezbollah, in addition to ideological reasons, we can point to the strategic and interest-oriented dimensions of alliance with them for Iran's Islamic Republic.

The importance of the alliance between Iran and Hezbollah and Iran's support for this organization is such that the Zionist regime officials have repeatedly admitted to Hezbollah's danger to the regime. The Zionist newspaper "Yedioth Ahronoth" in this regard writes; Israeli military surveys show that in the event of an Israeli attack on Iran, the great danger is Iran's long-range missiles, but the greater one is thousands of Hezbollah's rockets and mortars on northern borders (www.parsian.com/2012/8/15).

Iran's support for US opposition groups in Afghanistan, its strong support for Palestinian combatant groups against the Zionist regime as a strategic ally of the United States, and Iran's offensive policy against the government strengthen the Islamic Republic of Iran's hard balance with the United States. Iran has united its national and transnational actors in the region, formed the axis of resistance, and established a hard balance with the United States and its allies.

Conclusion

Although many international policymakers consider the global system, after the collapse of the bipolar system in 1991, to be a transitional system dominated by the United States, Hansen, Taft, and Violin their reformist theory of Kenneth neo-realism. Waltz considered the post-Soviet international system to be a unipolar one. In this article, we tried to examine the Islamic Republic of Iran (after the collapse of the Soviet

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Union and the collapse of the bipolar system) against the United States in the region, using the model of Hansen and his colleagues who presented Waltz's realism.

In this article, we tried to examine the Islamic Republic of Iran's strategy against the United States at the regional level, using the model presented by Hansen and his colleagues on Waltz's neo-realism. Hansen and his colleagues have tried to provide a model that can be used to analyze and explain governments' strategy in the international system without going beyond the basic framework of Kenneth Waltz's theory of neo-realism. In this model, they, like Waltz and other realists, have assumed that the international system is anarchic. The governments seek to maintain their survival and security through self-help.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War, they saw the international system as a hierarchical system headed by the United States as unipolar, potentially threatening other countries. When a state in an anarchic system is confronted with a potentially threatening power, it is faced with a strategic choice between "Bandwagoning" and "Balance." Bandwagoning and balance can be taken as "Hard" or "Soft."

The possibility of military conflict between states and unipolar determines the strategy of these states. If the Possibility of military confrontation is low, states' process will be "Bandwagoning" and if it is high, the system of governments against the unipolar will be "Balance." Ideology determines the hard or soft strategy of governments. Suppose the ideological distance from the unipolar is high. In that case, the process of Bandwagoning or balancing against the unipolar is "Hard," but if the ideological distance from the unipolar is low, the strategy adopted is "Soft." It was stated by using this model that the identity conflict and the conflict of interests of the Islamic Republic of Iran and the United States in the Middle East and the Persian Gulf region are quite evident for various reasons. Therefore, the possibility of a conflict between the two countries in the area is high.

On the other hand, the ideological gap between the two countries is extended due to fundamental differences. Nevertheless, the strategy adopted by the Islamic Republic of Iran against the United States has been a "Hard Balance." This strategy is formed in two ways: "Internal and External Balance."

The internal balance has been struck by strengthening the defense and military strength of the Islamic Republic of Iran to respond to threats posed by the United States and its allies in the region. The external balance is also fully formed through alliances and alliances with Syria, Iraq, and

Hezbollah in Lebanon and the resistance axis formation. Therefore, we can say that adopting the "Hard Balance" strategy of the Islamic Republic of Iran against the United States at the regional level can be analyzed and explained based on the model of Hansen and his colleagues.

The internal balance has been achieved by strengthening the defense and military strength of the Islamic Republic of Iran to respond to threats posed by the United States and its allies in the region. Iran has fully established an external balance through alliances with Syria, Iraq, and Hezbollah and formed an axis of resistance. So, adopting the "Hard Balance" strategy of the Islamic Republic of Iran against the United States at the regional level can be analyzed and explained based on Hansen and his colleagues' model.

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Quiddity and Position of Religion Inspiration in Theories of International Relations with Emphasis on the Islamic Revolution

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Abstract

Theories of international relations can be divided according to objective and non-objective matters in understanding international relations. Fundamental theories such as realism and liberalism consider affairs neutral in understanding international politics, independent of intangible values' role. They do not place intangibles such as religion, culture, and norms in understanding global affairs. In contrast, non-fundamental or constructive theories such as normative and critical see things as value-oriented in international relations and do not consider international realities as separate from intangible values and affairs. In contrast to the fundamental theories that focus only on beings and non-beings, these theories emphasize the do's and don'ts and reasons in international relations, which are not presumed but can be changed. Thirdly, some views ignore the role of religion in international relations, becoming more prominent with the Islamic Revolution. They seek to return to the lost turning point, called the "Inspiration of Religion." In this inspiration, in addition to the "Do's" and "Don'ts," the "Beings" and "Non-Beings" are emphasized. The present study aimed to examine the nature and the place of religion in theories of international relations. In this regard, religion's inspiration started with the Islamic Revolution and emphasized issues such as; religious identity, religious value, religious norm, religion, political system, human nature, and the human condition in the society optimism. The research method is descriptive-analytical, and its theoretical framework is trans-theoretical.

Keywords: Religion Inspiration, Trans-Theory, Normative Theory, Islamic Revolution, Theories of International Relations.

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Introduction

According to the study of international relations theories based on ignoring religion, with the Islamic Revolution of Iran and the implementation of a political system, this element which was omitted in international relations theories was attracted by many thinkers in this field. This revolution's transnational nature can be defined in the restoration of values, norms, beliefs, and the new socio-political order, attention to religion in politics and the international system, strengthening anti-authoritarian and anti-colonial movements, revolutionary and anti-hegemonic movements, and provoking contradicting Inspiration ideas. In this new approach, religion can be a peacemaker element that conforms to international norms. Faith also has a place that can effectively intensify wars and cannot ignore religious actors' influence in the global system. In other words, the Enlightenment assumptions that link "Religion" to spiritual, magical, or emotional affairs lead many to conclude that religion is inappropriate for the public sphere and a critical factor in conflicts.

On the other hand, similar hypotheses lead link "Secular" to between appropriate forms of government and peace. Many scholars, meanwhile, have challenged such a framework, arguing that "Religion" and "Secular" are inseparable, or at least that the origins of "Religion" must be studied. That religious styles must be accepted in the 21st century (Tanya; et al, 2016). Jack Snyder argues that religion can change the early patterns of international relations. Islamic groups, Christian fundamentalists, and Falun Gong have all influenced world politics in different ways. Religious movements can strengthen or weaken the power of the state. Religion can maintain territorial boundaries or strengthen its loyalty at the border (Ikenberry, 2011: 5).

In this regard, the role of the Islamic Revolution of Iran in theorizing in international relations should not be overlooked. With the advent of the Islamic Revolution, we saw a new perspective on global developments and then on international relations theories. The role of religion could change many tangible trends with its emphasis on the intangible. This intangible can be considered from religion that has its way and method. It causes the attitudes and positions to change people and the beginning of a process to change in many areas that will lead to peace and war has both compromise and tolerance call for revision. In addition to emphasizing "Do's" and "Don'ts," it also pays attention to "Beings" and "Nots." In other words; Religion's inspiration on the religious identity, religious norm and religious political system, human nature, and the human condition in

society define a new perspective which can be a result of theories of international relations and can be counted as a meta-theory.

Regarding the background of the discussion, can mention the following; the article "Islamic Revolution of Iran and International Relations" (Sotudeh, 2005) has investigated the phenomenon of revolution in theories of international relations, especially the idea of realism. The author noted that the views of international relations have not been able to explain the phenomenon of revolution.

In the article "Requirements of Islamic Theorizing of International Relations" (Jamali and Abdokhodaei, 2016), he first has studied three theories in explanatory, formative, and normative international relations.

Then he has paid attention to critical approaches and has paid attention to international relations theories localizations. In this article, Islam is considered to have the potential for the field of a normative theory. In contrast, he, of course, has not addressed the role of religion in theories of international relations.

In the article "New Theoretical Developments in International Relations: A Suitable Ground for Indigenous Theorizing" (Moshirazdeh, 2011), it is written that representation of indigenous theory has not been accompanied by the international community scholars of the international relations field. Therefore, theoretical space in international relations scholars has not been available to design and accept indigenous theories before.

In the article "Pluralism in International Relations and the Possibility of Providing Non-western Theories" (Saeedi and Moshirzadeh, 2017), considering West as the realm of knowledge for international relations, authors recognize the status of leadership in the West's academic and intellectual circles as a result of building a fence And have established some criteria for theorizing.

In the article "Crisis in Theorizing in International Relations, a Favorable Context for Islamic Thought" (Islami and Davand, 2016), they focus on the comprehensiveness of religion and consider its theorization in international relations. This article addresses concepts such as war and peace that are also present in religion and international relations theories. This article does not address the inspiration of religion as a meta-theory in theories of international relations.

In the book "Religion and Theory of International Relations" (Snyder, 2014), he deals with the decline and emergence of religion in international relations, secularism, and theories of international relations and religion, rationality, and violence. In international relations, it should not be

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considered merely as adding one variable to another. Still, it should be seen how religion helps to new hypotheses and new conceptualizations to explain peace, conflict, cooperation, competition, unity and alliance, national interests, etc. The book "Religion and International Relations" (Habermas and others, 2012) Collected by various authors in nine chapters. One of the definitions of religion states that to protect themselves, human beings turn to rituals, habits, prayers, supplications, and sacrifices, the collection of which is called faith.

This article will deal with religion's element in the three main theories of international relations and then deal with the quiddity and position of religion inspiration, which has caused a new Islamic Revolution approach. Our question is, 'what is the place of religion in theories of international relations?' And 'what is the location of the Islamic Revolution in theorizing?' In response, we can say; the area of religion in international relations theories has been neglected from the beginning. This neglect has been reduced with the advent of the Islamic Revolution in Iran, and now secular theories emphasize it. In other words, religious inspiration explains and interprets many developments.

Contrary to other theories, there is a kind of optimism in religion's inspiration to human nature. Religion inspiration considers the role of belief, religion, and faith in international developments as necessary. It is not only in the nation-state space but also has a global impact. Thus, the religious inspiration emphasizes dimensions that other major theories of international relations neglect.

1. Theoretical Framework

According to the theoretical dimension, this article tries to be in the form of a meta-theory. It is why in the field of a metanarrative or macro theory. The Trans thesis's focus is on ontological and epistemological discussions (Mushirzadeh, 2004: 113).

The first principle of ontology, in general, is the principle of reality or the direction of truth. It means that our cognition and knowledge exist outside the mind (Firoozabadi, 2010: 50).

The international Trans theory is a sub-field of international relations that tries to answer what forms a good view. Because just as the meaning of reality depends on ideas, the approach, in turn, depends on rethinking (Moshirzadeh, 2009: 7).

A metanarrative or macro-theory seeks to explain and formulate the general rules and regulations governing international relations; Therefore,

this theory has an explanatory, normative, prescriptive, and critical nature (Poorahmadi & others, 2011: 50).

Therefore, the Islamic Revolution is like a meta-theory with a fresh perspective and inspiration in the international system. The method of analysis in international relations is based on traditionalism, behaviorism, and meta-behaviorism. In other words, the theories of international relations can be defined in rationalist, reactionary and social constructs. We have benefited from the Trans approach to understanding religious inspiration in the Islamic Revolution better.

2. Research Method

The research method in this article is descriptive-qualitative. In other words, we have tried to collect the materials scientifically and documented qualitatively and away from valuation bias, using the available resources and extracting results from them. Therefore, the researcher attempts to report the present problem in a logical and structured way and without value interference. The researcher provides a logical answer to the research question and objectives by analyzing the collected data and documents. In the present study, the data description and analysis method using sources and documentary methods and referring to the library and the Internet has been used. Statistical analysis is not usually used in such studies. For this reason, we are further describing and finally Analyzing firstly what is a religion which we will briefly discuss, and secondly, where the place of religion as an aspiration in theories of international relation is that the Islamic Revolution could have paved the way.

3. Theorizing in International Relations

Theory and theorizing have their principles. In the humanities, ideas seem to be constructed in response to a change. Simultaneously, other sciences, such as physics, geology, and astronomy, may put several propositions together to form specific and repeatable rules. Theory in the humanities in general and international relations mainly occurs concerning developments and phenomena. A phenomenon such as the Islamic Revolution of Iran is a phenomenon and an action that requires theorizing.

There are very different and sometimes contradictory opinions about what a theory is. The situation is the same in theories of international relations. Kenneth Waltz believes that any view's essence should be based on the connection between theoretical concepts and the essential variables of ties in the actual international scene (Seifzadeh, 2012: 20).

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According to Vasquez, theories combine cognition in a homologous and make the world meaningful to us by making connections between seemingly irrelevant and meaningless phenomena (Moshirzadeh, 2009, p. 5).

Theory can have features such as approximation of facts, cataloging system, developer of thought pattern, abstract, evaluator, and approximate of ideas and hypotheses (Marsh and Stoker, 2009: 43-44).

The theory also has various dimensions, including; Concepts, generalizations, propositions, assumptions, types and levels, approaches, and excellent examples (Chilcott, 2011: 49-50). Theory can be considered as creating a relationship or relationships between a set of variables to form a whole. (Nojournian, 2012). These relationships need to understand human performance. To understand any complex human activities, language and the method of the people who work in that field must be known (Krelinger, 1978: 19).

So the theory; has explanatory power, is predictable, descriptive, and a set of propositions formed according to interpersonal meanings and better show us the embodiment of force in international relations theories.

4. International Developments and Theories of International Relations

It can be said; Aspirations and theories have a spatial and temporal aspect. In other words, there is complementarity in theories of international relations. It is not unrelated to the developments in the global system. We see a historical trend in theories of international relations. In World War I, realist and idealist approaches emerged, with realists winning the battlefield and idealists losing the war. In World War II, the ideal paradigm found a suitable place in international organizations and caused a modification of realists' theories, and neo-liberals emerged. In turn, it legitimized the war through such organizations, and the Security Council legitimized war. There are points here; 'are the theories that come into being first and then explain the developments or are the developments that make up the theories?' Logically, I can say that public and private are my faces. Both developments can make theories and theories legitimize developments, such as the "Clash of Civilizations" and the "Thesis of the End of History," which smoothing the international system's course. It can also say some developments also require theorization and the Islamic Revolution is one of the cases that can be considered as an approach in international theories in the form of meta-theory. It has different dimensions that have their ontology and epistemology, and ideas such as

realism and liberalism are incapable of predicting it at the analysis levels. In other words; Major theories of international relations, such as realism and liberalism, have failed to explain, discern, or even enumerate many developments, such as the Non-objective and the intangible. However, theories such as constructivism and in formativeness do not separate the perception of international realities from values and intangibles. But they do not pay attention as they should to religious matters, religious norms, religious identities and cultures, spiritual leadership, and intangibility and non-objectivity as religion aspiration does. In other words, religion can view from two perspectives; a methodical view whose characteristics must be careful, scientifically, logically, comprehensively examined. Another perspective sees religion as merely a Temporary development and shows dimness. Here we read the place of religion in three theories that are referred to as the dominant paradigms of international relations.

5. The Place of Religion in the Dominant Theories of International Relations

Over the past few decades, a large number of international relations scholars have studied religion. In the meantime, in 2013, the Association for International Studies was dedicated to the Religion and International Relations section. Previously, similar committees focused on religion and politics

‘Which following can be named: The International Political Sciences Association (IPSA), the American Political Sciences Association (APSA), and the European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR)?’ Pieces of literature and studies about religion are undoubtedly expanding, and many international relations scholars have spoken of "Global Rethinking of Religion." The researchers encountered the question of whether there is an integration of religion in international relations. In the meantime, international relations researchers have done some classic work in the 1990s, including Martin White. He has raised the question that ‘why there is no international theory about it?’ or Stanley Hoffman called international relations "American Social Science." These studies are concerned with American policies after World War II for domination over universities. Even for rejecting the concept of worthless social sciences, Robert Cox cl claims the theory is to "Solve the Problem" and explain the structure of world politics. Critical approaches have sought to see values, interests, Structures, norms that are being ignored. So we can say that, since the 1990s, three developments on "Theorizing and Racism" intensified. Theories of constructivism and feminism, which was a crisis

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to the concept of "Theory," whose approaches, postcolonial, and dialectical perspectives paved the way for Western development. Second, some countries like Japan, China, India, Turkey, Brazil, and Russia have introduced local views and sensitivities into international relations, and finally (third), could explore these concepts and perspectives. These developments shocked the hegemony of Western thinking in the theory of international relations. According White, therefore, suggests that non-Western theory be less developed. Acharya and Buzan ask why there is no theory of non-Western international ties. They give ten reasons for this question, including; Belief in Western superiority in international relations in explaining world politics, the sovereignty of Western international relations, lack of sources such as budget. Non-Western International to Western Society In international relations, the lack of resources such as budget (Manabilang Adiong, 2018: 5).

Thus the place of religion in international relations theories is microscopic, and it may be said that normative and constructivist theories emphasize the intangibles, values, and norms. The following examines religion's place in three influential and essential theories of realism, liberalism, and constructivism, then we look at the aspiration of religion.

5.1. Religion in the Theory of Realism

Realism encompasses many spectrums, including classical, neo-realism, and neoclassical. In the meantime; they all have some kind of commonalities, including Mere attention to objectivity, attention to the governing social laws, rejection of any prior knowledge and awareness to practical experience, Disc usability of international relations, Power-axis, originality to the state, separation of the institution of religion from the institution of the state (Firoozabadi, 2010: 66). It can say realism ignores the role of religion in the international system, as it focuses more on structures than on the trends and changes on which religion focuses. In realism, political systems are regulators of international relations that require a hierarchy; the order of some part arises from authoritative relations. And governments seek to maintain themselves. So for the realists; Religion is considered a hypocritical, marginal, and unrelated variable to politics. In their view, all entities, whether secular or religious, must act in the same way if they play an influential role in international politics. Such an approach is based on disregard (Snyder, 2014: 25). According to the realism religion, faith is a national unit and goals tool.

5.2. Religion in the Theory of Liberalism

The essential principles of liberalism are attention to "Individual" and "Freedom." Liberalism has been born with a person-centeredness, which

gives a kind of interest-oriented view. Gaining profit and moving towards acquiring more resources is rooted in human instinct. Many human behaviors can only be perceived, justified, and justified by this interest-oriented approach (Khani, 2010: 9). Liberalism emerged following the Protestant movement and the rise of the Protestant ethic of the middle-class capitalists. Most parts of liberalism enlightening thoughts are rooted in Christian secularism. Some liberal scholars of international relations have downplayed religion's role because they implicitly accept the theory of liberal modernization about political development. It means that historical modernization is a linear process. In which forms of liberalism such as capitalism, secularism, and democracy thrive together. As societies become more modern and democratic, religion is gradually removed from the equation in this approach. The contemporary world shows that political development creates multiple paths to modernization. And epistemology liberalism can analyze religion in current international relations, but there is a fundamental problem: theories. Does not consider for no issues permanent value and believe that identity and interests are permanently changing.

Of course, not all liberal thinkers have left religion aside in their analysis. For example, Andrew Moravica describes religious identities as a source of social group preferences or interests in describing the liberal approach. There is no explicit reference to religion in Robert Cohen's neoliberal institutionalism, which is a branch of methods of international relations realism. Cohen's prominent post entitled "After Hegemony." Emphasizes multilateral institutions' role in facilitating cooperation between states by increasing information exchange, coordinating bargaining in thematic areas, and magnifying the long-term consequences from short-term opportunism. Thus, written based on rationalism, this book does not refer to religion. Even on the human rights on which most liberalism relies, Michael Ignatieff believes that human rights principles are new versions of secular humanism (Snyder, 2014: 39). Finally, it can say that religion in liberalism has an individual aspect and belief is separate from politics, and religion doesn't play a pivotal role in the international system.

5.3. Religion in the Theory of Constructivism

The theory of constructivism in international relations emphasizes ideas, norms, identity, and culture, providing a good religious platform in international politics. Although no writing covers the full thought range of constructivist thought, Alexander Went's book *The Social Theory of International Politics* is the closest source to constructivism's standard text.

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This book lists the term "Religion," or any particular religion that has not been put in its index. "Domestic cultures promoted by national governments to the international level are crucial to international culture development", Went said. Hobbesian, Lucky's "Culture of Competition for Self-interest" limited by recognizing the right of independent units to existing and finally, Kant's culture of "Comradeship" expressed as the expectation of nonviolence. It can be religiously objective (Snyder, 2014: 4). But in general, constructivism, like realism and liberalism, has ignored religion. However, it emphasizes values, norms, mutual dependence. The typical nature and resemblance, and self-guarding, which are in the religious approach. Ultimately, it does not show religion's status as essential and focuses more on humanist identities, values, and norms.

6. Fundamental, Non-Fundamental Approaches and Religion

6.1. Definition of Approach

The word "Rahyaft" is equivalent to the term approach, which means access, path, proximity, or means of proximity or access. Today, the popular term "Approach" which is derived from the compound noun "Rahyaftan," means to find a way and make influence (Dehkhoda, 1998: 240). Auxin refers to the word approach as a way of acting in the form of a promotional system and says: the process contains the system's philosophy in its heart, and the process is the essence of the system (Auxin, 1999). So in defining the approach that some make mistakes and consider it as a method. One can determine the course as a set of meanings with its specific methodology, ontology, and epistemology that recognizes interprets, and analyzes beings and non-beings and what used to be and what didn't use to be as they know.

6.2. Fundamental and Non-Fundamental Approaches in Theories of International Relations

Regarding both fundamental and non-fundamental approaches, these two approaches (exceptionally essential approaches such as realism and liberalism) do not pay attention to revolutions, religions, movements, and local cultures. Still, it focuses more on objective matters in the realm of nation-states. Although non-fundamental approaches such as constructivism, postmodernism, and feminism have some emphasis on the intangibles and the non-objective, these approaches ignore many influential elements in the international system, including religion, ethnicities, groups outside the official institutions of state-nations and new social movements such as Greens, anti-war, global citizenship, apartheid

(immigration) and human rights due to the existing and unseen weaknesses.

Normative, critical, constructivist theories can be called "Non-fundamental or Constructive Approach." Because they consider non-perceptible as necessary in the understanding of international relations, which is based on a kind of humanism that is a separation from the approach of religion, the course of non-fundamental theories began approximately in the 1970s and early 1980s, the causes of formation of a non-fundamental or constructive approach can be mentioned as following: The collapse of the bipolar system (that nation-states are not permanent and there is a failure of nation-states globalization that reduces the influence of states) it should be noted that non-fundamental approach in terms of method Rejects unity of practice and regards new research methods such as discourse and hermeneutics. Rejects agreement, of course, and follows new research methods such as discourse and hermeneutics

6.3. Religion Approach

Regarding the shortcomings of both fundamental and non-fundamental approaches briefly mentioned, we can enumerate the third type of process called the religion approach. As Auxin considers the path to contain the system's philosophy in its heart and calls it the essence of the system, the religious course has universal principles. It can be counted two principles for it, justice and order. In this approach, religion (especially the religion of Islam) is essential. Islam can create a new perspective in international relations theories that are objective and non-objective matters are critical for understanding international relations to examine, interpret, critique, and evaluate developments from a different perspective.

In the definition of religion, we suffice with the definition of Allameh Tabatabaei that religion includes a series of doctrinal matters and moral and practical rules, the application of which ensures the happiness and well-being of human beings in this world and the hereafter, and will provide the best living conditions, and the most progressive human perfection for any society that practices them. (Tabatabaei, 1999, p. 50). Therefore, to explain the religious approach, familiarity with spiritual methods and techniques as an essential tool for achieving knowledge is considered necessary (Ranjesh and Keshavarz, 2013: 159).

6.3.1. Being Trans-Theoretical of Religion Approach

The approach of religion, which was assumed as a meta-theory, has its ontology and epistemology. Ontology in any field of study is, in a sense, the area of exploration or its collecting. International relations refer

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explicitly to international politics' fundamental assumptions as a particular field of political action. In its simplest definition, Epistemology is how we understand that "we know what we know". Our recognition of global developments directly observes the award's quality and philosophical nature (Falahi, 2001: 180). In Islamic ontology, in addition to the material dimensions, the spiritual dimension is also considered. Islamic ontology is both realistic and essentialist. In the religious method, in addition to empirical cognition, it is also cited to revelatory and the Ocofic comprehension (Ranjesh and Keshavarz, 2013: 164).

There are specific characteristics in the religion approach's meta-theory that includes the following: 1- Belief in supernatural beings; 2- The distinction between religious and unholy affairs; 3- Writes and rituals based on holy things; 4- Moral laws set by the gods; 5- Religious feelings (such as fear, astonishment, feeling Sin, worship); 6- Prayer; 7- Worldview or a general picture of the universe; 8- Presenting a relatively complete system for human life (Yazdani, 2010: 4).

These cases caused the Islamic revolution to emphasize Islam's comprehensiveness and prepare the ground for theorization in international relations.

Regarding concepts like war and peace, religion pays attention to peace the same as it pays attention to war's essence. In other words, Islam is an optimist to human nature and considers belief as necessary. From the ontological point of view, international relations are recognizable for the knower or human being, who can delineate his desired future. Also, epistemologically, human beings can study international relations with the same tools and epistemological mechanisms that recognize other ontological aspects of existence and social life (Islami and Davand, 2016: 214).

6.3.2. Formative and Complementarity of Religion Approach

On the other hand, we can find the aspect of the religion approach informative international relations theories. It means that the "Approach to Religion" does complete the shortcomings of international relations views that the ideas are not purely Western. In a word; the role of religion in developments and then theorization is because the knowledge of international relations appeared from the beginning in the western realm of the earth, which has created conditions. It gives leadership status to the West's intellectual and academic circles (Saedi and Moshirzadeh, 2017: 90).

Therefore, one of the topics that have influenced theoretical debates in international relations in recent years is discussing the importance,

feasibility, and desirability of non-Western theorization in this field (Moshirzadeh, 2011: 167).

The shortcoming of fundamental theories such as realism is that international relations, in terms of its theoretical assumptions and formats, do not have the necessary capacity to discuss views of revolutions in international relations (Sotoudeh, 2005: 208).

Global connections do not give place to the divine and human values; for example, it considers only individual interests and national interests in the theory of realism. Simultaneously, the approach of religion does not focus only on the goal. The way to achieve the goals is also essential, or in liberalism, which focuses on individualism, the religious approach rejects merely individual gain. The sharia rules take the initiative in many places. In the spiritual process, the social norms and values in constructivism. Although he accepts it, he also considers values and standards outside the realm of humanity. He believes in teleology, but on the fact that the world is the farm of the futurity, and all these cases are the result mark new developments.

Logically, theories of international relations and international developments are public and private to me. Therefore, we see that realism, which gained strength with the decline of the Christian system in the West after the Westphalia, reduced religion's role and became the beginning for governments to earn power (Naqibzadeh 2008: 31).

As a result, with the victory of the Islamic Revolution in Iran, (religion) sat at the source of political power and, as an established government and system, gained foreign realization (Agha Jerry, 1997: 84).

And it was the beginning of theorizing, which can be called "The Rise of Religion," which with the victory of the Islamic Revolution of Iran, religion as an essential element and actor in the development of international relations and political demands, came to the attention of theorists.

6.3.3. The Place of Religion Approach in Theorizing of International Relations

As a tool to maintain the status quo, religion acts as an accelerator of change and transformation and the maximum current revolution (Haynes, 2013: 123). The return of religion (especially the religion of Islam) to the international system has led to studying this issue from various and new perspectives by academics, scholars, and experts. Islam has important and influential power parameters in the field of international relations of religion is considered in these intellectual discussions (Johns and Lahoud, 1389: 12).

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This development conflicts with the accepted views in the modernization process. The mentioned process of secularization) means the secularization of religion and separation. Religion) was an inherent and inevitable part of the modernization process. However, secularization theory helps understand the system of internal relations in the middle of the seventeenth century (Habermas, & others, 2012: 21).

The critical point here is that; the role of religion has been colored throughout history, and religion has been an essential part of the culture and ultimately the identity of a nation.

In many cases, the element of religion has determined oneself against another or friend against the enemy; in other words, it determines individuals and human societies (Salimi and Rabbani Khorasgani, 2013: 14).

Indeed, religion is a powerful source of legitimacy that enables political regimes' lives and reduces their need to use force, which can also be used to support peace and war in foreign policy (Simber and Ghorbani 2010: 335).

Thus in secular theories, religion's power as a transformative variable in the international arena is seen as a kind of neglect. Many academic chairs are paying attention to this approach and its role in the future of the world. Today, the part of the intangible, the non-objective in international relations is undeniable, and as Nadlibo points out; People seek to earn, either individually or collectively. They are seeking self-esteem (Nadlibo, 2012: 12).

Thus, religion's approach can be considered a meta-theory with its ontology, epistemology, epistemology, and anthropology. This approach emphasizes changes and changes resulting from the "Religion" in general and Islam's religion in particular, and its experienced and theoretical position in Iran after the 1979 revolution. At present, this approach is intertwined with the ideological rule and the political system based on Shiite jurisprudence, which has brought about change. Secondly, it is the flow of other developments that creates ideas of constants, values, customs, principles, assumptions, foundations. In this approach; Looking at human beings, values, regulations, and components is defined differently outside the values and norms of other theories. Religion's practice has an anti-genomic position against the domination system, especially the West, and on new conceptualizations such as; Revolution, colonialism, tyranny, oppression, injustice, and mobilization of religion in foreign policy international system. In this approach, paying attention to religion as a social issue and not the only individual, denying the one-

dimensional attitude of the West, denying the emphasis on specific Western culture, paying attention to the intangibles and non-objects, emphasizing individual faith, paying attention to particular aspects such as self-esteem, Paying attention to international norms, paying attention to lost and oppressed identities, reviewing rights in citizenship, review of immigration rights and awareness to the role of capitalism in spreading inequality, the principle of regulating religion with an emphasis on the love in Christianity, redefining peace, convergence, equality, friendship, love and affection between individuals.

7. The Place of the Islamic Revolution in Theories of International Relations

The Islamic Revolution of Iran has a transnational nature. This revolution has played a decisive role in undermining the traditional theoretical foundations of international relations by presenting new values, norms, beliefs, and socio-political order, reviving political Islam, strengthening Islamic movements, and provoking opposing ideologies, and supporting liberation movements. The emergence and development of theories of revolution. Every major event in international relations takes place based on an idea that, in turn, forces existing approaches to react. If existing theories cannot explain many international events and dilemmas, a paradigm shift will occur. Hence, the occurrence of significant events at both the scientific and theoretical levels affects international relations. The reaction of diverse and conflicting theories of international relations to the global consequences of the Islamic Revolution has not been the same because the Islamic Revolution and its products do not challenge the principles and assumptions of various theories to the same extent as it is possible to explain why the consequences of the Islamic Revolution and its role in international relations are greater in some ideas. Some approaches, such as realism, have paid less attention to the challenges of the Islamic Revolution. In contrast, while criticizing the fundamental approach's principles and assumptions, some other international relations theories pay more attention to the developments resulting from the revolution. They have shown Islam (Firoozabadi, 2010: 1-13).

It can be said; International theories have ignored mainly the place and influence of religion in their analysis. In contrast, the non-fundamental (non-descriptive) approach emerged in the 1970s in response to the fundamental process. It was able to recognize many variables missing in the international system, including norms, values, and identities, and intangibles in international relations theories. However, it still does not

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have the power to explain the position and nature of religion in international relations theories. The emptiness of faith is evident in secular theories of international relations.

This vacuum created a new attitude in the revolution's sociological theories with the Islamic Revolution of Iran. The role of spirituality, individual and social faith, attention to the element of religion in general needs to be redefined in theories. As Nicholas Onf puts it; Secular theories of international relations have returned to faith. After the Islamic Revolution, the events have drawn the importance of religion's role in the global system to international relations theories.

Events such as the 1982 US-French military attack on Lebanon, the forced withdrawal of former Soviet troops from Afghanistan in 1989, the end of the Cold War, Soviet anonymity over religion, and the emphasis on soft power in foreign policy, the spread of Islamic movements in many countries such as Latin America, North America, Western Europe, and Eastern Europe, the ban on hijab in France, the imprisonment of Muslims by the Chinese government in the Rohingya and even the developments of the last decade in West Asia Islamic is also mentioned, all of them can be called the role of religion in the international system, which can be called the "Element of Religion" that after the Islamic Revolution has been able to offer a new approach in international theories that it contains new concepts. This revolution seriously challenged the mainstream theories of international relations, especially realism and neo-realism, and has formed a set of theoretical explanations called the view of "Political Islam." The institution aims to analyze Islam's political role as a political discourse and value and cultural system in international relations.

Thus the Islamic Revolution, in addition to its transformational effect on the international system, on the evolution of concepts such as; Political religion, political Islam, assumptions, variables, principles, principles, values, norms, ideas, approaches, theories of revolution, and social movements have affected. In Foucault's words, "Iran is the soul of a soulless world". Dan (Foucault, 2016, p 33).

In general, the Islamic Revolution at the international relations level in three critical areas of belief, ethics, and behavior is a severe critic of international relations' current state (Daneshyar, 2016: 15).

The Iranian revolution, the attacks of September 11, and ethnic and religious conflicts such as in the former Yugoslavia and Sri Lanka are many reasons to focus more on religion in understanding international affairs. The emergence of religious, political parties worldwide, such as

Christian Democrats in Europe, also reflects an international spiritual profile (Berger, 2010: 1).

In the meantime, Islam plays a vital role in changing the discourse in domestic politics in Muslim countries (Berger, 2010: 2), which requires cognition within a paradigm. In other words, any text based on "Western Paradigm" or "Islamic Paradigm." Its metacognitive implications are Sabot, Which can be placed in a new approach and format in theorizing.

Conclusion

Theorizing in international relations has taken place by understanding the developments, time, and location. Theories of international relations have occurred somehow in response to actions, and each of them has dealt with the neglected dimensions of other ideas in the global system. In general, we can present three approaches right now: fundamental, non-fundamental, and religious practice. The non-fundamental policy pays attention to non-sensations and non-objects. The spiritual course emphasizes both objects and non-objects and the supernatural force that comes from God.

The time frame of the religion approach in the 1980s and the Islamic Revolution in Iran is its territorial scope. We have witnessed severe developments in the attitudes and macro-policies of the international system. Among these developments, we can refer to the collapse of the Soviet Union, the attack on the US-French base in Lebanon in 1982, the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan, the end of the Cold War, and the issue of religion in communist regimes, the 9/11 attacks, the ban on hijab in Western countries and the imprisonment of Rohingya Muslims by China, all of which testify to the fact that the role of religion in the evolution of the international system is essential today and cannot be ignored from a theorizing point of view. It has a new perspective as a meta-theory. In this meta-theory, ontology and epistemology have their own and must understand an internal idea. An inward understanding and view mean how the religion and religion approach looks at the international system's developments and understands international affairs. Religion approach emphasizes the role of supernatural power, individual faith, self-esteem, jihad, struggle against oppression, justice, equality, centralization of a nation, overcoming the enemy with empathy, and mobilizing against arrogance and colonialism, which also calls for a change of order, and pursues order based on justice and equality. The religious approach has its view and perspective on spiritual values, religious norms, religious beliefs,

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and socio-political order. Individual procedure in the community and the international system that began with the Islamic Revolution and Islamic revolution try to influence the global network, organizations, Parties, groups, and leaders with its specific features.

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The Islamic Revolution: The Third Approach Towards International Relations

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Abstract

The formation of Imam Khomeini's movement and the Islamic Revolution's victory in 1979 caused the monarchical regime's fall in Iran. More importantly, it led to a significant change in the Westphalian system. This revolution, unlike the processes of the contemporary era, was not formed in the framework of the domination system, especially the bipolar system after the Second World War; instead, it succeeded by confronting the international ruling system, negating it, and relying on the principle "Nither East Nor West." In this article, we want to prove that before the collapse of the Soviet Union and consequently the collapse of the bipolar system, the formation of Imam Khomeini's movement and the Islamic Revolution's victory had challenged the domination system. In other words, the domination system had come to the end of its hegemony with the Islamic Revolution. Therefore, the world has witnessed forming a new system fundamentally different from previous actors, interactions, and international conflicts.

Keywords: Hegemons, Anti-Domination, Government-nation, Islamic Revolution, Islamic Awakening, Westphalian System, Bipolar System.

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Introduction

The emergence of Imam Khomeini's movement in the early 1960s, the eventual victory of this movement in the Islamic Revolution, and the Islamic Republic's formation in 1979 have had significant effects. These effects have gone beyond the region and have seriously challenged the system remaining from the Westphalian Pact. It has changed the future of international relations in active confrontation with the West-centered domination system and has laid new foundations on these relations.

Therefore, both structurally and conceptually, they will differ from what has been accumulated so far in political science and international relations literature.

Given this vital transformation, this paper introduces a new theory called "Dealing with Domination." We believe that what Huntington has tried to call "Clash of Civilizations" is not, in fact, the clash of civilizations; instead, it is the clash of the anti-hegemon with hegemon. In this paper, we will review and explain this issue.

1. Fundamentals of Theory

The opposition is an inherent and inseparable part of the world. The reason for this claim goes back to human nature, which, according to Islamic scholars, is composed of sense and selflessness. These two forces in human beings are always in conflict and put opposite invitations in front of human beings. Accordingly, there are still two ways of good and evil in front of humans, in which they can prefer one over the other by relying on his will and authority. This inner conflict is also embodied in the world. Thus, throughout history, the confrontation between the two groups has always been experienced and repeated. These two groups are the following: one group who are perfect human beings and obey the rules of innate intellect, and the other are captives of sensuality. In its broadest form, this confrontation has spread globally and formed the world system, consisting of two realms: the realm of the righteous and the false realm. Struggles of divine prophets with arrogant and oppressive people of their time can be understood in this context (Soleimani, 2017: 206-207).

Of course, not all human conflicts and disputes in the social, national, civilizational, and global realms have always had such an origin. Instead, conflicts and contradictions root in the material inclinations and various human groups' cupidity in many cases. Among all kinds of conflicts and contradictions, only those that arise from man's divine nature and transcendent and human tendency cause the evolution of the world community and lead to excellence and bliss. Hence, the uprisings of the

religious prophets against the established social systems, which represented the arrogant and tyrannical dominions, are among the most essential and prominent factors in the progress and development of man, society, and history.

2. The Islamic Revolution and the Challenge of the Bipolar System

Iran, which was weakened in the late nineteenth century, especially after successive defeats in wars with Tsarist Russia, could not resist the military, political, and cultural invasions of the time's dominating powers. Due to its strategic position, this country had been the competition scene between foreign powers since the Safavid era. Before the Islamic Revolution's victory, it was the hotbed of influence and competition of world powers, the world system's leading players.

Before World War I, Iran was the scene of the rivalry between Britain and Tsarist Russia. Between the two wars, the country accepted the undisputed domination of Britain. However, After World War II, the United States, as a new superpower, was able to play a leading fundamental role in Iran's political and social changes.

Interestingly, anti-authoritarian and anti-colonial movements that emerged and won during this period in Iran, such as the constitutional movement or the nationalization of the oil industry, were not independent of the intervention and support despite their popular originality of some foreign powers. In the constitutional campaign, the British colonial government supported the constitutionalists to influence Tsarist Russia. Furthermore, in the oil nationalization movement, the United States supported the National Front to get a quota of Iranian oil. The first spark of the signal independent of foreign influence was the Islamic Movement led by Imam Khomeini, which formed in 1960 and 1961 at the height of the Cold War and the undisputed sovereignty of the bipolar system.

Imam Khomeini raised his first loud cry against the oppressive and domineering world system by uttering the famous phrase: "The United States is worse than Britain, Britain is worse than the United States, the Soviet Union is worse than both, and everyone is dirtier than each other" (Khomeini, 2010: 415).

Iran's Islamic Movement was the first popular movement to rise on behalf of the oppressed of the world and, ignoring the contradictions and rivalries between the great world powers, considered them merely to distribute spoils and not in favor of nations. Even the two world superpowers and other great powers in the East and the West, despite the evident competition in the international arena, unanimously considered the

Islamic movement a reactionary movement. Moreover, especially after the uprising of June 6, 1963, they condemned the Islamic move and lined up in front of it.

With the culmination of the Islamic Revolution in 1977-79 and raising the slogan "Neither East, nor West, the Islamic Republic," this movement continued its independent strategy while opposing the system of global tyrants. The Islamic Revolution won when not only no government in the world, especially the main actors in the bipolar system, supported the revolution, but the Shah's regime had the support of the great powers of the East and the West, such as the Soviet Union, China, the United States, and Britain. This opposition was due to the positions taken by the Islamic Revolution against the domination system. In this regard, Imam Khomeini states: "This Islamic revolution is not ordinary and relies on neither poles East nor West. For this reason, it has had its characteristics, and by moving in the right direction (no East, no West), it has stood against both poles and has not been afraid of any of the mythical powers; that is what led to the miraculous victories" (Khomeini, 2010: 462).

This positioning and confrontation between the Islamic Revolution and the nascent order of the Islamic Republic, on the one hand, and the dominating hegemonic bipolar system in the world continued until the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War. Especially during the invasion of Iran by Iraq, the main actors of the domination system continued to oppose the Islamic Republic. They supported the Iraqi government with all political, military, and economic means.

After the collapse of the bipolar system in the world and establishing a hierarchical or a unipolar system, the Islamic Revolution continued to maintain its irreconcilable position against the domination system. The US government has made a tireless effort to punish Iran to objectify its undisputed dominance over the international community by consolidating and legitimizing this new system.

In other words, the Islamic Revolution led to the victory of the Iranian people over the oppressive monarchy and initiated a global movement to overthrow the global hegemonic system by relying on the awakening and uprising of oppressed nations.

The Islamic Revolution, with its worldview, originated from the school of Islam. This movement, not only in the national scope, revived its plans, programs, and ideas for government and governance. In the global dimension, according to the universality of the school of Islam, it has its specific thoughts, ideas, and the ideal world system.

The Islamic Revolution, like any revolution, according to the nature of its program and goals, has introduced unique concepts, words, and terms, some of which include an entire world of pure thought. The following new words and phrases are: the oppressed, the arrogant, the arrogant world, or the oppressed rule.

The Islamic Revolution and its leadership reject the ideas governing international relations and the existing world domination system, which originated from Machiavelli, Hobbes, and Morgenthau's views. They know the truth by force. Moreover, they also believe that "World health and peace depend on the extinction of the arrogant, and as long as these uncultured hegemons are on earth, the oppressed will not inherit what God Almighty has provided for them. The rule of the oppressed is right" (Khomeini, 2010: 144).

3. Expansion of the Anti-hegemonic Movement Beyond the Borders of Iran

The blows to the domination system began with the Islamic Revolution's victory but did not stop there. Instead, it has continued over the past four decades in the Muslim world and non-Muslim countries in Africa and Latin America. The second blow happened in Lebanon. Lebanon was occupied in 1978 by Israeli forces. These forces advanced to Beirut and displaced the people of southern Lebanon. Subsequently, four Western powers (the United States, Britain, France, and Italy) entered this small country with a limited population of three million under the guise of peace forces, supporting the occupation. Each established a base for itself.

However, after the bombing of the US embassy and the US, French and Israeli military bases in 1982, these forces evacuated Lebanon with heavy casualties. Zionist forces also evacuated southern Lebanon in 2000 (Aghajani Ghannad, 2007). Thus, the fighters of the Lebanese Islamic Resistance showed for the first time that by relying on the power of faith, jihad, and martyrdom, it is possible to overcome the set of authoritative world powers. Moreover, they showed the inefficiency of the Western hardware power along with the emerging power of nations.

In 2006, Israel once again sought to test its strength against Hezbollah. Israel launches an extensive ground, air, and naval attack against Lebanese fighters and Hezbollah forces in hopes of rooting out Lebanese resistance in less than a week; Unaware that the era of sudden attacks and the time of escape and surrender of nations is over. Finally, after 33 days of relentless war, Israel was forced to retreat, with hundreds killed (Garmabdashti, 2014: 66).

Based on the agreement reached between the domineering powers after World War II in 1949, the Israeli regime settled in Palestine by war, bloodshed, and creating fear and panic among the people. The Zionist regime, claiming "From the Nile to the Euphrates," came as a representative of the Middle East's domination system and the Islamic world to pursue its expansionist and aggressive actions. For thirty years, this regime expanded its occupied territories and displaced large numbers of oppressed Palestinians. Also, Israel won four classic wars against its Arab neighbors. The Camp David Accords led not only Arab states to compromise and surrender but also intimidated Palestinian movements and disappointed them in overcoming the Israeli regime.

The victory of the Islamic Revolution and the subsequent conquest of Lebanon's resistance in 1982 breathed success into the Palestinian people. Islamic movements re-shaped themselves in forms such as Islamic Jihad and Hamas. With the first and second intifadas, the Palestinians forced the Zionists to evacuate the Gaza Strip unilaterally and destroyed the Zionist settlements in that area. For the first time, the Palestinian people forced the Israeli regime to retreat, not at the negotiating and compromise table, but in the shadow of resistance, jihad, and martyrdom. Subsequently, in a free election, Islamist forces defeated nationalist forces and controlled the Palestinian state.

In 2007, the Israeli regime launched a large-scale attack on the Gaza Strip to overcome this resistant nation. Nevertheless, like Hezbollah forces, the Palestinian people managed to force Israeli troops to retreat in a 22-day resistance. Once again, the Palestinians could bring Israel to its knees in 2012, in the 51-day war, and impose their conditions on this regime. Today, Hamas and Islamic Jihad forces continue to resist the Gaza Strip, relying on their people, despite the global and regional domination system's pressures and comprehensive siege (Fowzi & Bakhshi, 2016: 102).

In Algeria and Turkey, too, Islamist forces used electoral mechanisms to oust power from secular governments under Western influence gradually. They, first in the municipal elections and then in the parliamentary elections, achieved terrific victories. However, western-influenced military forces by intervention and brutal bloodshed in Algeria and coups and legal means in Turkey confronted the Muslim and resilient people. Although Algeria's movement was temporarily suppressed, it moved step by step towards the Islamist system's victory and consolidation in Turkey. Turkey now plays a role as an independent and emerging power

in the international relations scene, relying on its Muslim people (Shiroudi, 2005: 8).

4. The Greater Middle East Plan: 9/11 Incident and the Occupation of Afghanistan and Iraq

After the Soviet Union's fall, the United States' efforts and its allies in West Asia (Middle East) took on new dimensions. This region was of great importance to them due to its strategic location. Washington's conservatives had long plotted to change the region's political map. The Great Middle East Plan is a continuation of imperialist efforts to control this region. Contrary to what the media was portraying, the planned US efforts' goal was not to promote democracy and human rights. America's purposes were to guarantee this sensitive region's political control and exploit the region's vast oil reserves and prevent US economic rivals from entering the region (Mohammadi & Meikame, 2013: 46).

The 9/11 incident provided a pretext for the White House ruling neoconservatives to regain their position with a full-scale military invasion aimed at re-dominating over the world's most strategic region, West Asia, and the Muslim world. Also, under the guise of implementing the Great Middle East Plan, the neoconservatives were able to confront anti-domination movements and suppress them by naming them terrorism.

Shortly after 9/11, the United States launched a full-scale invasion of Afghanistan and overthrew the Taliban government. The Taliban had grown and come to power under US followers' auspices in the region, such as Saudi Arabia, to confront the Islamic Revolution in Iran. In this attack, the United States also brought European forces to the land under NATO's name. Yet not only were they unable to eliminate al-Qaeda and the Taliban, but most European allies left Afghanistan with heavy casualties, and the United States decided to make peace with the Taliban (Rafii' & Bakhtiari, 2014: 6).

After the occupation of Afghanistan, the United States, despite the opposition of some countries such as Germany, France, China, and Russia, invaded Iraq and overthrew Saddam Hussein to complete its siege around Iran. The United States' view was that the Iraqi people, who were tired of the Ba'athist regime's crimes, would welcome them and, as a result, they would stay in this strategic oil-rich country for years, even decades.

While welcoming Saddam's fall, the Muslim people of Iraq avoided accepting the United States and any other foreign power. Also, they made things so difficult for them that the US was forced to withdraw most of its forces from Iraq. Moreover, through electoral processes, troops in Iraq

took over the country, either supporter of the Islamic Revolution or not against it.

In conclusion, the United States forces failed in their full-scale attack on the anti-hegemonic base. They led to the liberation of other Muslim nations in the region and the greater authority of these forces. In particular, they led to the emergence and recognition of Islamic Iran as a superior regional power (Jamshidi & Mohammadi, 2014: 72).

5. Awakening and Revival in the Islamic World

In contemporary times, the revival movement began about a hundred years ago by Sayyed Jamal al-Din Asadabadi and Muhammad Abdu and was followed by Rashid Reza and Hassan al-Banna. Following these individual efforts, the Society of Muslim Brothers was formed in Egypt in 1928 as the first group activity to promote a return to Islamic thought.

The Islamic Awakening resisted the domination system from the beginning of its formation until the middle of the twentieth century. Although this Islamic awakening caused many Islamic and Arab countries to regain their political independence, the domineering countries continued to dominate them by using their dependent rulers (Aghajani, 2010: 93).

With the outbreak of the Islamic Revolution in Iran under Imam Khomeini's leadership, this Islamic awakening accelerated and became widespread. This movement spread from North Africa to Southeast Asia, and Muslim nations saw their way to salvation in returning and resorting to Islamic teachings.

The Islamic Revolution in Iran was a turning point that awakened Muslims, especially the Muslim masses throughout the Islamic world. The most important innovation of this revolution was that it disrupted the system's structure, which was mainly based on the material tools of power, relying on violence's spiritual tools. It also showed that it is possible to control and govern society by relying on Islamic values and mass movements.

The Islamic Revolution succeeded in equipping and complementing the global Muslim uprising against Western hegemony in two ways: One in terms of enriching the literature of the resilience and the diversity of citations to sharia of Islam regarding resistance and standing against oppression; Second, in terms of practical success in the path of fighting a dictatorial Western-affiliated political regime and resisting the arrogant global front and disrupting its regional plans.

The impact of the Islamic Revolution on popular movements in West Asia can be examined in three periods:

First Stage: During the 1970s, popular movements in the region had Marxist and nationalist ideologies. The most famous of these movements were Palestinians, and the most important of them, the Palestine Liberation Organization, had a nationalistic approach. Other groups either thought the same or believed in Marxism. Furthermore, the Dhofar movement in Oman had a Marxist method, and the ideology of the Polisario Front in Western Sahara in Africa was nationalistic.

Apart from these movements, some governments considered themselves famous despite coming to power through coups; Like Libya under Muammar Gaddafi, Egypt under Gamal Abdel Nasser, Iraq, and Syria led by the Ba'ath Party South Yemen. Some of them came to power with the support of the Soviet Union. These governments also based their ideas and actions on a combination of nationalism and Marxism. The Algerian government, which was the product of this country's revolution against the French military and political presence, also had a Nationalist-Marxist policy. Almost all of these organizations and governments, except Iraq, were pleased with the Islamic Revolution's victory in Iran and welcomed its presence on the anti-imperialist front. At this stage, it was the Islamic Revolution that entered the anti-imperialist front.

Second stage: The slogan "neither East nor West" was one of the goals and achievements of the Islamic Revolution, the effects of which gradually became apparent after the revolution. One of the impacts of this slogan was the distance formed from Soviet Uniimpactits allies. In West Asia, some liberation movements and some governments welcomed the Islamic Revolution; however, some of them distanced themselves from the Islamic Revolution and even collaborated with Iraq, which was at war with Iran. Then, gradually, new forces emerged that had an extreme attraction to the Islamic Revolution. One of its essential groups as Hamas in Palestine.

Third stage: Iran's victory in the imposed war with Iraq, the numerous victories of Hezbollah, the Palestinian resistance against the Zionists, the overthrow of Saddam in Iraq, the Islamic awakening, and the defeat of al-Qaeda and ISIS in West Asia have all created the axis of resistance in this region. This axis of resistance connects Yemen, Iran, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, and Palestine. At this stage, the Resistance Front, which is influenced by the Islamic Revolution and its logic against global domination, has seriously challenged the Westphalian system. Therefore, by repeating the country's spending in West Asia without getting results, the US President

acknowledged the US failure to maintain its dominance in the region (Ghasemi, 2018: 11).

In this regard, the defeat of ISIS, the United States group, is in the same category: meaning the confrontation between the domineering front and the anti-domination front (Zolfaghari & Emrani, 2017: 178).

6. Africa and Latin America

The old Western colonialists in Africa came to the end of their era, and European military forces evacuated these deprived countries one after another. However, they continued to plunder this golden continent by creating dependent regimes under their domination; the process called the New Colonization. For example, in South Africa and Zimbabwe, they created a more oppressive system called apartheid, which resulted in the rule of the white minority over the black majority; still, the struggles of deprived black people against white lords continued. Eventually, despite Western support for these two regions' rulers, the uprising of deprived black people forced them to submit to the majority's rule. Moreover, through referendums and free elections, deprived masses regained power from Western hegemons and formed popular governments in South Africa and Zimbabwe (Ahammadi Nasrabadi, 2004: 97).

Also, Latin America has been the "backyard" of the US for more than a century and a half under the Monroe Doctrine. Therefore, the United States was considering this right to stifle any voice in the region by military intervention or coup. In 1979, at the same time as the Islamic Revolution's victory, another revolution took place in Nicaragua, one of the poorest countries in that region. This revolution took place without the help of the United States' rival power, the Soviet Union. After the Cuban revolution, it was the second blow to the body of the region's domination system. Shortly afterward, the Nicaraguan revolution caused an awakening and the public uprising of the deprived and exploited Latin American people against US hegemony. It also brought to power the anti-domination popular forces in Venezuela, Bolivia, Ecuador, Chile, Brazil, Uruguay, and Paraguay (Farhadi & Pourkheiri, 2019: 90).

7. Anti-Globalization Movements in the West

The word "Globalization" is sometimes translated as "Being Global" and sometimes as "Making Global." These two terms may seem synonymous from a superficial perspective, although they differ in meaning and application. In the first translation, being global, the induction of a kind of will and authority is considered. A message reaches the reader that

globalization is a tangible reality and an inevitable necessity. Therefore, any society that wants its citizens' welfare must adapt to this powerful stream and submit to its requirements with peace of mind and free will. This stream is useful and necessary for countries and human societies. The second translation, global, refers to globalization as a plan developed by the world's rich and powerful nations, especially the United States. This meaning implies economic, political, and military domination over other countries in the world named global village (Tavakkoli, 2006: 18).

Globalization intensified the class and financial gap. This gap has been more than doubled in the last thirty years. The number of billionaires has quadrupled during this period and has increased to more than 1,000. This lack of equity is at a time when the income of more than one billion people is less than one dollar a day. The sources of comprehensive income of these transnational capitalists are mainly financial capitals in speculation, stock trading, etc. In contrast to globalization, a popular and mass movement arose in the West called the Anti-Globalization Movement (Tavakkoli, 2006: 20).

8. Occupation of Wall Street or 99% Movement

With the intensification of the economic crises and class divisions, the masses' opposition to the ruling regimes expanded. Following the events in the Islamic world in the past decade, the dictatorial and oppressive regimes fell one after another. On the other hand, there were economic crises in the United States and Europe that could not be transferred outside the capitalist system sphere. Following these issues, the masses of oppressed people came to themselves and started an uprising called "Occupy Wall Street." Despite police crackdowns, this movement continued for more than one year and even spread to different parts of the world.

On July 13, 2011, a Canadian magazine called *Adbusters* asked a question like this: 'Are you ready for a Tahrir moment (referring to Tahrir Square in Egypt)?' Head south to Manhattan on September 17, set up your tents, bring in peaceful kitchens and trenches, and occupy Wall Street. This movement was inspired by both the revolutionary movements in the Middle East and the anti-globalization movement. *Adbusters Magazine* focused on the most significant disruptive factor in US democracy, which was Wall Street.

This movement did not spread nationally until September 24. On this date, a YouTube video went viral, showing a New York police officer releasing pepper spray on a protestor. The movement gained an even more

prominent media presence with the arrest of more than 700 people in Brooklyn on October 1 during a large demonstration. After the beginning of the Occupy Wall Street movement, other protests erupted across the United States and gradually throughout the Western world (Shirkhani & Pirooz, 2012: 61).

9. The Link between the Islamic Revolution, the Islamic Awakening, and the Occupation of Wall Street

Following the Islamic Revolution's victory, this prediction came from the theory of dealing with domination, especially in forming two fronts of domineering and anti-domination. The expectation came true with the beginning of Islamic movements and the Occupation of Wall Street.

In the calls and announcements of the Occupy Wall Street movement, the connection between this movement and the Islamic Awakening was clearly shown. The tactics and slogans expressed the influence of the Islamic awakening on this movement. For example, it was mentioned in a statement that Egypt and Tunisia are role models for the Wall Street movement. Even some young Egyptian revolutionaries had organized a training session on how to fight in Zuccotti Park. This influence was also seen on the placards; For example, we are all Khalid Saeed (referring to an Egyptian youth killed by the police and caused a massive uprising in Egypt).

Despite the tremendous passion and enthusiasm prevailing in the Occupy Wall Street movement, citing Egypt's Tahrir Square. The Occupy Wall Street movement spread rapidly and globally, forming in 1,500 cities around the world. The Occupy Wall Street movement developed in 100 US cities from the East Coast to the West Coast. By joining this movement to the Islamic Awakening movement, the seeds of the world revolution were sown (Hatem, 2012) (Saba, CNN, 2011).

A review of these three movements' content, namely the Islamic Revolution, the Islamic Awakening, and the Wall Street movement, shows significant similarities between them. These similarities indicate that these three movements have modeled on each other according to the time of their realization. In what follows, we will examine this issue.

9.1. Unity in Purpose

Paying attention to the stated goals in all three movements shows that they all pursue common goals, and the most important of them is the fall of the hegemonic system that dominates these societies. The slogans "neither East nor West, Islamic Republic," "People Want to Overthrow the

Regime," and "Occupy Wall Street" express the opposition of these three movements to the authoritarian regimes.

9.2. Being Popular

These three movements were neither class, ethnic, nor national; rather, they were public and popular. All sections of society except the ruling class were present in these movements. The slogan "We Are 99%" reflects that the Islamic Revolution and the Islamic Awakening are among the most popular activities in which analysts have acknowledged all classes. If the French Revolution is the revolution of the bourgeoisie, the Russian Revolution is the revolution of the workers and soldiers and the Chinese Revolution is deemed the farmers' process. The Islamic Revolution has undoubtedly been the initiator of mass and popular revolutions. Men and women, youth and the elderly, workers, employees, rural and urban residents, and students have all been present in these three movements, without exception.

9.3. Being Peaceful

The Islamic Revolution was the first socio-political uprising to take place peacefully and without arms. This revolution won without showing an armed reaction against the brutal killing of the dominant regime. Imam Khomeini used to say that if they fire shots at you, give them flowers as gifts. This approach was used in the Islamic Awakening movements and the Occupy Wall Street movement. The slogan "We Are Pacifist" was raised in a society where most citizens were armed and shot at each other every day for trivial reasons. Nevertheless, in this movement, despite the violent treatment of the police, cases of non-peaceful reactions were not observed to an extent.

Although these movements did not have the financial and legal facilities to use the independent media and all the media facilities owned by the domination system, they made great efforts to make the best use of advanced communication. The Islamic Revolution is known as the Cassette Revolution since using international telecommunications, which was the only institution that had not gone on strike, received and spread the messages of the revolution leader from Paris. The Islamic Awakening and Occupy Wall Street movements also used cyberspace to communicate with each other and the international community. In this way, they sent their voice to the whole world despite the media boycott. In particular, the use of Twitter, Facebook, etc., which were provided to design the Color revolutions, became so widespread in these movements that these movements became known as Twitter revolutions.

Conclusion

What was raised is part of what happened in the Islamic world, the Third World, and even the developed industrial world. The issues raised indicate the following: the awakening and uprising of the masses, the blows inflicted by them on the body of the domination system, and the successive failure of the oppressive powers in dealing with the awakened anti-domination nations.

It is fair to conclude that the failure of authoritarian powers in forming and stabilizing a new regime consistent with their wishes in some regions, such as the Middle East, is due to the transformations that began against the domination system following the Islamic Revolution in Iran. These transformations have accelerated and expanded to an uncontrollable extent. All the authoritative powers' efforts to stop these transformations have backfired and caused more control and awakening of the oppressed nations. For this reason, it can be argued that the reign of the Westphalian regime is nearing its end, and the world is witnessing the turning of a new page in the history of global transformations, with new standards and norms in international relations. Such that:

1. The international community is witnessing a continuous process of forming and standing two fronts against each other. One show is the dictatorial governments or states affiliated with the hegemons, and on the other front are nations, social groups, and governments rising from the masses who have begun their struggle against the domination system and are expanding it. In other words, this process can be called a confrontation between the domineering and anti-domination fronts, each of which has its characteristics and categories. These two fronts have created new definitions of the concepts of international relations and pursue different and opposite goals;
2. While on the domineering front, actors continue to strive to maintain the oppressive and unjust Westphalian system and its rules, the other side seeks to break this taboo of a few hundred years and set new plans, goals, and regulations for the international community;
3. The aspired goals of these two fronts have nothing in common and are in serious conflict. Hence, there is no possibility of reconciliation between these fronts. In other words, any blow to one of these two will strengthen the position and increase the other's power.

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