

*In the Name of God*

***Journal of Contemporary Research on Islamic  
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## **About Journal**

The journal of Contemporary Research on Islamic Revolution is a peer-reviewed journal of the Center for Islamic Revolution Studies at the University of Tehran and publishes manuscripts in interdisciplinary fields of humanities related to the Islamic Revolution. Manuscripts can be submitted in the following subjects:

- 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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# **An Analysis of the Position of the Three Components of Nation, Nationality, and Identity in the Process of the Arab Military Coalition Formation in the Persian Gulf**

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## **Abstract**

The West Asian region's government structure, which is part of the Islamic world's civilization, faces significant governance challenges. Islamic countries do not adopt appropriate regional governance processes due to the essential differences between Islamic political thought and Western humanist political thought. Meanwhile, the geopolitical region of Southwest Asia and the countries bordering the Persian Gulf are no exception. The Arab military coalition influenced by geopolitical contexts in the region can be evaluated and analyzed regarding the three components of nationality and identity in Islam. A process controlled by the modern world's developments and is indifferent to the Islamic world history and the basic concepts of this religion. The results indicated that ideas in Islamic political thought and its religious teachings had provided ideal opportunities for producing and maintaining security; nevertheless, Western political ideas' influence on the Islamic world does not allow them to make such decisions. The security situation in the geopolitical region of Southwest Asia has deprived it of permanent stability and security.

**Keywords:** Arab Military Coalition, Security, Southwest Asia, Persian Gulf, Nation and Identity.

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## **An Analysis of the Position of the Three Components of Nation, Nationality, and Identity in the Process of the Arab Military Coalition Formation in the Persian Gulf**

### **Introduction**

In recent decades, the South West Asia Geopolitical Region countries have repeatedly sought to provide regional cooperation and engagement in inclusive coalitions and counter common threats. Alliances like designing the Islamic NATO to counter the influence of Marxist ideas in the region or forming the Gulf Cooperation Council to provide a collective security package in the Persian Gulf, but none of them achieved compelling results.

Here are some examples of the inflamed atmosphere in South west Asia in the years leading up to 2020: The formation of terrorist and insurgent groups in countries such as Iraq and Syria, the launch of Saudi fighter jets in Yemen and its military intervention in Bahrain, the political turmoil in northern Iraq, rising tensions between Iran and Saudi Arabia, Iran's military presence and advisers in Iraq and Syria, etc. Some Arab countries in the region, including Saudi Arabia, to counter Iran's geopolitical influence and increase their military and economic power in the area, wanted to change the region's situation to their advantage and to the detriment of Iran forming an Arab military coalition.

The role of world powers such as the United States and modern and Western political thought in these particular circumstances is remarkable. Some important issues, such as Pakistan's negative stance and Iran's quick response to the pioneers of this anti-security plan in the study area, prevented the formation of a strong and cohesive coalition between the Arab countries of the Persian Gulf region. Affected by the fact that some problems including geographical dispersion of Islamic countries, differences in their perceptions of Iran's political and international approaches, different nature of Islamic governments, deep-rooted cultural and economic interactions of some of these countries with Iran, the reluctance of some countries to accept the leadership of Saudi Arabia in Southwest Asia, the incomplete cooperation of trans-regional countries such as the United States with the plan and, most importantly, the essential differences in Islamic political thought with Western political thought.

The Arab countries of the region, especially Saudi Arabia, and some supra-regional powers such as the United States, are trying to confront Iran and reduce its geopolitical influence in a completely different plan. This issue is the new Arab NATO idea. It increases for reasons such as rising tensions between Iran and Saudi Arabia, anti-Iranian policies of the new US administration, growing economic and military rivalries with the Persian Gulf countries, some historical tensions between Iran and some countries in the region.

The study of these developments and the structure of governments in the West Asian region, which is part of the Islamic

world's civilization, reveals the main challenges in governance, which has also severely damaged the security situation in the region.

By casting doubt on the indicators that lead to the primary nation's rule, Islamic political thought does not recognize them and their tools. It offers different principles and indicators than what is proposed. The disregard of the rulers of the Islamic countries for the original ideas derived from the Qur'an, the way of governing the Prophet and the teachings of the Imams and the direct role of God in world domination have paved the way for following Western models such as creating an Arab military coalition in the Persian Gulf. The questioned coalition can escalate tensions in the region and impose additional instability on Southwest Asia. By casting doubt on the indicators that lead to the primary nation's rule, Islamic political thought does not recognize them and their tools. It offers different principles and indicators than what is proposed.

The disregard of the rulers of the Islamic countries for the original ideas derived from the Qur'an, the way of governing the Prophet and the teachings of the Imams and the direct role of God in world domination have paved the way for following Western models such as creating an Arab military coalition in the Persian Gulf. The questioned coalition can escalate tensions in the region and impose additional instability on Southwest Asia.

Accordingly, the present study believes that the concepts in Islam's political thought and the religious teachings of this religion have provided ideal opportunities to produce and maintain security. Instead, Western political ideas' influence on the Islamic world does not allow them to make such decisions. The security situation in the Persian Gulf region and beyond in the geopolitical region of Southwest Asia has deprived it of permanent stability security. Now this research seeks to answer the question why in the geopolitical region of Southwest Asia transnational institutions are ineffective and the source of insecurity and tension?

### **1. Research Methodology**

The present study method, which recognizes the dimensions and components of government and governance in Islam and security approaches in the geopolitical region of Southwest Asia, is a model for developing a model and typology appropriate to governments' structure its executive models. This research's qualitative part is the study and discussion of these challenges in both theoretical and practical dimensions. The present study used a descriptive-analytical method with collecting documents, evidence, and library study. Research on the feasibility of the formation of the Arab Gulf Military Coalition, due to the novelty of the issue, is faced with a lack of sufficient resources and information in the field of universities, and most of the related information should be sought in

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the media and news articles. However, some researchers and experts have had studies in this regard, which are briefly mentioned below. Shirin Hunter, for example, in 1984, with reference to the Islamic Revolution and US efforts to conclude international treaties with Arab countries in the region to counter Iran, has traced the roots of this issue to the past. Also, in 2012, Mansouri Moghaddam, by studying the interactions of Iran, Saudi Arabia and other countries in the region before the Islamic Revolution, began tensions between the Arab Gulf states and Iran in the post-Islamic period and examined the US and its allies' alignment against Iran in recent decades.

Libyan researcher Salem al-Awakali is another figure who has made thoughtful studies in this regard and writes about the background of the Islamic NATO idea as well as the background of the formation of the Arab NATO idea: Almost half a century ago and in 1965 AD, the Islamic countries of Southwest Asia Influenced by the pursuit of King Faisal bin Abdulaziz, Iran and Saudi Arabia sought to form a NATO-like alliance called the Islamic NATO to counter the entry of Mexican and communist ideas into the region, with the kings of Iran, Jordan and Saudi Arabia as the sole rulers. Who agreed with this idea and its implementation, but now and under the influence of intense differences between Iran and Saudi Arabia, these two countries have become two completely opposite poles in the region and each is looking for a different way out of the current crisis? (Avakeli: 2015, 69).

Yadollah Karimipour in his book *Iran and its Neighbors* has addressed this issue to some extent and pointed out that based on the history of the overthrow of monarchies in the region, especially the Arab world, nationalist or religious fundamentalist systems are grounds for expansionist rivalry. And will lead to fierce ideological struggles in the region. In this book, the author suggests that three important issues be on Iran's agenda, noting that the members of the Gulf Cooperation Council, led by Saudi Arabia, are seeking a security defense pact:

- A) Establishing an institutionalized mechanism for activating dialogue and negotiation on bilateral or multilateral disputes;
- B) Achieving a principled understanding to ensure regional security;
- C) Efforts to establish an organized, active and limited regional market (Karimipour, 2000: 170).

## **2. Geopolitics**

Human social groups can achieve a unified political order at the local to global levels of different geographical spaces based on common characteristics and interests. Human life is politically dependent on geographical factors such as place, space, resources, opportunities, and threats, and a level of collective and group power. Hence, the geography, energy, and politics that determine the patterns of



organized groups' behavior are geopolitics' primary nature in different forms. These forms are power fluctuation, competition, convergence, divergence, influence, crisis, governing, dominance, interaction, peace, coalition, war, security, trade, exchange, stability, etc. (Hafeznia, 2007: 12).

Geopolitics is an intellectual structure in the early twentieth century, proposed by Hofer, Ratzel, Kieln, Spokesman, and Mahan. Although the designers of this concept lived in Germany, the United States, Sweden, the United Kingdom, etc., geopolitics developed in the form of political geography knowledge in many countries worldwide. A concept with intellectual structure aims to identify and organize how governments can increase their external power. They make the best use of topography, hydrology, agricultural resources, industry, transportation systems, and communications (Garfinkle, 2015: 532).

### **3. Geopolitical Region**

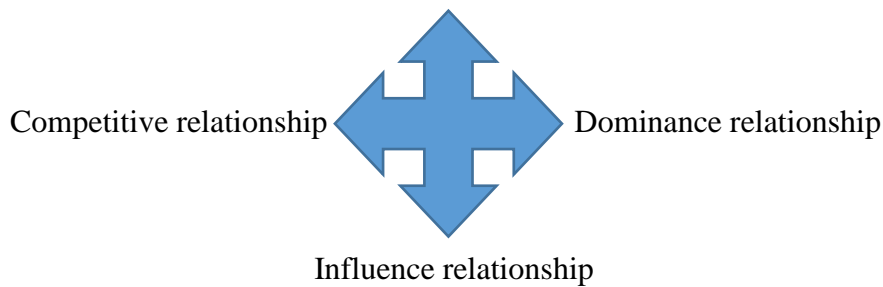
A geopolitical region is a part of the planet Earth's surface or a set of neighboring countries and politico-spatial units, whether terrestrial, aquatic, or integrated space. It is a combination of specific political and geographical factors that are homogeneous and have a particular identity or standard function different from adjacent areas and areas. The Geopolitical region is the bedrock of forming the spatial pattern of political relations between intra-regional and extra-regional states. In its evolutionary process, it becomes a geopolitical structure. The condition in which regional and non-regional political forces become active, the functions of convergence, divergence, conflict, or cooperation develop in it. The systemic relations of actors inside and outside the region are formed based on the region's structural and functional elements explicitly and implicitly (Hafeznia, 2007: 112).

### **4. Patterns of Geopolitical Relationship**

Geopolitical relations are established between countries, governments, and political actors based on a combination of politics, power, and geography elements. Informing any relationship between actors, the aspect of politics emerges in political acting that shapes the nature of the relationship and the actor's actions. The power element is manifested in shaping the relationship's pattern and character and the actors' attitude towards each other. The geography element also plays a bedrock role and creates the necessary motivations for forming the relationship's political will, the spatial manifestation of the relationship, and the influence on the actor power level. Geopolitical relations between actors are created from various patterns called interactive, competitive, persuasion, and domination (Ibid: 363).

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**Figure 1: Patterns of geopolitical relationship** Source: Article authors



**5. Neo-Realist Theories about Military Alliances**

The neo-realist theories revised and refined by Waltz and Kinderman are based on certain assumptions in which any anarchy introduces the international system's basis. Countries more think just about their interests and join the union only to confront the enemy. The union also destroy without the enemy. The theories proposed by neo-realists in the world scientific literature examine the reason for military alliances from different perspectives. In other words, they present various ideas of the construction of transnational coalitions in geopolitical regions, such as the theory of balance of power, the harmony of threat, the balance of interests, and the idea of hegemony (Waltz, 1979: 79).

In the balance of power framework, one of the oldest international politics theories has been proposed by people like Kenneth Waltz; (1956-2012) countries move towards a coalition when a government becomes powerful in the region and can dominate. In this situation, other countries are drawn to the section to counter this domination and create a balance of power to prevent war (Ray, 1998: 353).

From the neo- realists' perspective, governments form coalitions when they feel the need to balance the threat. Still, the creation of any alliance or convergence reduces the coalition members' freedom of action and imposes costs on them to the extent of its cohesion and strength. According to the theory of balance of power in the international system, the balance of power form as an algebra automatically, and alliances are the main factors shaping this automated process. In other words, coalitions are formed to respond to the imbalance of forces and consolidate the members' capabilities (George, 1993: 107).

According to the threat balance theory put forward by people like Walt, countries are not on the path to forming a coalition for the balance of power and are trying to strike a credit against the threats they feel threatened. Hazards that are not based on the strength of conflicting governments; hence, they unite. Apart from the two theories, in the framework of the balance of interests, which people like Schuler proposed, the coalition's most important determining

factor is the compatibility of political goals and interests and the imbalance of power threat. According to Schuler, Countries' behavior in the union is not necessarily determined by external power or danger but determined by opportunities for achievement and interest.

Another neo-realist theorist who has commented on coalitions is Schuler. He criticized the theory of balance of power and balance of threat, presented the balance of interests. In his view, the coalition's most important determinant is the compatibility of political goals and interests, not the imbalance of power or threat. According to him, a country's behavior in the union is not necessarily determined by external force or threat, but opportunities for achievements and benefits determine this behavior. He believes that this theory can explain how the coalition is formed at the national and systemic level (Waltz, 1979: 91-97).

In addition to the theories mentioned, Joseph Nye first proposed another view called the idea of hegemony. According to this theory, a country is powerful enough to govern countries' relationships and intend to do so; that considers coalition formation not dependent on balance but the superiority of external power (Brilmayer, 1994: 24). Although usually examined hegemony in realist theory, especially structural realism, this concept has also been in various other views. Marxists have regarded it as an advanced and complicated stage of domination, class domination, and imperialism. To compensate for the impotence of imperialism and dependence theories, and have made great use of it in modern literature, especially in the view of the "World System."

Wallerstein has taken it seriously from the perspective of the historical sociology of international relations. In general, a state needs multiple resources to play a hegemonic role. In addition to military power, it must control the four primary economic sources of raw materials, capital, market, and unrivaled superiority in producing precious goods. A government must provide a set of factors to be in a hegemonic position. These factors include relative worth, national will, and international acceptance (George, 1993: 198-202).

## **6. Factors for the Success or Failure of Regional Coalitions**

Researchers based on modern ideas and the reasons for the success or failure of forming regional coalitions have listed specific cases, which are briefly mentioned below. In this article, the model of modeling and typology appropriate to the structure of governments and its executive model has been used.

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**Table 1: Success and Failure Factors of Regional Organizations Based on Modern Ideas (Akhavan Kazemi, 2004: 166-168).**

Success Factors	Greater homogeneity of member countries as a factor in increasing their consensus, broader support of regional governments for regional decisions due to indigenous legitimacy, better and more effective conflict resolution, limited third parties in disputes and easier access to them, weakness and inefficiency of international organizations in resolving disputes, especially regional disputes, less affected by the influence of significant powers and tensions between them, especially the lack of veto power in regional organization decisions
Failure Factors	The ambiguity and flexibility of the concept of the region, the negative influence of regional organizations and its member states on superpowers, world powers and regional powers and the relative impairment of their decision-making independence, inaccurate explanation of the relationship between global organizations and regional organizations, diversity of regional organizations in terms of politics, geography, level of development, etc., less enforcement of regional organization decisions than global organizations such as the United Nations, many financial and budgetary problems, poor organization and lack of work ethic and experience in managing regional crises, lack of comprehensiveness of many regional organizations, difficulty in securing neutrality, inability to influence factors outside the region, lack of balance of power in the areas and the existence of central and peripheral forces in regional organizations, problems of regional organizations to interfere in the internal affairs of countries

**7. Basic Nation Governments**

The primary nation's government is a political system composed of a population of human beings who have all been united according to a single pattern (Barzegar, 2004: 14). They live in a land with definite boundaries and all under a single rule (Heydari, 2005: 78), and in the form of a national constitution, they strive to achieve the national ideal.

This process forms a collective identity, called national identity (Razafi far, 2001: 103), the basis of which is patriotism and national pride. In political geography science, the nation's government is based on four components; the absence of any of these components disrupts the national government's definition. However, some political thinkers believe that international recognition is the fifth component of a nation-state. Until the global system does not recognize a nation-state, it cannot be formally considered a nation or "State." So, Islam's view of an Islamic government or religious government is not like in the history of Europe because, in Islam, the nation has sovereignty over the rulers and politicians of its society

(Ghannouchi, 2002: 217). Therefore, there is a fundamental difference between many of the components considered in Islam and the nation-state branches' definition.

### **8. Theoretical Problems of Islam In the Form of Basic Nation Governments**

The idea of forming a government in Islam dates back to the ten years of the Prophet's presence in Mecca, which was accompanied by the secret invitation of the people of Saudi Arabia to Islam. But the formation of government in Islam dates back to the time of the Holy Prophet's migration (PBUH) from Mecca to Medina. During this period, the Holy Prophet (PBUH) formed the political structure of the government. With the Holy Prophet's death (PBUH), the Holy Prophet created this structure split and the first divisions among the Companions the basis of this difference was the perception of each of these currents from the government in Islam.

With the movements of both currents, finally, after the Prophet, three caliphs, who were all representatives of the same intellectual current, took over the government, but after the death of the third caliph, Imam As, who was the representative of the opposite current, became the ruler of Islam. The presence of two drafts at the head of government affairs caused each current to expand and develop its ideas and ideological foundations in the field of government. After Imam Ali, the Sunni current, taking over the Caliphate's position, practically developed and expanded its ideas. Simultaneously, the Imams tried to explain the government's divine roots by explaining the jurisprudential origins.

The political thought of the Caliphate, which was the product of the Sunni currents' thinking, turned this position into a monarchy by occupying vast lands. But almost eleven centuries later, the Ottoman Empire, the last Islamic empire to be associated with the Islamic Caliphate, collapsed in World War I, and national governments emerged from which the republic's political system was the product of these governments (Entekhabi, 2014: 208).

The Shia political current had a different situation in history. After Imam Ali (A.S), the pure Imams did not have the opportunity to build a political system. All of them were busy teaching the basics of government thought and jurisprudence. They always promised that they would revive Islam's political position with the Age's Imam's advent. However, after fourteen centuries, the Islamic Revolution in Iran was considered a prelude to forming an Islamic government based on Shia jurisprudence. Although these two currents of thought differ in some issues, they both believe society's management needs government's construction. (Entekhabi, 2014: 211).

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In the past decades and centuries, the rivalry resulting from hatred and resentment and the inflammations of foreign powers have eliminated the possibility of establishing a close relationship between the two fronts, and these differences are intensifying every day. While the two currents of thought have profound similarities, they negate the indispensable nation's governments' primary indicators. The intellectual leaders of both drafts in the new centuries have emphasized it, such as Sayyed Jamal al-Din Asadabadi, Imam Khomeini, Hassan al-Banna, Rashid Reza, Sayyed Qutb, Shahid Motahari, and others (Yazdanpanah, 2018: 79).

#### **9. Islam, Islamic Unity, and Islamic Cohesion**

As mentioned above, the versions of national and regional governance in Western political thought have influenced many countries today and have become dominant patterns; however, according to Islam's history and teachings, unity and cohesion in Islam follow other practices.

In the primary nation's government, the solidarity of a country happens around historical, racial, ethnic, linguistic issues, and a nation strives to achieve an ideal that plays a role in that nation political thought. The diversity of nations and states has caused racial, linguistic, ethnic, etc. groups, which have been separated by chance or by prior planning, to pursue and strive for different ideals and different political goals. If necessary for cooperation and interaction, especially in the military and security fields, they should establish and follow these procedures under Western ideas and existing Western forms.

In a nation-state system, radically, a nation or tribe to have centuries-old historical roots and, incidentally, to be geographically distant from their races, now they have to pursue different political ideals due to this fragmentation. From the Islamic point of view, such an effort based on a set of credit matters, although probable in the national context, will distinguish between nations.

Islam is based on an Islamic government in which there are no ethnic, racial, linguistic, etc., differences, and all human beings are equal; and they will all try to do the laws of Islam and God's rules. This alliance is intellectual and ideological (Ibid: 83).

#### **10. Security and Its Various Dimensions**

In its objective sense, security means the absence of a threat to the acquired values, and in its subjective sense implies the lack of fear that will attack these values (Wolfers, 1962: 105).

According to the security concept, a country has security that does not have to sacrifice its vital interests and maintain its vital interests by winning the war in a conflict. Security has various social, political, military, economic, cultural, and environmental dimensions



and can be defined at different local, national, regional, and global (Roshandel, 1994: 11).

In their joint book, "Regions and Powers," Barry Buzan and El Weaver argue that any country's security is not self-sufficient. Internal factors are not reliable to analyze a country's national security. On the other hand, due to the ambiguity and lack of general understanding of governments' global security, they introduce the regional level as the appropriate analysis level (Buzan and Weaver, 2009: 54). Researchers consider various security dimensions, including social, military, political, cultural, economic, and environmental. They believe that disturbances in any of the measurements can affect other dimensions in a chain manner.

### 11. Security in Islamic Thought

Security in modern and Western definitions, which is the basis of planning the plans of today's governments, is very different from the safety emphasized in Islamic thought and the Holy Quran. The Qur'an "Faith Security" is an essential issue, and its interpretation is close to the lexicon of faith and security. The Holy Qur'an mentions the "Faith Security" as the "Standard" security. The meaning of security comes from the root "a-m-n," which means to be safe and secure. "Amn" is one of the derivatives of this word, which means to have confidence and to believe. The Qur'an, while enumerating security and its objective aspects, considers the complete and prominent type of security as security based on faith in God. This concept represents all three modern meanings of accurate and mental security and peace of mind. Therefore, "Faith" and "Safety" are equal in divine logic (Gharayagh Zandi, 2011: 6-7).

"Those who believe and have not confused their Faith with polytheism, Security] in this world and the Hereafter [Belongs to them; they are rightly guided" (Quran, Anam: 82).

In another verse, God Almighty has considered "Safety" as compensation for "Faith."

"Allah has promised to those of you Mankind who believe and do good that He will appoint them the rulers in the world as he appointed those before Them; and will establish in authority Their religion which He is pleased with It; and He will replace security for their Fears;] and Allah states: They should Worship me only and should not Consider any partner for Me" (Quran, Noor: 55).

In Islamic culture, faith is both the basis of security and its goal. "Be sure That real tranquility for the hearts rests in Allah's Remembrance," remembering God and being in solidarity with God and correcting man's relationship with God leads to security, peace, and safety because communication with God causes man to find his right place in existence. Also, man's philosophical identity depends

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on man's correct understanding of his position in the presence (Jazayeri and Eftekhari, 2006: 13).

The concept of faith security in the Qur'an can be applied in all three general aspects of the idea of security. The Qur'an also discusses the result of the faith security in objective terms, including the breadth of aliment or protection from cunning, deceit, and disturbance; and by emphasizing key issues such as patience and trust, in mental terms conveys a kind of hopeful outlook on society. Finally, in the psychological aspect, God's remembrance calms the hearts (Gharayagh Zandi, 2011: 28-29).

The Holy Prophet's (PBUH) mission is to invite people to believe in God and the security that results from faith in God. From the beginning of his mission, the Prophet made a connection between belief in God and prosperity and salvation, that security is one of the instances: "Say God is unique to be saved." Throughout the Mecca and Medina period, he emphasized Islam's religion and monotheism as a security source; in defense of the faith, Prophet even risked his life in wars and non-wars (Lakzaei, 2016: 28).

#### **12. Geographical Scope of Research**

The geopolitical area of Southwest Asia in general and the southern margin of the Persian Gulf is the geographical area of the present study. Over the years, here has been the base of many American efforts to reduce Iran's power and national security and challenge Southwest Asia's security. A region in which some Arab countries have recently, with the US President's exceptional support, sought to launch new efforts to weaken Iran's position. They are trying to form an Arab military coalition in the region based on modern and Western ideas. They are indifferent to Islam's teachings, which are designed for unity and cohesion.



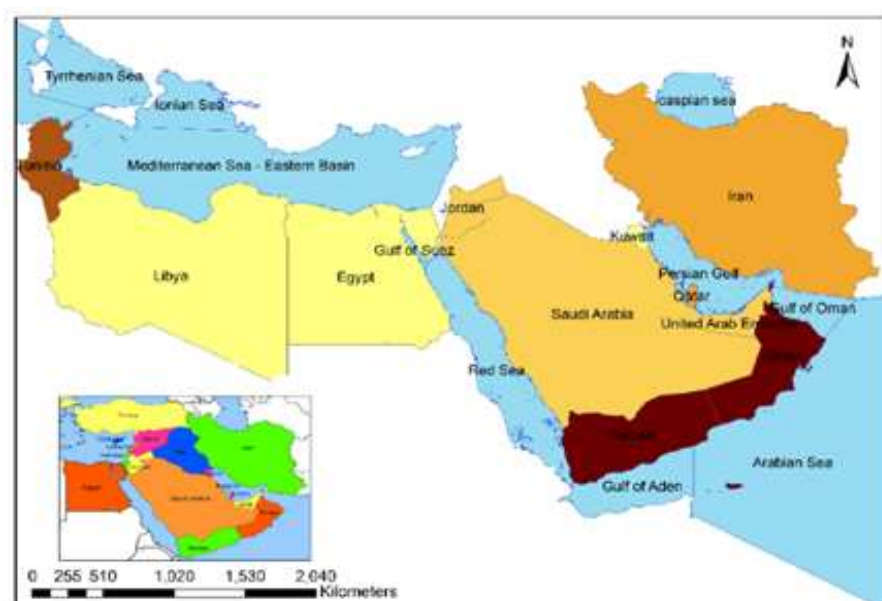


Figure 1: Southwest Asia and the Countries in the Region (Source: Authors)

According to studies in the region, countries such as Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Bahrain, Jordan, the United Arab Emirates, Kuwait, and Egypt are vigorously pursuing an Arab military coalition. Some other Arab-African countries, such as Morocco, Sudan, Libya, Algeria, and Tunisia, are also interested in joining.

For example, in May 2017, as the Gulf Arab states intensified their interest in forming a new Arab military alliance, some analysts called the "Arab NATO," the United States strongly supported this possible alliance. The visit of President Donald Trump to Riyadh also showed interest in this support. He visited Saudi Arabia and met the leaders of more than fifteen Arab countries in the region (During which the whispers of the formation of the "Arab NATO" became severe). The American newspaper "The Hill" in an article entitled "An 'Arab NATO' Including Israel Can Exist if it Stays Quiet" stated that the formation of the Arab NATO is another attempt to confront Iran; something like the military action of Saddam's regime under Reagan. (Rahimi, 2018: 20).

This Arab military alliance, which some analysts refer to as the Arab NATO, focuses on a collective and regional coalition to counter Iran. In recent years, it has been proposed by King Salman of Saudi Arabia, with the participation of the leaders of 15 Arab countries plus Turkey and Pakistan, and US President Donald Trump in Riyadh, to continue Saudi Arabia's aggressive policies with the Islamic Republic of Iran. Because of its utterly Arab nature, unlike Islamic NATO and other previous coalition ideas, it is funded by rich Arab countries. Its members are heavily dependent on Saudi Arabia, and its headquarters will be in Riyadh at the hands of Saudi

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Arabia. It is very different from other counter designs and can be more successful under these factors' influence (Rahimi, 2018: 22).

Rumors of the Arab NATO founding first surfaced after US President Donald Trump visited Saudi Arabia on May 21, 2017. The trip, Trump's first official visit since taking office, aimed to strengthen allies and bring the Arab actors' differing perspectives on the US Middle East strategy. On this date, about twenty Arab and Islamic countries gathered in Riyadh with Trump, and Iran's issue was one of the meeting's main topics. The proposal to form an alliance called "Arab NATO" was also raised for the first time at the meeting, mostly to counter Iran's influence. However, for various reasons, it has not gone beyond the initial proposals and some limited measures, such as the Egyptian exercise in mid-2018 and the preliminary meeting of military representatives in early 2019. In November 2018, during the Manama Security Conference, the Strategic Middle East Alliance, including the United States, the Gulf Cooperation Council, Egypt, and Jordan, was proposed for the first time. In January 2019, Mike Pompeo noted that the Trump administration's goal in the coalition was to address the region's most severe threats and support energy and economic cooperation, saying that it was time to end past rivalries to improve the area (Karami, 2020: Abrar Contemporary Studies Institute).

### **13. Research Findings**

In Islamic political thought, Islamic unity and cohesion based on concepts such as the Uma and the avoidance of inciting ethnic and racial differences are the basis for the production of security and peaceful life. In the current situation in the Persian Gulf's margin countries, especially Saudi Arabia, influenced by the destructive roles of trans-regional actors such as the United States, seek to produce security in the region in military alliances. Hence, they are desperate to establish an Arab military coalition called Arab NATO. Studies on the current situation in the geopolitical region of Southwest Asia and the existing relations between the countries showed that several factors directly impact the formation of the Arab military alliance in the Persian Gulf.

Factors such as: increasing Iran's military capabilities and weapons, increasing insecurity and tensions between Iran and Saudi Arabia, the role of extra-regional powers and their influence, lack of economic dependence between Iran and the countries on the southern shores of the Persian Gulf, a high volume of oil, gas, and energy in the Persian Gulf and the competition of Arab countries with Iran to seize the energy market, different religions, languages, and ethnicities of the Arab countries bordering the Persian Gulf, as well as Iran's nuclear agreement with the P 5+1.

The Arab countries of the Persian Gulf are worried that Iran, based on the factors mentioned above, in a close geopolitical rivalry with them and its other allies, will win the axis of resistance and become a superior and uncontrollable power. Based on the apparent developments, they were forced to form an Arab military coalition with supra-regional allies, especially the United States, to gain a deterrent and possibly sufficient offensive force against Iran. On the other hand, the present study's authors consider several factors as obstacles to forming this coalition. Factors such as current good relations between Iran and Oman as one of the influential Arab countries in the Persian Gulf, the emergence and escalation of tensions between Qatar and other Arab countries, concerns of regional economic rivals such as India, Turkey, and Russia about the formation of this coalition and the spread of its consequences to the interests of these countries, the complete lack of cooperation of the Egyptian political leaders with the alliance and their conflict with the internal protests, the interior public opinion of the Arab countries and the state-nation divide in these countries, Pakistan-Iraq mediation efforts to improve Iran-Saudi relations, as well as heavy coalition spending and fears of full-scale war. So far, achieving a systematic and organized coalition in the Arab countries of the Persian Gulf has remained incomplete (Gelpi, ch: 1991, 84). The following table mentions the influential factors as well as the obstacles.

**Table 2:** Geopolitical factors of the success and failure of the Arab Gulf military alliance

<p>Success Factors</p>	<p>Increasing Iran's military capabilities and weapons, increasing insecurity and tensions between Iran and Saudi Arabia, the role of extra-regional powers and their influence, lack of economic dependence between Iran and the countries on the southern shores of the Persian Gulf, a high volume of oil, gas, and energy in the Persian Gulf and the competition of Arab countries with Iran to seize the energy market, different religions, languages, and ethnicities of the Arab countries bordering the Persian Gulf, as well as Iran's nuclear agreement with the P 5+1.</p>
<p>Failure Factors</p>	<p>Good relations between Iran and Oman, the emergence and escalation of tensions between Qatar and other Arab countries, concerns of regional economic rivals such as India, Turkey, and Russia about the formation of this coalition, the complete lack of cooperation of the Egyptian political leaders with the alliance, the interior public opinion of the Arab countries, Pakistan-Iraq mediation efforts to improve Iran-Saudi relations, as well as heavy coalition spending and fears of full-scale war.</p>

Source: Authors

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### **Conclusion**

Islamic countries in the geopolitical region of Southwest Asia, despite their many religious and cultural commonalities and shared history in the past centuries, are influenced by humanist ideals, and Western governance patterns face severe problems in interacting with each other and the political management of their nations. The religion of Islam and the teachings of the Qur'an emphasize unity among Muslims and their avoidance of division. Regarding the Prophet of Islam (PBUH) teaching, Muslims' unity and their meeting under titles such as the Islamic Ummah has emphasized. Today, the political leaders of the grassroots governments formed in the region, like the Western nations, seek to govern their own countries and the area following patterns that are not commensurate with Islamic history and civilization.

A procedure according to which it is possible to understand why transnational institutions created by Islamic countries such as the Organization of Islamic Cooperation, the Cooperation Council of the Persian Gulf, the Union of Arab Countries, etc., have not achieved much success. And under the influence of many political and security margins, they have largely lost their effectiveness. Regardless of Islamic ideas and teachings, they have suffered a lot of damage to the political, economic, security, etc.

In the same context, in the years leading up to 2020, several countries on the southern shores of the Persian Gulf and North Africa, all of which are Islamic countries, influenced by the stressful policies of the United States, and in particular, the current president, Donald Trump, they sought to form an Arab military coalition called the Arab NATO.

The coalition aims to increase the Persian Gulf's margin countries' security and prevent the growing geopolitical influence of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the region. Many experts in international affairs and political geography believe that this coalition does not positively affect creating security and reducing insecurity in the geopolitical area of Southwest Asia but can pave the way for insecurity and many other tensions in the region.

The margin countries of the Persian Gulf, especially the political leaders of Saudi Arabia, in the process of forming an Arab military alliance called the Arab NATO, like other regional models, have resorted to Western political-security ideas and models to get rid of the existing problems and differences. To prove this claim, we can refer to the neo-realism theory and its sub-theories, namely the idea of hegemony. Neo-realists believe that countries in a geopolitical region can mainly address their security concerns by forming

military alliances to achieve security and reduce regional insecurity and rival threats. This process happened with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the Warsaw Pact, and the like. Again, the Arab Gulf states are seeking to form an Arab military alliance by the same model.

This alliance, which is known in the media as the Arab NATO and is sought by Arab countries such as Saudi Arabia, the UAE, Jordan, Kuwait, Egypt, etc., can also be evaluated and analyzed as the hegemony theory. According to the hegemony theory, scholars believe that a geopolitical region's countries are influenced by supra-regional and global powers to achieve a military alliance and move towards a military alliance under these powers' guidance. The same is true of the Gulf Arab military alliance. US political leaders, such as President Donald Trump and Secretary of State Mike Pompeo, are keen to form a coalition.

This process of the Arab countries, while a large area of Southwest Asia belongs to the Islamic countries, whose history and civilization are intertwined in the past centuries due to Islam's trans-regional spread; and under the shadow of Islamic ideas and the teachings left in the memory of the Holy Prophet (PBUH), they can adapt their native patterns to get rid of problems and provide security.

It seems that as long as Islamic countries, especially in the Persian Gulf geopolitical region, seek Western versions to get rid of security threats and global problems, regardless of Islamic ideas and many religious and cultural commonalities, the issues in the region will continue. Existing tensions, especially between Iran and Saudi Arabia, will create unique opportunities for trans-regional powers such as the United States to play a lucrative role in the region.

Contrary to the existing process, and in the case of Islamic countries' return to the indigenous security versions derived from Islamic ideas, it can hope that the conditions for improving relations between Islamic countries will increase. And to achieve the necessary conditions for the growing growth and development of the countries in the good.

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## Content Analysis of the Nowruz Speeches of the Iranian Supreme Leader (2013-2021)

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### Abstract

The Nowruz speeches of the Supreme Leader of the Islamic Republic of Iran are considered drawing the lines of the country's one-year plans in line with the system's long-term policies and macro-goals of the system. Therefore, it seems necessary to pay attention to these statements and their scientific analysis to identify problems and provide practical solutions to overcome them. The present study aimed to analyze the content of the speeches of the Iranian Supreme Leader, Sayyed Ali Khamenei, between 2013- 2021 and to answer the central question of what axes and categories the Supreme Leader has focused on and emphasized in his speeches at the beginning of each year. 'What are the problems and difficulties mentioned?' The research method used is quantitative and qualitative content analysis. In this method, the primary axes are hidden in the text, the relationship between the categories, and the time conditions. In other words, each lecture's conceptual model has been extracted. The research findings show that during the five years in question, the main focus of leadership discussions in each year's opening speech was economic issues. The Supreme Leader has always emphasized the point of economics and, in particular, the "Resistance Economic" approach. In addition to the resistance economy, the Iranian supreme leader also stressed Iran's foreign policy, namely Jcpoa, and the need for hostility, especially regarding how to interact with the United States and Europe.

**Keywords:** Content Analysis, Nowruz Lectures, Supreme Leader (Sayyed Ali Khamenei), Resistance Economics

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## Introduction

The first time the Supreme Leader of Iran officially chose a name for a year goes back to his Nowruz message in 2020; since then, this issue has been repeated every year as a tradition. The importance of these speeches and the naming of the years goes back to the place that the leadership has in the Iranian constitution. According to the country's constitution, it is the responsibility of the administration to draw and communicate the general policies of the system and the direction of the country. This function is performed in a variety of ways, including speeches, communications, letters, orders, and in some cases, government decrees. Still, one of the methods and methods of drawing the general orientation of the system and officials that Ayatollah Khamenei has proposed and followed has been the choice of slogans and naming of different years. Therefore, it is essential to study the speeches of the Supreme Leader in various fields of domestic and foreign policy.

The speeches of the Supreme Leader have been mainly focused on current issues so that in addition to accurately identifying the issues and problems of society, they always emphasize solutions and ways out of it and provide advice to officials and people to improve the situation. Considering the speeches of the Supreme Leader over the last eight years, Jcpoa (Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action) and the economic pressure of the United States and similar issues have been significant, and the proximity of time also confirms this point. Due to the U.S. withdrawal from Jcpoa and the double economic pressure, the economic war against Iran became vital. The recent U.S. war against Iran has been economic. Sanctions imposed by financial stress have also affected politics and culture.

With this description, the present article seeks to analyze the qualitative content of the speeches of the Supreme Leader (2013-2021) near the holy shrine of Imam Reza (a.s.) to extract their basic concepts and axes to analyze them by examining the time conditions. The main question is: 'what are the emphases of the Supreme Leader in the years 2013-2021, at the beginning of the year?' 'What are the time conditions governing these emphases?' We attempt to examine the Supreme Leader by using the method of quantitative content analysis and inferential analysis of the speeches of the recent years 2013-2021.

## 1. Research Objectives

This article aims to analyze the qualitative content of the Nowruz speeches of the Supreme Leader of the Revolution in 2013-2021. This research examines the principal axes; the topics emphasized, the most used terms, the causes and conditions of the day, and the solution and way out of the problems.

## 2. Research Questions

- What are the main axes in the leadership speeches in the years 2013-2021?
- What words have had the most repetition in the Supreme Leader speeches during the years of an understudy?
- What are the topics emphasized in the lectures?
- What are the time conditions for giving lectures?
- From the leader's point of view, what is the solution to overcome the problems?

## 3. Research Literature

The results of searches in scientific databases show that no dissertation, article, or book has been published on the subject of the present study. Therefore, the present study is innovative and innovative in every way. However, the following are some of the studies that have examined Imam Khomeini (May God have mercy on him) in various subjects by using the method of quantitative or qualitative content analysis of leadership views:

Ali Adami and others (2013), in a study entitled "Analysis of the Quantitative and Qualitative Content of the Supreme Leader's Anti-Western Positions Before and After the Sanctions of the Central Bank of the Islamic Republic of Iran" concluded that Ayatollah Khamenei, as in the past, emphasized that sanctions have failed in its goal to separate the people from the system. Davood Nemati Anaraki et al. (2013) in an article entitled "Content Analysis of the BBC Persian Base on the Ninth Election of the Islamic Consultative Assembly," and according to the findings of the paper, the most news coverage on the BBC news site was in December, and March 2011 and the most coverage was of fundamentalist personalities and the conditions for registration of candidates, the sedition of 2009 and the refusal of reformists to run in the parliamentary elections.

Yahya Fawzi and Fatemeh Ghorbani (2014), in a study entitled "Analysis of the Quantitative and Qualitative Content of Imam Khomeini's Interviews and Messages Based on the Imam Sahifa" conclude that; the most critical political categories in the messages are religion and politics, the position of the clergy, the continuation of the struggle, unity, resistance, and independence from foreigners; Also, the reasons for the formation of the Islamic Revolution, the nature of the Islamic Republic and its future, the need to remove the Shah and dismantle the illegal monarchy, armed uprising, and the Shah's army, political issues in interviews and conversations of the Imam Sahifa are considered. Meysam Ghahremani and Hadi Keshavarz (2016), in an article entitled "Qualitative Content Analysis of the Model of the Political System in the Book of Velayat-e Faqih Imam Khomeini (r.a.)" have examined the content of the book Velayat-e Faqih. According to the findings of this study, most of the principles of the political system

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model that Imam Khomeini presents in this book derive from the theme of "Desirable Government in Islam," which is the rule of law and divine law.

Abbas Zohori Einuddin and Saeed Pourali (2019), in an article entitled "Qualitative Content Analysis of the Speeches of the President of the Eleventh Government (Hassan Rouhani) at the United Nations with an Inductive Approach" using the qualitative content analysis method, have concluded that the most repetition and emphasis of the President in his speeches, the Republic focuses on "Violence, War in the Region and the World." President's proposal to exit war and unrest in the region has been dialogue and interaction. Ali Yaghoubi et al. (2019), in the article "Analysis of the Qualitative Content of the Televised Debates of the 11th Presidential Election from the Perspective of Political Development," have examined the 11th presidential election. Its many characteristics include constructive interaction with the world, information transparency, and democracy. According to the research findings, the winning candidate program emphasizes the main concepts of political development and its components than its competitors.

Overall, it can be said; the attention and focus on the slogans of the year by the leadership as well as the application of content analysis method is the distinguishing feature and innovation of the leading research with other researches that have been done in the field of messages and speeches of the Supreme Leader.

### 4. Research Method

The root of content analysis is in hermeneutics, which considers the goal as navigating the final meaning of the text (Mohseni Tabrizi and Salimi, 2012, p. 5). Content analysis is a "Research Method" and "Analytical Tool" that is applied and valuable in a wide range to analyze different forms of communication (written text, recorded speeches, open interviews, historical documents, political speeches, visual images, nonverbal behaviors, or any other type of message is used (Abu al-Ma'ali al-Husseini, 2013: 2).

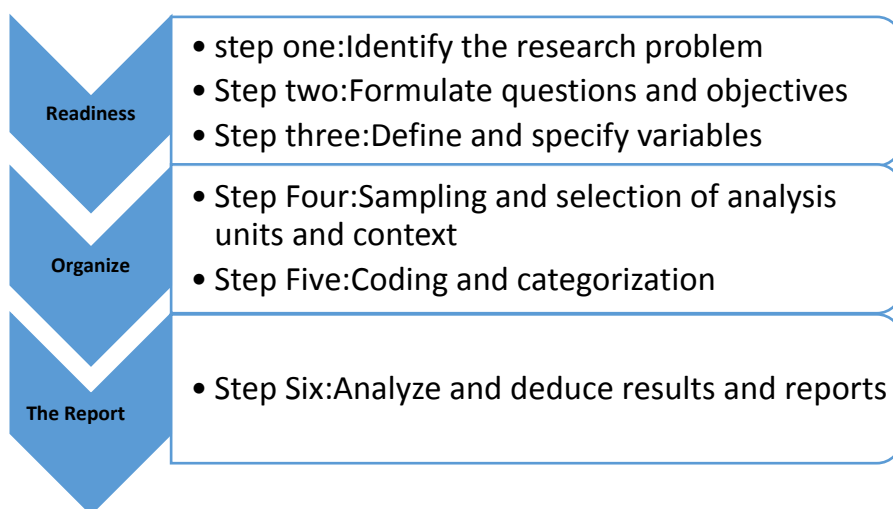
Content analysis is more than a simple word counting game; and it is a process that pays attention to the meanings, intentions, consequences, and content of phrases and words. For this reason, to describe and describe the reality of words or sentences, the actual context and space in which the data is formed must also be considered (Zeighami et al., 2008: 3).

According to the applications and goals of the content analysis method, we can point to two general types of content analysis method:

Quantitative content analysis and qualitative content analysis. This division seems to be based on the dominance of the positivist method and methodological interpretive theories. In quantitative methods, data is usually analyzed briefly. In this method, a collection of documents or

texts can be extracted, counted, and classified. In qualitative methods, small amounts of composite and detailed data are analyzed (Fazeli, 2018: 99).

The method in this paper is quantitative and qualitative content analysis. The research period covers the years 2013 to 2021. The steps to be taken in qualitative content analysis to answer research questions and hypotheses are as follows:



Source: (Mo'meni Rad and Colleagues, 2013, p. 13)

The present study covers the years 2013 to 2021 in terms of the period. Unit of analysis used; the sentence and the method of selection were sampling and purposeful. For this purpose, coded sentences and words. Coding is a method developed by Glaser and Strauss to analyze data. Accurate reading and coding of data lines and breaking them down into possible minor components are possible (Strauss and Corbin, 2011). (Formal validity test) To assess the reliability, used two methods of pre-test and repetition.

## 5. Research Results

Every year, on the first day of Nowruz, the Supreme Leader chooses a name for a year, which is given in her first speech near the shrine of Imam Reza (a.s.).

**Table 1: Nomination of Years by the Supreme Leader**

YEAR	TITLE
1999	Imam Khomeini
2000	Imam Ali
2001	National Authority and Job Creation
2002	Honor and Pride of Hosseini
2003	Service
2004	Responsiveness
2005	National Solidarity and Public Participation

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2006	The Holy Prophet (PBUH)
2007	National Unity, Islamic Cohesion
2008	Innovation and prosperity
2009	Officials move towards Reforming the Consumption Pattern
2010	Double effort and double work
2011	Economic Jihad
2012	National Production, Support for Iranian labor and Capital
2013	Political Epic and Economic Epic
2014	Economy and Culture, with National Determination and Jihadi Management
2015	Government and Nation, Empathy and Common language
2016	Resistance Economics, Action and practice
2017	Resistance Economics, Production and Employment
2018	Support for Iranian Goods
2019	Production Boom
2020	Production Mutation
2021	Year of Production, Supports, Obstacles

### 6. Abundance of Words in 8 Years of Nowruz Speeches

As stated in the research method section, the first step in examining the leadership lectures from 2013 to 2021 with the qualitative content analysis method is to explore the repetition of words, which is shown in the table below.

**Table 2: Vocabulary Repetition**

The year 2013		The year 2014		The Year2015		The year 2016	
Nation	113	Nation	94	Nation	67	Nation	71
Enemy	63	Economy	61	Economy	50	Enemy	39
Economy	26	Culture	40	Protection	27	Nation	36
Election	26	Production	24	America	24	Government	34
America	22	Capacity	18	Boycott	23	Capacity	32
Science	19	Young	17	Negotiations	23	Boycott	29
Weakness	18	Election	14	Nowruz	20	Revolution	26
Program	12	Enemy	14	Islamic system	14	Middle East	26
The Nuclear issue	12	Getting stronger	13	Nuclear issues	13	Economic Strength	25
Negotiation	11	Boycott	11	Young	13	Politics	24
Oil Ability	9	The freedom	11	Criticism	11	Youth	21
Region the opportunity	9	America	10	Region	9	Domestic production	21
		Development	9	Capacity Fund	8	The regime of	21
		22 Bahman	7		8	Tyranny (Jcpoa)	9

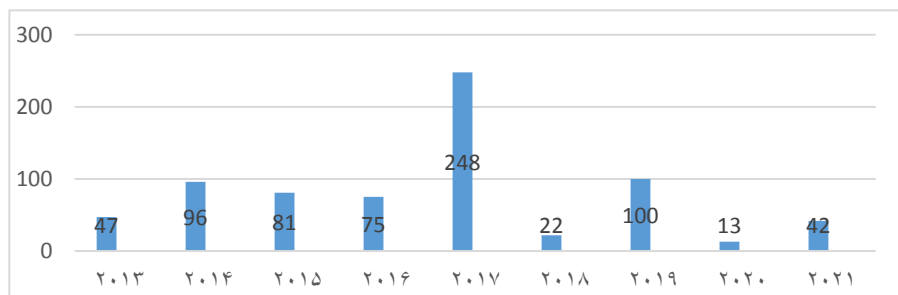
The year 2017		The year 2018		The year 2019		The year 2020		The year 2021	
Production	73	Youth	42	Westerns	42	Islam	37	Production	3
Economy	51	Revolution	31	Economy	32	the Prophet	26	(production	3
Nation	39	Economy	22	Production	27	Enemy	24	leap)	
Election	35	Production	21	Youth	25	Strong	23	Nation	1
Enemy	22	Capacity	19	Enemy	24	Patience	19	Election	4
Difficulties	20	Authorities	19	War	21	Resurrection	16	Enemy	7
Youth	18	Iranian Product	19	America	20	Coronavirus	13	Protection	7
Oil	15	Difficulties	19	Europe	15	Nation	13	Maximum	6
Authorities	15	Protection	18	Boycott	13	Production	13	pressure	6
Export	14	America	17	Capacity	13	Quran	13	Break	5
Domestic	14	Oil	16	Difficulties	13	Values	12	coronavirus	4
production	14	Freedom	16	Nation	12	Youth	11	Investment	3
National	13	Government	15	Waiting	12	America	9		
Development	13	Region	14	Authorities	12	Medicine	7		
Fund	11	Justice	15	Region	8	the faith	7		
Unemployment	9	Independence	9	The	7	the West	7		
Smuggling	8			opportunity	7				
Management				Oil					
Security									
Investment									

According to the word count, if we want to choose the most frequent words, we should mention that the most repetitions are related to the terms in economics. In this section, we are faced with 794 words, in the following priorities of which foreign policy with 605 words and then 424 words in domestic policy have the most frequency. (See: Table 3).

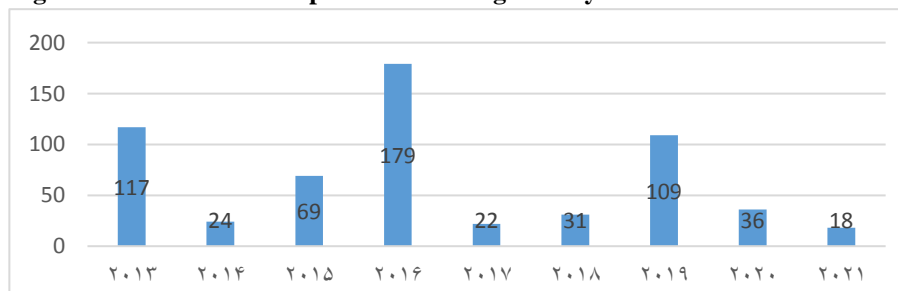
**Table 3: Vocabulary Repetition**

Abilities to overcome problems	Domestic policy	Foreign policy	Economy
289	424	605	794

**Figure 1: The Trend of Repetition of Economic Themes from 2013-2021**

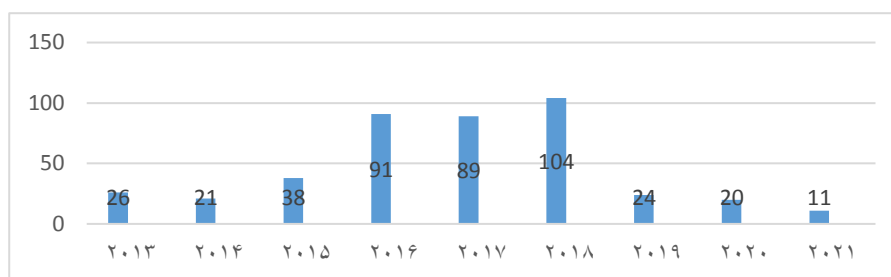


**Figure 2: The Trend of Repetition of Foreign Policy Themes from 2013-2021**

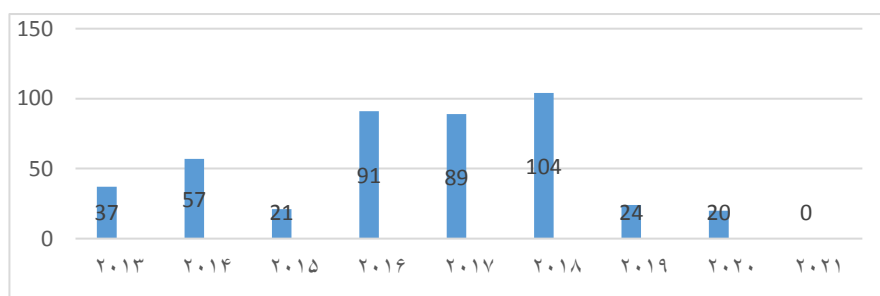


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**Figure 3: Repetition of Domestic Policy Themes from 2013-2021**



**Figure 4: The Process of Repetition of Themes of Overcoming Problems from 2013-2021**



### 7. The Main Points in the Lectures of 2013-2021 Leadership

To answer this question must examine categories and sub-categories.

**Table 4 - Categories and Sub-categories Related to Economics**

Categories	Sub-categories
Economic lessons of Sanctions in 2012	1) Recognize our weaknesses: Our weakness in the economy is dependence on oil, disregard for macroeconomic policies, policies, consistent daily decisions; 2) with solid vigor, the adverse effects of enemies are minimized; 3) economics is a critical issue Is.
Resistance Economics is a way to get Stronger	1) Make the country's economy in such a way that no one on the other side of the world can influence our economy with a decision, this is the resistance economy, 2) Resistance economy: means the resistant economy; It is not overturned by global provocations, by global shocks, by American and non-American policies; It is an economy that relies on the people, 3) a scientific model tailored to the needs of our country, 4) This economy is endogenous; It boils from the capacities of our own country and our people; 5) the economy is not introverted; Interacts with global economies; 6) is people-based; By the will of the people, the capital of the people, the presence of the people is realized, 7) the economy is knowledge-based, 8) it is justice-oriented; That is, it is not limited to the indicators of the capitalist economy. 9) Resistance economy is the best solution to the country's economic problems.
Requirements for the Realization of a Resistance Economy	1) Officials should support national production, 2) Officials should provide legal protection, should encourage, 3) Owners of capital and labor who are producers, they should also care about national production, 4) Increase productivity, 5) Owners Capital in the country, prefer productive activity to other activities, 6) people at all levels, promote national production, 7) emphasize the consumption of domestic products, 8) buy domestic goods is a necessity to strengthen te economy.



Economy and the Enemy (economic war)	1) The enemy's priority is an economic issue, 2) The enemy seeks economic solutions to hit the Iranian nation economically, 3) The enemy's goal of economic pressure is to discourage the nation from the Islamic Republic, 4) The enemy's goal is Economic pressure is to put a distance between the Iranian nation and the Islamic system, 5) the enemy's plan is economical, 6) the enemy is waging an economic war with us, 7) The enemies will focus on our economy, 8) Their goal of economic pressure is political, 9) The enemy's goal is to pit the Iranian people against the Islamic system, 10) The United States is the leading cause of these pressures, 11) The enemies want to force it to disrupt security.
The Country's Economic Challenges and two Macro Perspectives	1) One of the biggest challenges of the country is the issue of the national economy, 2) economy, economic prosperity, public welfare and improving the quality of life is what the people want, 3) the country's economy needs a severe move, 4) all forces must come together and Take the issue of economics seriously. 6) Two macro views of the country's economy: 1-6) Endogenous economy; An economy that derives its substance and substance from within the country and from the facilities of the country and the capabilities of our people, 2-6) looking at the progress of the economy with the help of aid outside the borders; He says to change our foreign policy so that our economy will be correct, to come to terms with some arrogant one for the economy to prosper. The second view is an entirely wrong, barren, and useless view. They are not satisfied to a small extent. 7) In its nuclear negotiations, we have to look inside the country, there are many internal capacities, and a resilient economy is a way forward. 9) Support medium and small manufacturing enterprises; 10) Strengthen the activities of knowledge-based enterprises; 11) Rely on science and technology; Reducing the import of consumer goods, 15) Fighting smuggling, 16) People can also play a role: invest, consume domestic products, avoid extravagance, 17) Sanctions are the only tool of the enemy, 18) Sanctions have shown us that We must rely on ourselves.
Economic vacuums in Iran	1) Unemployment of young people and especially unemployment of educated youth, 2) livelihood of the poor, 3) stagnation of production, 4) shortage of production.
Sanctions and Economic Opportunities	1) Countries with natural interests in the face of sanctions thought of economic reforms, 2) the motivation to escape economic dependence, 3) save the economy from monopoly, 4) focus on non-oil revenues to run the country, 5) focus on counter-sanctions plans 6) Focus on finding alternatives to the oil economy, 7) Find ways to defuse sanctions.
Counter measures (Resistance Economy)	1) Turning a hostile dilemma (surrender or tolerance) into a duality of tolerance or endurance, 2) implementing a resistance economy (action and action), identifying the country's suitable economic activities and chains, 3) reviving domestic production 4) paying attention to foreign trade that produces power. Do not weaken our domestic economy; 5) manage the financial resources that enter the country from foreign banks and centers, 6) establish knowledge of important sectors of the domestic economy 7) exploit the sectors in which we have invested; 8) In all foreign transactions, condition the transfer of technology 9) Seriously fight corruption, 10) Energy efficiency, 11) Pay attention to medium and small industries.
Domestic Production and its Benefits	1) Creating jobs and eliminating unemployment, 2) flourishing talents and youth initiatives, 3) not consuming important currency, 4) export leap (diminishing competition to show off foreign brands), 5) eliminating or reducing the problems and anomalies of society, 6) Creating national vitality.
Necessary facilities and tools for domestic production	1) Manpower: a) 33 million people of working age in the country, b) Ten million university graduates in the country, c) Nearly five million students in the country, d) Among the first ranks of the number of engineers in the world. 2) Skills: a) Our young people have the ability, b) We open the field for young people, c) Young people can solve many big knots and our problem, d) Universities are thirsty to cooperate with our industrial devices. 3) Capital: a) Personal capital, b) Benefit from the National Development Fund.
Needs of Domestic Production	1) Efficient, committed, and religious management, 2) Involvement of people in production 3) Export, 4) Investment security (Economic security and investment security are essential), 5) People's sense of responsibility in the issue of domestic production.

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Vulnerable Points of Domestic Production and Needs	1) Import: a) The import of goods that are sufficiently produced domestically should be recognized as legal and forbidden, b) What is produced domestically should not be imported from abroad. 2) Smuggling: a) Fight smuggling gangs, b) Stop smuggling.
Benefits of Production Boom	1) Solve the problem of unemployment, 2) Solve the problem of inflation, 3) Solve the problem of poverty in the weak classes, 4) Solve the problem of the banking system, 5) Solve the problem of national currency value 6) Solve the problem of government budget deficit.
Requirements Causing Production Mutations	1) Cooperation and integrity of the relevant agencies, 2) Prevention of smuggling, 3) Prevention of improper import, 4) Provide incentives to the producer, 5) Serious judicial treatment of abusers.
Conditions for Achieving Economic Prosperity	1) Mujahideen and wise work, 2) Jihadi work and jihadi management, 3) Using the country's capacities, 4) Helping production, 5) Continuing the process of supporting Iranian goods, 6) Production boom with the support of the government and parliament of investors and economic activists 7) Do not neglect abuses (creating cover banks and fraud), 8) Prevent illegal imports.
Evaluation of production Mutation in ۲۰۲۰	1) The realization of this slogan was not as expected, 2) In the places where this slogan was realized, it was often in infrastructure and construction works and the like, 3) its result was not seen in the general economy of the country and people's livelihood, 4) we expected that the leap of production could open up the situation of the people, 5) the slogan of the leap of production is a slogan in the total sense of the word revolutionary, 6) it is an important slogan.
The Benefits of Realizing the Slogan of Production leap	1) It has profound economic effects on the country, 2) it affects the value of money and other major economic issues, 3) it raises national self-confidence, 4) it raises public satisfaction 5) It guarantees national security.
Factors causing the Complete non-Realization of the production leap Slogan	1) Existence of barriers: weakness in legal observance, 2) smuggling, 3) improper import, 4) lack of support for production: lack of incentives.
Fundamentals of Production; Supports, Obstacles	1) Legal, governmental and governmental support should be provided from all sides to the leap of production; 2) The government should remove the obstacles and provide the necessary support; 3) We should focus production; 4) We should give the required support; 5) Remove barriers to production.

**Table 5 - Categories and Subcategories Related to Foreign Policy**

Categories	Sub-categories
Division of the Enemies of the Iranian Nation	1) The main nest of conspiracy against the Iranian nation: Today, whenever the name "Enemy" is mentioned, the mind of the Iranian nation turns to the U.S. government, 2) enemies who are not the first: 2-2) The British government plays a complementary role to the United States, 3-2) French government officials have also been openly hostile to the Iranian people in recent years; The United States speaks of the international community's enmity with Iran, but the international community has no intention of enmity with Iran and Iran and Islamic Iran.

<p>The Method of American Enmity with Iran</p>	<p>1) Cast iron claw under velvet gloves: The Americans are hostile, they say you do not understand that we are your enemy, 2) The Americans sent a special agent to stop the sale of oil and the transfer of Iranian money, 3) The sanctions finally took effect; Our economy is in a state that is dependent on oil, 4) in the field of politics, they also sought to isolate Iran, 5) in the field of domestic politics, the purpose of these sanctions was to make the nation hesitate in its own way, 6) They wanted to isolate Iran in the region, but they could not.</p>
<p>The Nuclear Issue and Dialogue with the United States</p>	<p>1) The Americans keep sending the message that we are sincere in proposing a logical negotiation, in response to which we have told you many times that we do not seek nuclear weapons, you say we do not believe; 'Why should we believe you?', 2) The offer of negotiations by the Americans is an American tactic to deceive public opinion, 3) Our perception is that the United States does not want the nuclear talks to end, 4) The Iranian people are right. 5) The international community has no worries about Iran's nuclear program; 6) If the Americans sincerely want the job done, the solution is for the Americans to renounce enmity with the Islamic Republic.</p>
<p>Challenges of the Nuclear Problem (2015)</p>	<p>1) First of all, in the field of nuclear issues, the enemies are moving with tact and policy-making: the United States needs nuclear talks very much, the U.S. President says there are those in Iran who do not want the nuclear issue to be resolved through diplomatic talks; This is a lie.2) Secondly, negotiating with the United States is only a nuclear issue: we are not negotiating with the United States on regional issues, the U.S. goals on regional issues are the exact opposite of our goals.3) Third, the Americans repeat that "we will sign a contract with Iran, then we will see if they will lift the sanctions if they fulfill the contract," this is a wrong and unacceptable statement.4) Fourth, the Americans reiterate that Iran must have irreversibility in the decisions it makes and the things it accepts; We do not accept this, they are threatening more sanctions, military mobilization, these are threats that do not frighten the Iranian nation.5) We did not break the covenant, we did not say two things, we did not make a fuss, the Americans broke the treaty.</p>
<p>The American Reality in the world Community</p>	<p>1) The realities of the international community do not go according to the wishes and intentions of the United States;2) Did not find, recently in Europe, you see (in 2014) that the plans of the United States have faded.</p>
<p>America's hostile Behavior During the Time of the Dictatorship</p>	<p>1) they plundered, they plundered wealth, 2) they did all that a colonial state and an arrogant state due to a weak country, 3) they held Iran under their authority, 4) they did whatever they wanted; For example, Reza Khan was brought to power and then, when they were offended by him in a way, they took him and brought Mohammad Reza. 5) Creating strongholds for the continuation of domination: In itself, d) was the separation of religion from politics.</p>
<p>The Historical Confrontation Between the Westerners and Iran</p>	<p>1) British betrayal in the Iran-Russia wars, 2) dagger from behind in the Iran-Russia wars, 3) British pressure and consequent assassination of Amir Kabir by the stupid Qajar king, 4) British behavior in the process of Reza Khan's dictatorial rule, 5) American behavior the overthrow of Mossadegh's government, 6) The behavior of Westerners in the case of the imposed war and sanctions after the revolution.</p>
<p>The Cause of American Resentment of the Revolution</p>	<p>1) The revolution has pulled the country out of their clutches, 2) Iran encouraged other countries with the spirit of resistance, 3) In the region and other parts of the world, they say "Death to America," they burn the American flag, which is caused by the impact It is Iran, 4) the United States is helpless in the case of Syria, Yemen, Iraq, Palestine, and they see it all through the eyes of Iran, 5) the revolution destroyed the stronghold of the dictatorial regime and established popular rule, 6) The revolution destroyed the stronghold of fear, 7) The revolution destroyed the stronghold of unbelief in itself and turned it into self-belief, today the young Iranian says we can, 8) Destroy the stronghold of the separation of religion from politics.</p>

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America and the Tools of Enmity	1) injecting the idea of incapacity among the elites, 2) transmitting the politics and thought of their choice to the public opinion, 3) instilling a dilemma for the Iranian nation: Accepting U.S. Impositions by Accepting the Agreement; 5) Agreement; Retreat is in America's favor, 6) America has propaganda tools, active diplomacy, governments under its command to exert pressure, 7) emphasis on creating a two-way discourse of surrender or tolerance, 8) Believing in bipartisan thinking and promotion by internal agents, 9) threatening sanctions, 10) active American tools: propaganda, (Iran phobia), influence, sanctions, 11) obstructing sanctions, by threatening, by engaging managers in second- and lower-level jobs. , To divert the senses of the great nation of Iran and the country's elites to things that are not on their list of main works; that is, practical impediment, 12) denying Iran's progress in their propaganda.
America's Enmities in the Nuclear Deal	1) The Americans did not do what they promised, 2) they prevented the Islamic Republic from achieving its goals, 3) our banking transactions are still in trouble, 4) the return of our wealth in their banks is in trouble, 5) various commercial transactions It is difficult, 6) the Americans lifted the sanctions on paper but not in practice, 7) the United States does not fulfill its commitments by deception and fraud, 8) they made a mistake in the Barjam case.
The Confrontation between the Europeans and Iran in Jcpoa	1) Not standing up to the United States, 2) emphasizing Iran; "Do not Leave Jcpoa," 3) the Europeans have practically left Jcpoa, 4) the Europeans have imposed new sanctions against Iran, 5) the bitter joke of the financial channel.
Must face the Westerners	1) We should not look to the West, 2) We should not wait for the West, 3) We cannot expect help from the West, 4) We can expect conspiracy and betrayal from the West, 5) We can expect a dagger from the West, 6) We cannot hope for the West 7) Communication is not a barrier, trust is a problem
Consequences of Retreat in Agreement with the United States	1) The nature of the agreement with the United States is a retreat (crossing the red line on Jcpoa), 2) The purpose of the nuclear deal was for Iran to be able to use its capabilities, which did not materialize, 3) An agreement is not enough, 4) Resolving the dispute with America means crossing the red line and values, 5) Jcpoa 2, 3, 4 and so on must be created so that we can live comfortably, 6) regardless of fundamental issues such as Palestine, support for the resistance, support for the oppressed nations, 7) Becoming what the United States wants: to extend a hand of friendship to the Zionist regime; Freedom, 10) Why about the duties of the Guardian Council, 11) They want to change the character of the Islamic Republic, 12) Deprive the Islamic Republic of content.
Iran and the United States in the Region	1) Iran's significant contribution to breaking the back of the Takfiris in the region and the false claim of the United States in defeating ISIS, 2) The Islamic Republic was able to provide security in an essential part of the region, 3) The United States protests why the Iranians in Iraq, 'why in Syrian issues and the like are involved, why are they interfering?', 4) The Islamic Republic was able to thwart the U.S. plan in the region, 5) The American lie "We Were Involved in the Suppression of ISIS," 6) Iran's presence is at the request of governments, 7) Iran's presence is not interference in the affairs of countries, 8) Iran's presence in the region is a response to the request for help, 9) Iran's assistance with rational motives and it is done logically.
The Character of American officials as the most vicious enemy	1) a liar, 2) a backslider, 3) obscene, 4) greedy, 5) a charlatan, 6) a possessor of all kinds of ugly moral traits, 7) a tyrant, 8) a very ruthless, 9) a terrorist.
The claim of U.S. medical Assistance to Iran in Corona	1) The United States has a shortage of medicine (pretending to help), 2) The United States itself is accused of producing the virus, 3) Despite the accusation, which wise man trusts the United States?

The solution to Deal with Hostilities	1)Patience, 2) Endurance, 3) Resistance, 4) Correct calculations, 5) Pursuing the drawn goals, 6) Moving and continuing with spirit, 7) Do not doubt, 8) Stop the enemy with courage and wisdom. 9) Defeat the enemy.
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**Table 6- Categories and Sub-Categories Related to Criticisms of Domestic Policy**

Categories	Sub-categories
Criticism of the Domestic Sphere	1) Inside, some accept and spread two-sided thinking (surrender or sanctions), 2) hope to negotiate with the United States (pure damage), 3) create an irrational fear of the United States and superpowers, 4) when we say the United States, He is the enemy, some people wonder ‘why you say he is the enemy?’ Things have stalled, 8) disregard for the country's mineral capacity, 9) failure to operate a resilient economy in the export debate (restricting trade to five or six countries), 10) part of the economic problems caused by our internal shortcomings, to managerial weaknesses. Is ours, 11) Inside, unfortunately, some people glorify the West, justify the evils of the West, and do not allow public opinion to notice how much evil there is in the West. Westernization from head to toe; Even today, new descendants of these professions; Of course, they do not say this explicitly, but this is what they mean. Those who constantly inject Western thoughts, Western lifestyles, Western methods, Western words inside, into our literature, into our thoughts, into our universities, into our schools, these are the pious They are new, 12) those who stand behind the 2030 document, the 2030 document, that is, the return of the Islamic way of life to the Western way of life, are the same pupils of today. Unfortunately, our intellectuals showed impatience with themselves.

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**Table 7- Categories and Sub-Categories Related to the Country's Capacities**

Categories	Sub-categories
Capacities of the Country	1) Flowers of the region, 2) A unique country, 3) Abundant resources of oil and gas, 4) It has privileges from all over the world, 5) It is a large country, 6) With a talented population and talented people, 7) With a rich history, 8) Power Influential at the regional level and in some cases worldwide, 9) manpower (five million students, ten million university graduates), 33 million young people of working age, 10) a young country, 11) natural forces, underground forces, surface and facilities Miscellaneous, 12) In terms of oil and gas resources, in the first world, 13) No country in the world has gas as much as us, 14) Rich country, 15) Geographical location: We are neighbors with fifteen countries, transit transport is one of the great opportunities Is our neighbors' 75 million market.
Iran's Potential Capacities	1) The capacity of educated youth (ten million young university graduates and more than four million students), 2) the population wave (generation must be multiplied, because the future of this country needs these young people), 3) the size of the country and Neighborhood with free international waters (neighborhood with fifteen countries, located at the junction of east and west and north and south), 4) Valuable natural resources (ranked first in the world oil and gas reserves, abundant and valuable metals, pastures, forests, etc.).
Youth and the Second Step	1) The youth must shoulder their shoulders under the burden of difficult responsibilities, large and small, 2) The need to move the country in the second step on the shoulders of the youth, 3) The engine of progress was lit by the youth, 4) The youth must pay the price to stand against the enemy for future generations Use their achievements, 5) young people should redouble their efforts, 6) young people should not deal with side issues and margins, 7) young people should follow unity, focused movement, faithful and militant movements, 8) young people should border with the enemy. Highlight; But do not create slight differences of taste with the internal forces.
Progress in the Shadow of Sanctions	1) Doing a lot of infrastructure work; In the field of roads, in the field of energy, in the field of discovering new sources of oil, in the field of discovering new sources of uranium, in the field of creating and developing power plants and refineries and tens of great industrial works, 2) great scientific advances during 2012, 3) our scientists Venus satellite sent into space, 4) In the field of biotechnology, we became the first in the region, 5) Production of various pharmaceutical items, 6) First in the field of nanotechnology, First in the region, 7) Progress in science and scientific production records, in publishing scientific articles, in the country's share in scientific production 8) In 2012, the number of students was twenty-five times the number of the revolution, 9) In the field of water, in the field of environment, in stem cells, in new energies, in medicinal plants, in nuclear energy, the country was able to achieve great progress.
Barriers to capacity Utilization	1) disbelief or indifference of some officials to the capacities, 2) mental challenge or ignorance of public opinion and some officials of the wealth of the country, 3) underemployment; Laziness and inefficiency of some officials, 4) trust in the foreign version (some officials have more confidence in the foreign version than in the domestic version, such as the expansion of Western population policy that "fewer children, better life"), 5) Practice the policies of the World Bank, the policy of adjustment and indifference to the resistance economy, such as borrowing from the World Bank or the International Monetary Fund, 6) political tribalism, 7) lack of serious fight against corruption, 8) dependence on oil, 9) Major flaws in lifestyle



	(consumerism, extravagance and overspending, extreme aristocratic welfare), 10) consumption of foreign sex and lack of prejudice against the national economy.
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According to the categories and sub-categories, it should be said that most of the axes in the field of economy include the characteristics of resistance economy: domestic production, protection of Iranian goods, production boom, and economic prosperity.

## **8. Time Context Analysis of Leadership Lectures; before the Jcpoa**

The Supreme Leader always divides his speeches into three parts: The first part refers to issues of religious appropriateness, such as the discussion of the Beast in 2020.

The second part is dedicated to the country's current problems and important events in that year, such as the elections, and the third part forms the primary axis of the speech and its center of gravity. The present study has studied the second and third parts of leadership lectures. The present article also divides the years of the Supreme Leader's speeches into two periods before and after Jcpoa. The addresses of the Supreme Leader of the Revolution before Jcpoa include the years 2012- 2015.

### **8.1. Political Conditions of 2012 and Affecting the Nowruz Speech of the Supreme Leader in 2013 (Year of Political Epic and Economic Epic)**

One of the most critical events in 2012 was holding the 16th Summit of the Non-Aligned Movement in Iran, which also had significant international repercussions. The presence of officials from 120 member states came when the Islamic Republic of Iran was the target of negative propaganda attacks by Westerners and the Zionist regime. In his first speech near the shrine of Imam Reza (A.S.) in 2013, the Supreme Leader pointed out: Not everyone should participate or not participate actively. The exact opposite of what they wanted to happen.

Also, in July 2013, the Americans and their European allies imposed a new round of sanctions on the Islamic Republic to contain Iran's nuclear program, despite numerous meetings, to force Tehran to retreat from its certain positions by putting pressure on the Islamic Republic. Sanctions have affected Iran's weakness.

That is the oil economy; the continuing increase in the international force in the form of the escalation of sanctions in 2012 and the unprecedented decline in oil revenues may be one of the main reasons for the economic crisis in Iran this year. Thus the value of foreign exchange in Iran increased significantly, causing inflation.

Infiltration of Iranian-made drones into the heart of the occupied territories, hunting of one of the U.S. spy planes (Archive 70) in the Persian Gulf waters and holding a powerful naval exercise in 2012 provinces, as well as strengthening scientific and technological advances, especially Iran's access to state-of-the-art drone technology.

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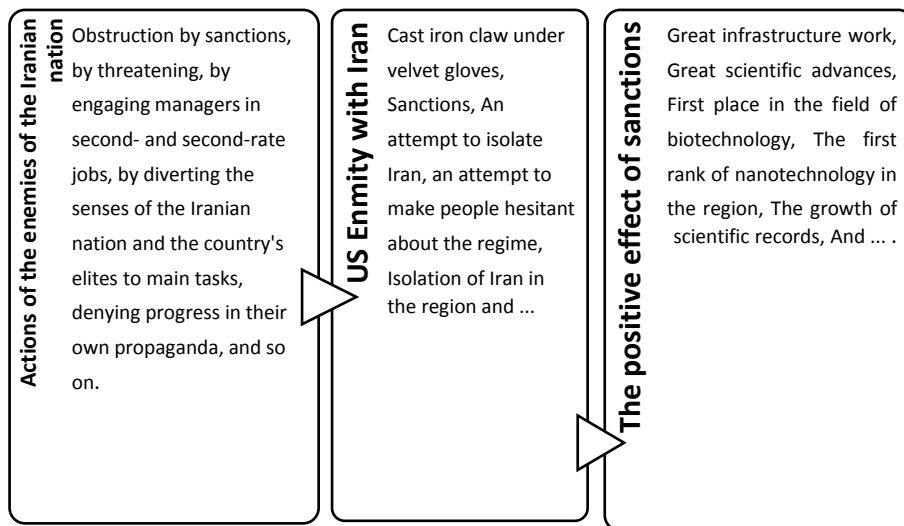
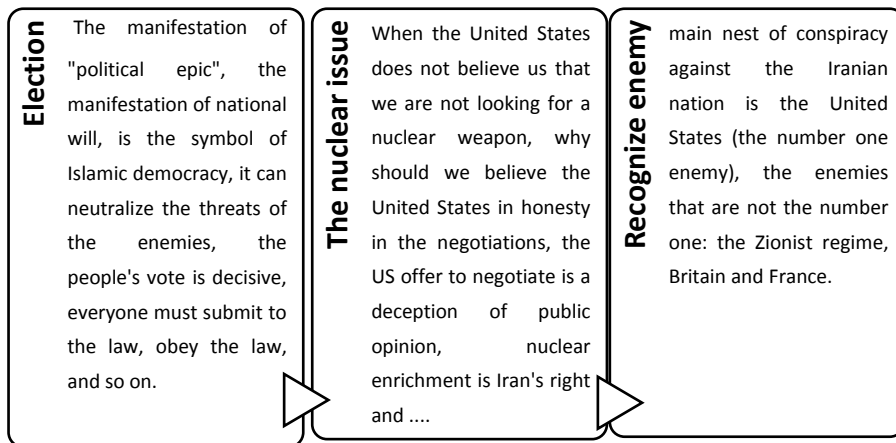
Which showed Iran's superiority to the West once again. On the other hand, advances in science and nanotechnology also peaked this year.

U.S. Presidential Election (2012) November 7, 2012, ended with Barack Obama's victory. For the first time in 30 years, he proposed a policy of engagement with Iran and declared his readiness to negotiate with Iran without preconditions. In other words, Obama called the Jcpoa agreement the priority of his foreign policy (Abolhassan Shirazi, Ebrahimi, 2015: 14).

Another important political event in the world in 2012 was the Syrian crisis. The Syrian crisis was one of the most important international issues in 2012. On the other hand, the presence of the Iranian-Syrian advisor was indigestible for the United States and its supporters. U.S. opposition to Iran's participation in international summits on Syria reflects U.S. dual policy. The United States is trying to further isolate Iran by diminishing Iran's role in the region, but Iran has been active since the beginning of the Syrian crisis (Nejat, Jafari Valdani, 2013: 11-12).

In the speech of the first day of the same year, the 2013 presidential election was considered by the Supreme Leader of the Revolution, and the recommendations, especially regarding the economy and planning for a transparent and macro economy (resistance economy) and strengthening Islamic Iran, were mentioned to the next President. The Supreme Leader also emphasized the energetic presence of the people in the elections.





**Conceptual Model of 2013**

**8.2. Political Conditions of 2013 and Affecting the Nowruz Speech of the Supreme Leader in 2014 (Year of Economy and Culture, with National Determination and Jihadi Management)**

The glorious presidential election of Iran in 2013 and the participation of more than 70% of the people in it, in which Hassan Rouhani won with more than 18 million votes.

On the morning of November 22, 2013, after several rounds of tough negotiations in Geneva, Switzerland, Iran, and the P5 + 1 reached a short-term internal agreement on six months on Iran's nuclear program. Many ended a decade-long dispute between Iran and the West over Iran's nuclear program. The deal reaffirms the West's right to "Enrich" Iran on certain obligations. The West has pledged to lift some sanctions, including sanctions on petrochemicals, precious metals, and liberalization of aircraft sales to Iran.

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Economically, in 2013, the economic growth rate was negative, 1.9 percent. We should say the foreign media and the Iran enemies have always been more active in giving the mentality of the Iranian people to create a rift between the nation and the system.

Elections: From the beginning of the revolution until today, the quorum of the people to participate in the elections has not decreased, the turnout in the elections was 72%, which means the participation of the establishment of religious democracy in the country. Bahman 22 March: Passionate and held with clever slogans, the reason was the policies of asceticism and insult and ...

Three elements to become strong: economics, culture, science and knowledge. Resistance economy: An economy that is resilient; It is not overturned by global provocations, by global shocks, by American and non-American policies; It is an economy that relies on the people, this economy is endogenous, yet it is not introverted, the people are fundamental, it is justice-oriented, and so on.

Requirements for the realization of a resistance economy: Officials must support national production, owners of capital and labor, pay attention to production, increase productivity, emphasize the consumption of domestic products and .... Capacities of the country: manpower, ten million educated students, more than four million students, rich natural resources, geographical location, etc.

Challenges of culture: Culture is more important than economics, the enemies are more focused on culture, cultural breaches are very dangerous, not all cultural damage is the work of foreigners; We are to blame. Cultural Sensitivity and Freedom: Freedom is nothing but vulgarity, freedom is nothing but the release of all norms, the creation of doubts about ideas.

The reality of the United States in the international community: The realities of the world community do not go according to the wishes and intentions of the United States. In Afghanistan and Pakistan, its goals were not achieved. Recently, in Europe, you have seen and heard that US plans have been thwarted.

### Conceptual Model of 2014

#### 8.3. Political Conditions of 2014 and Affecting the Speech of the Leadership in 2015 (Government and Nation, Empathy and Common Language)

Total economic growth in 2014 reached a positive three percent. The year 2014 had another distinctive feature: although inflation called 15%, items such as gasoline and bread officially became more expensive. While the inflation rate of Bahman 2014 was announced by Rouhani zero, which brought some criticism.

Iran-P 5+1 nuclear talks began in 2014, while two rounds of discussions within the framework of reaching a comprehensive

agreement began in February and March 2013 in Vienna. In 2014, especially in late autumn, the negotiations led not only in the 11th government. Also in the previous government, led by the head of the Iranian negotiating team and the P 5+1 group coordinator, went out of their former framework. The request of our Foreign Minister was at the beginning of the talks, changed to the level of foreign ministers, and the bilateral talks between Iran and the United States as two countries that everyone believes are the main nuclear dispute between the two.

On September 22, 2014, the President left for New York to attend the U.N. General Assembly and spoke about "Countering Terrorism and Violence."

•Nowruz culture: Ancient Nowruz was the Nowruz of kings, but the Muslim Iranians changed this order in their favor, the truth of Nowruz is a popular truth, this Nowruz is a Muslim nation and ....

•The basic foundations of the system according to the Qur'an: prayer, zakat, enjoining the good and forbidding the evil. The greatest celebrities in the first place are the establishment of the Islamic system and the preservation of the Islamic system; This is famous. We do not have a higher reputation than creating an Islamic system and maintaining an Islamic system.

•Explaining the principles of empathy and dialogue between the government and the nation: Governments in the Islamic system should be supported by the people, it is the duty of all nations to support the country's officials, every government has critics but these criticisms should be logical, of course this is mutual empathy, support Because the main concern of all governments is to solve the problems of the people and ....

•The challenge of economics and two macro perspectives: One of the most critical and biggest challenges of the country is the issue of national economy, two macro perspectives on the country's economy: 1) endogenous economy; An economy that derives its substance and substance from within the country and from the possibilities of the country and from the capabilities of our own people is 2) looking at the progress of the economy with the help of aid outside the borders; He says that we should change our foreign policy so that our economy will be right, we will deal with some arrogant one so that the economy will prosper. The second view is a completely wrong, barren and useless view.

•Nuclear issue: In the field of nuclear issues, the enemies are moving with prudence and policy-making, the United States needs nuclear talks very much, negotiations with the United States are only on the nuclear issue, we do not negotiate on regional issues with the United States, the United States is irreversible. , We do not accept it and ....

### Conceptual Model of 2015

#### 9. Time Context Analysis of Leadership Lectures; after the Jcpoa

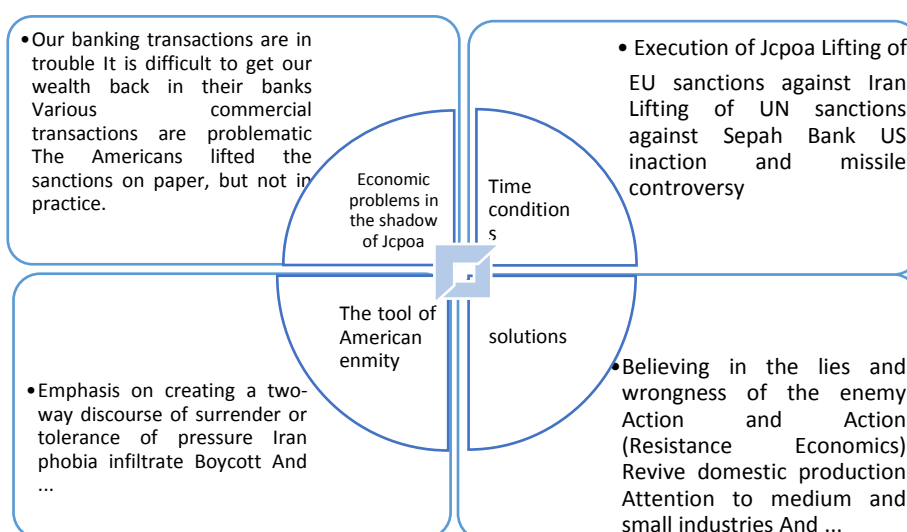
The Jcpoa was approved by the Security Council on July 20, 2015, and was signed on December 24, 2015. In this part of the article, the content analysis of the speeches of the Supreme Leader between 2016 and 2021, i.e., the years after Jcpoa, is analyzed and examined to determine which

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areas are the most frequently repeated topics what topics the Supreme Leader has emphasized.

**9.1. Leadership in 95 (Year of Resistance Economy, Action and Practice)**

In expressing the time conditions of 2016, it should be said that the most critical development of Jcpoa was on July 14, 2015, in Vienna, and its implementation was on December 17, 2015. The Security Council requested that in addition to the International Atomic Energy Agency's ongoing inspections in Iran, it monitors Iran's compliance with "The Steps Required by the IAEA Board."



The P5 + 1 nuclear talks can be seen as a neoliberal approach to economics and a way to control and transition from sanctions. Such an approach provides the grounds for achieving cooperation to reduce threats (Mosalinejad, 2017). However, the path of cooperation between the signatory countries of the U.N. Security Council was not an easy one from the very beginning. An indebtedness based on lack of goodness by the Western parties, especially the United States, was repeatedly protested by the Iranian authorities in the months after the implementation of Jcpoa (Salehi et al., 2019: 2). Among these measures, we can mention the 10-year extension of the Anti-Iran Sanctions Act (ISA) by the U.S. House of Representatives and the U.S. House of Representatives resolution on December 8, 2015, which was not in good faith in the implementation of Jcpoa and was complained to by Iran (Delkhosh, 2017: 3). Although the European Union lifted sanctions against Iran on January 17 and the United Nations lifted sanctions against Sepah Bank and its international branches on January 28, U.S. inactivity continued. Instead of taking positive action, U.S. officials have focused their time and energy on media warfare and on side issues such as Iran's missile tests, which were not mentioned in the U.N. Security Council.

### Conceptual Model of 2016

#### 9.2. Political Conditions of 2016 and Affecting the Choice of the Slogan of 2017 (Resistance Economy, Production and Employment)

The year 2016 began while the display of Iran's defense capability in military exercises and missile tests was repeatedly exposed to the United States and others. Perhaps this was why the United States should focus on the Iranian missile issue and call for a military end. The refusal of the Iranian authorities to enter into military discussions and the imposition of new sanctions in the field of missiles and military against Iran strengthened the atmosphere of mistrust between the two sides. They led the political literature to further confrontation. Also, on Tuesday, November 8, 2016, the fifty-eighth U.S. presidential election was held following the Constitution, and Trump became President of the United States. Trump called the nuclear deal the worst it has ever been. He called Iran the number one enemy of the United States and a country that sends money and weapons everywhere, and U.S. warships in the Persian Gulf are surrounded and harassed by Iranian boats (Yazdanofam, 2016: 19-20).

In such a context, we see that in his first speech in 2016 near the holy shrine of Imam Reza (a.s.), the Supreme Leader placed the most significant emphasis on hostility, especially the tools of his enmity and enmity despite the end. The Supreme Leader of the Revolution pointed out: "The nature of the agreement with the United States is a retreat (crossing the red line on Barjam); one agreement is not enough. The agreement is also needed to resolve regional issues. According to the American will, resolving the dispute with the United States means crossing the red line and values, Jcpoa 2, 3, 4 and so on, so that we can live comfortably, regardless of fundamental issues such as Palestine, supporting the resistance, supporting the oppressed nations." (Nowruz speech of the Supreme Leader in 2016)

These statements indicate the continuation of hostilities and warnings of the Supreme Leader. The Supreme Leader cites the active tools of American hatred in propaganda, sanctions, and influence, which have been most effective during this period.

Also, in 2016, we are witnessing the announcement of general policies of resistance economy by the Supreme Leader. The Supreme Leader's emphasis on "Resistance Economy" indicates that even in the shadow of Jcpoa, one should continue to "Resist" and not rely on the enemy. This issue was reflected in the Nowruz speech in 2017. The leadership of the resistance economy is defined as "an economy that boils from within and reduces our need for others and increases the country's strength in the face of external shocks" (Khamenei, 2016).

In his Nowruz speech, His Holiness presents economic solutions and components of the resistance economy to eliminate the effects of sanctions. The details of a resilient economy from the leadership perspective are identifying the country's beneficial economic activities

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and chains, reviving domestic production, paying attention to foreign trade that does not weaken our domestic productive power, managing financial resources from foreign banks and centers, making the sectors of the domestic economy Knowledge-Based.

In explaining the resistance economy this year, researchers point out; a resilient economy reduces vulnerability and increases a country's economic development. It is based on prudent production, fair distribution, and extravagant consumption (Heidari and Ghorbi, 2016: 22).

They focus on discussing the output desired by the leadership and explain that domestic production increases employment and self-confidence, and work reduces social corruption (Doisti, 2020: 10).

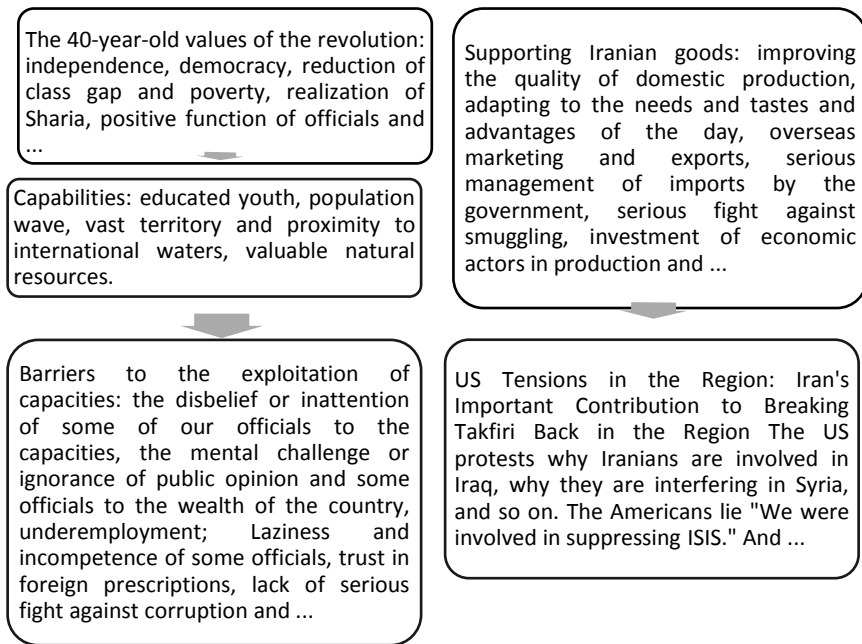
Thus, as indicated in the word count table, the highest frequency of words and topics is related to the United States, hostility, sanctions, and components of the resistance economy.

<b>The Importance of Economics</b>	The issue of economy is a priority issue of the country, the economy is at the top of the immediate priorities of the country, the priority of the Iranian nation today is an economic issue, the issue of economy, the issue of people's livelihood is a very important issue.
<b>Economic improvement strategies</b>	1- Emphasis on capabilities: Manpower, young country, in terms of oil and gas resources together, in the first world, no country in the world has as much gas as us, the country is rich. 2- Emphasis on domestic production: creating employment and eliminating unemployment, flourishing talents and youth initiative, not consuming important currency, export leap (diminishing competition to show off foreign brands) and ..
<b>Production requirements</b>	Efficient, committed and religious management, involving people in production, exports, investment security (economic security and investment security are very important), people's sense of responsibility (one of the most important issues in domestic production).
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Production facilities or tools: manpower, skills, capital.</li> </ul>	

**Conceptual Model of 2017**

**9.3. Political Conditions of 2017 and Affecting the Slogan of 2018 (Support for Iranian Goods)**

With the lifting of international sanctions, a broad perspective emerged on the impact of Jcpoa on Iran's economy, especially in the oil and gas sector. Many foreign companies have expressed interest in returning or entering the Iranian market. In 2017, despite Trump's rhetoric, Iran was able to make little use of Jcpoa. This year, Iran's trade balance became positive, and Iran's trading partners gradually changed and expanded. Also, increasing exports and access to domestic and foreign markets and the competitiveness of the country's oil and gas industry were possible (Bamri, 2018: 17).



Also, this year, Iran's domestic political climate was affected by the twelfth presidential election. As a result of this critical event, the Supreme Leader of the Revolution's most significant emphasis in his Nowruz speech is economic recovery and participation in elections as the most crucial dimension of democracy. In discussing economics, the leader emphasizes unemployment, people's livelihoods, and production problems. In the field of production, he also points out the two issues of illegal import and smuggling. The Supreme Leader expresses his most important desire to participate in the elections. Leaders always emphasize the characteristics of a resistance economy.

Economy and hostility	The enemy's priority is an economic issue, the enemy seeks economic solutions to hit the Iranian nation economically, the enemy's goal of economic pressure is to discourage the nation from the Islamic Republic, the enemy's goal of economic pressure is between the Iranian nation and the system Islamic distance, the enemy's plan is economic.
Economic vacuum	Unemployment of young people and especially unemployment of educated youth, livelihoods of the poor classes, stagnation of production, lack of production.
Vulnerabilities of the economy	The importation of goods that are sufficiently produced domestically should be considered a legal haram. Smuggling: Fight smuggling gangs, stop smuggling.

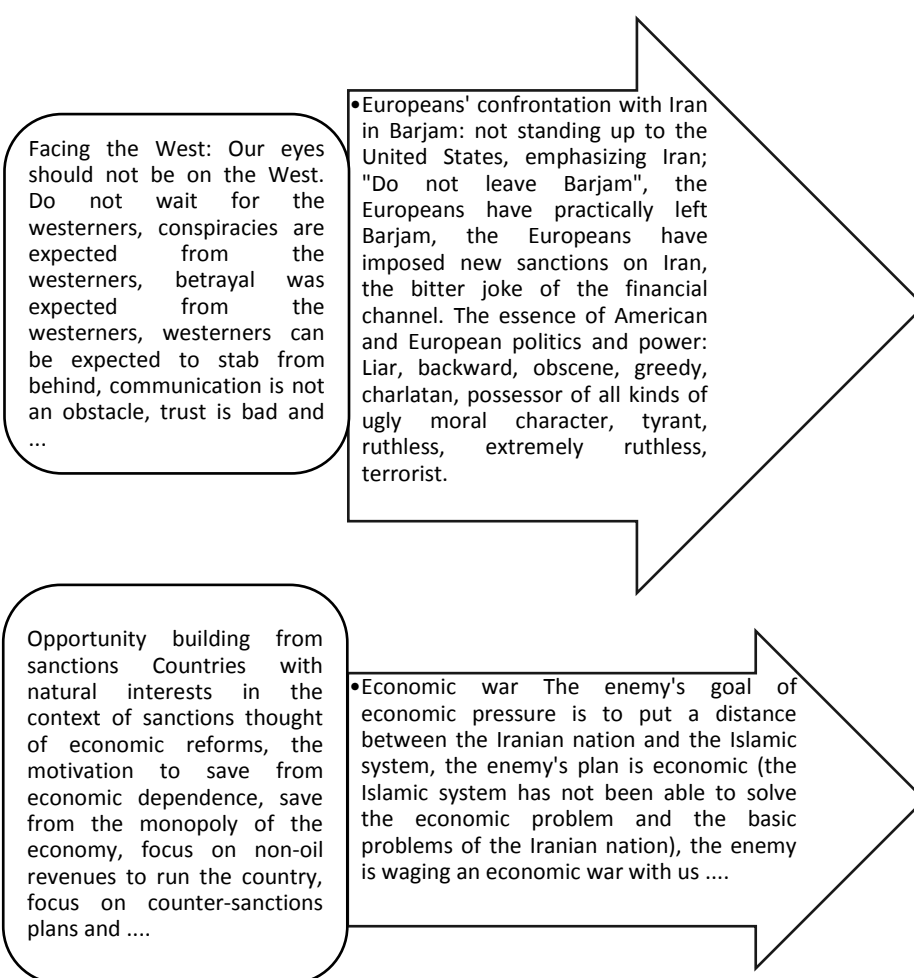
- The importance of participating in elections: Elections are one of the two pillars of religious democracy, we are proud of the world thanks to elections, elections, religious democracy depends on elections, law-abiding elections must be followed, the result of people's elections must be achieved whatever it is And ... . Weaknesses and Criticisms: Weaknesses are related to management, shortcomings and inadequacies of managers, we had some weak, lethargic, frustrated, non-revolutionary, and sedentary managements; Failure to act on the resistance economy in the discussion of exports and ...



### Conceptual Model of 2018

#### 9.4. Political Conditions of 2018 and Affecting the Slogan of 2019 (production Boom)

The year 2018 coincided with the 40th anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution. As protests erupted in Iran in January 2017 over living conditions, Trump announced the United States' withdrawal from the U.N. Security Council in May, thinking that increased pressure on Iran could pave the way for regime change, and told a hot summer for the Islamic Republic. Dad. The beginning of a new round of sanctions and wrong economic policies provided the grounds for increasing the price of the dollar up to 5000 Tomans in Iran.



These developments took place while the most emphasis in the 2018 speech was on the record and achievements of the 40 years of the revolution, capacities, and obstacles such as economic problems. The Supreme Leader also stressed U.S. intervention in the Middle East and the need to eliminate ISIS.

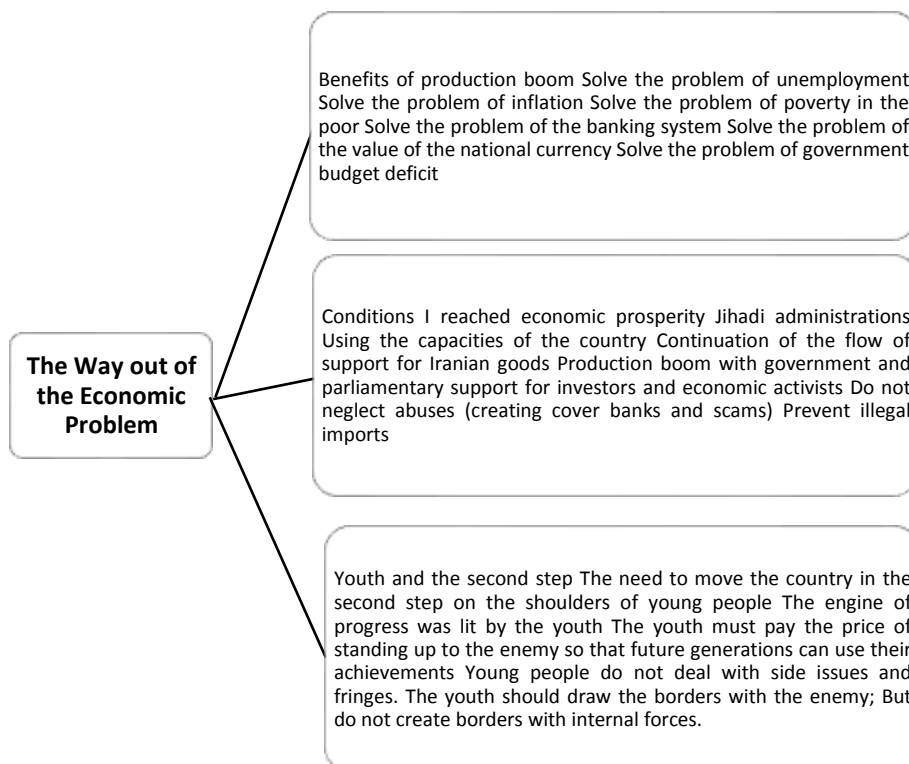


The leaders spoke of a way out of economic problems in support of Iranian goods, increasing production quality, and using domestic capabilities to solve the financial situation. Supporting Iranian interests has two aspects: supporting the production and supply of products produced and supporting consumption and demand for this product (Imani et al., 2018: 6-7).

As the Supreme Leader said, the officials and the people must also play a key role in supporting Iranian goods. The people's support for the revolution, while enduring sanctions, showed itself on the anniversary of the victory of the Islamic Revolution. On this day, the leadership unveiled the "Statement of the Second Phase of the Revolution," which served as a roadmap for the second forty years of the Revolution.

Elements of the discourse include independence, freedom, morality and spirituality, justice and the fight against corruption, dignity in foreign relations, arrogance, progress, learning, popular participation, hope, protection of the system and the revolution, belief in the principle "We Can" and It is revolutionary (Nosratpanah et al., 2019: 22).

On 30 Aban this year, Sardar Qassem Soleimani, commander of the IRGC's Quds Force, announced in a message to the Supreme Leader the end of ISIL's dominance. The news showed the political-military success of Iran in the West Asian region and the failure of U.S. plans.



### Conceptual Chart of 2019

#### 9.5. Political Conditions of 2019 and Affecting the Slogan of 2020 (Production leap)

2019 was a year of increasing economic pressures on Iran. By changing the White House team, U.S. President Donald Trump continued to criticize his campaign to question the international credibility of Barjam. By imposing restrictions and sanctions contradictory to Jcpoa, he tried to empty Jcpoa's spirit. Finally, by announcing the unilateral termination of this obligation, he reduced it to a bilateral commitment (Salehi et al., 2019: 3).

However, European countries tried to make the lack of financial channels in the U.N. Security Council seem insignificant and compensate. But inaction in the face of U.S. pressure plunged Barjam into a coma.

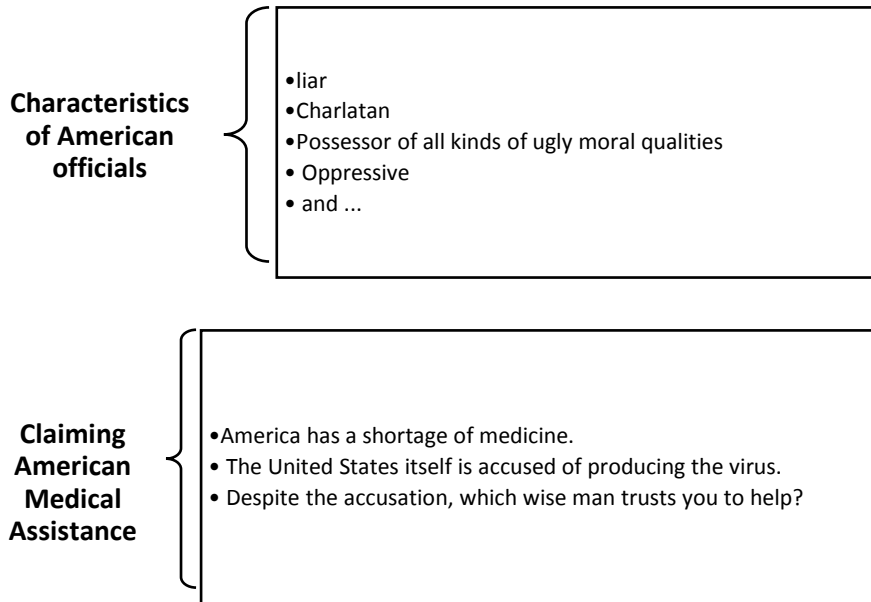
On the one hand, economic pressures and the government's announcement of an increase in gasoline prices in November, which sparked concerns about rising prices, sparked economic protests and U.S. hopes for more pressure. Meanwhile, the European countries on the side of Jcpoa, by supporting the economic protests, tried to provide the grounds for weakening the system and play the role of good police in the game of Jcpoa.

The numerous promises of these countries to activate Instex practically disappointed Iran from Europe and paved the way for retaliation against the withdrawal of the United States from Jcpoa. Iran has taken five steps to reduce its obligations to the United States and Western member states. Iran has stated that it no longer faces any restrictions on the number of centrifuges and areas of operation (including enrichment capacity, enrichment percentage, enriched materials, and R&D). From now on Iran's nuclear program will be based solely on its technical needs.

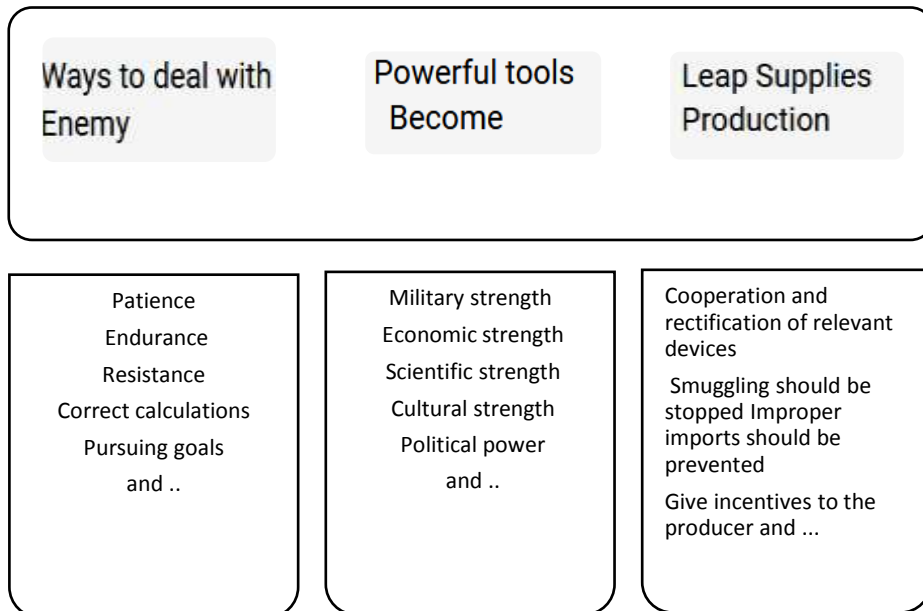
The cowardly assassination of the commander of the Quds Force of the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps in the morning of Friday, January 4, 2017, by an American drone at Baghdad airport, with Trump's direct orders, strengthened the atmosphere of mistrust and hostility between the two sides. And with the presence of Republicans in the White House, he played a role.

It was not unreasonable that the most significant emphasis of the Supreme Leader in his Nowruz speech in 2019 was the issues of the West and Jcpoa and the return of sanctions. His Holiness paved the way out of the situation of 2019 by disregarding the West and focusing on internal capacities, which could turn sanctions into opportunities with a boom in production, they mentioned.

What strengthened the atmosphere in 2019 to strengthen the discourse of the resistance economy was the holding of the 11th



elections to the Islamic Consultative Assembly. An election in which the fundamentalists won. In this election, the fundamentalists focused on economic slogans, pursuing the resistance economy's implementation, and looking inside the country. This unanimity increased the hope for realizing the production leap in 2020, and this



year's leadership was called the "Production Leap."

**Conceptual M.F. Model of 2020**

### **9.6. Political Conditions of 2020 and Affecting the Choice of the Slogan of the Year 2021 (Year of Production, Supports, Obstacles)**

Iran's economy, which had been suffering from a negative economic growth rate since 2018 and after the withdrawal of the United States from Jcpoa, continued to face an economic contraction this year as the prevalence of the corona increased. This year, the corona caused the budget deficit to grow more than expected. Government spending increased, prompting the government to issue bonds and offer shares to avoid financing the debt.

Corona was the most important guest of 2020 countries. An uninvited guest who impressed not only Iran but almost all countries of the world. Corona has dealt a severe economic blow to the world economy, including the Iranian economy, and on the other hand, efforts to develop a vaccine should be noted. The inauguration of the 11th parliament was one of the most important events at the beginning of the year. A parliament came to power with revolutionary slogans, the primary concern of the economy and jihadi management.

Mohsen Fakhrizadeh, one of Iran's top missile managers in the Damavand region, was assassinated by an automatic rifle.

Joe Biden was elected the 46th President of the United States on November 7, 2020. Joe Biden won one of the most controversial races in American history; Defeat Donald Trump and make his way to the White House.

### **Conclusion**

The present study analyzed the content of the Supreme Leader's Nowruz speeches in the years 2013 to 2021. One of the methods and methods of drawing the general direction of the system and officials that Ayatollah Khamenei has proposed and followed has been selecting slogans and naming the years, which he will explain on the first day of the year. This study sought to discover the principal axes; the topics emphasized, the most used words, causes and contexts, and strategies proposed by the leadership. The results showed that according to the frequency and intensity of vocabulary, the subject of economics in the studied years had the most emphasis.

Economics is a turning point in studying the years before and after. The enemy has targeted the economy, so the solution and the Supreme Leader's emphasis on the economy is to repair and work on this issue. The Leader of the Revolution once again points to domestic power and the resistance economy as the only way to resist American hostility. Another result of this research is that in the years of implementation of Barjam, the Supreme Leader proposed more economic topics (the number of financial issues in 2015 to 2018 is more than 426 topics and then the topics of domestic policy). With 322 repetitions and then foreign policy content with 301 repetitions. In the post-conflict years,

foreign policy themes with 163 repetitions, then economic themes with 155 repeats, and then domestic politics themes with 55 repetitions were the most usable themes in the speeches of the Supreme Leader. According to the statistics in Table 3, the burden of multiplicity and frequency of economic words has always been higher in these 8 years.

Suggestions and Prescriptions Based on the Words of the Supreme Leader of the Revolution.

Nevertheless, the revolution leader finds a suitable and practical solution for progress and invulnerability against the enemy in the resistance economy and its characteristics. The Supreme Leader's strategies can not only free Islamic Iran from an economic challenge but can also be a solution for other countries, especially the countries of the Middle East region, to get rid of economic backwardness. According to the Supreme Leader, the solutions and recommendations can be expressed as follows:

- 1) Prioritizing the knowledge-based economy, implementing and implementing the comprehensive scientific plan of the country;
- 2) Focusing on productivity growth in the economy by strengthening the factors of production, empowering the labor force, strengthening the competitiveness of the economy;
- 3) Increasing the domestic production of basic inputs and goods and giving priority to the production of strategic products and services;
- 4) Consumption management with emphasis on the implementation of general policies to reform the consumption pattern and promote the consumption of domestic goods along with planning to improve quality and competitiveness in production;
- 5) Development of strategic ties and expansion of cooperation and partnership with countries in the region and the world, especially neighbors;
- 6) Transparency of the economy and its health and prevention of corrupt actions, activities, and fields in the fields of money, trade, currency, etc;
- 7) Emphasis on domestic production, consumption of nationally produced goods, and creating economic prosperity to help the economic cycle.

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## Cultural Problems of the Muslim World and Their Solutions According to Imam Khomeini

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### Abstract

Knowledge of the countries' backwardness causes, especially developing countries, was the subject of research and interest of many thinkers in the 70s and later. Cultural problems are the most important reasons for this backwardness with complex and ambiguous dimensions, which need more attention from Muslim thinkers. The study of Imam Khomeini's thoughts and views about Muslim countries' cultural problems regarding his intellectual, jurisprudential, and political position can better understand the contexts of these problems and their solutions. To find the answer, the authors used the theory of crisis of Thomas Spragens. According to Imam Khomeini, the results indicated that the cultural problems of the Muslim world are rooted in spiritual dependence and self-destruction against the West. The characteristics of an ideal society from Imam Khomeini are cultural independence, divine law authority, the transforming community to a divine-human being, freedom of thought, and pondering Islamic awareness and awakening. To achieve such a society, he seeks a solution to the unity of the Muslim world and the severance of cultural ties with the West.

**Keywords:** Imam Khomeini, The Muslim World, Cultural Independence, Meaning Crisis, Westernization, Islamic Awakening.

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### **Introduction**

The cultural development of a society is undoubtedly one of the components of growth in any community. Therefore, let's consider culture as a model of thinking, acting, beliefs, convictions, values, and ideals with art, techniques, and customs of society manifested in the nation's social groups and sections. In other words, it considers as the primary motivating factor and the movement of a country's human resources. If a country has a flourishing culture, it will be an energizing factor in other areas. Instead, it will not have the necessary motivation and permanent infrastructure for different regions with a cultural trouble. Today, the cultural crisis has become an uncontrollable phenomenon in developing countries that threatens Islam and all Muslims worldwide.

Although this damage is happening, the Iranian society was aware of these damages and impairments six decades ago. As a jurist and religious scholar, Imam Khomeini first gave the first warnings to the Iranian community in the 1960s. These warnings provided the background for the protest people to the country's cultural structures during the Pahlavi period and the Islamic Revolution. Then, in a meeting with the Islamic Republic officials and a speech for the people, Imam Khomeini explained the various dimensions of these cultural damages and emphasized the necessity of reform them. Despite the importance of these issues in reforming the political-economic situation of the Muslim world, the leaders and thinkers of the Muslim countries in the region affected by the opposing political atmosphere formed by the Western media against the Islamic Revolution of Iran paid less attention to this dimension. As a result, they had less attention to the cultural pathology of the Muslim world problems in their research. Instead, they focused more on communist thinking about the economic roots of underdevelopment and liberal thinking on political underdevelopment.

The absence of severe changes in the Islamic countries' situation over the past four decades -despite much research in these areas- indicates, these countries have failed to identify the root cause of their political-economic failures, according to the authors of this article is culture. So, the present study aimed to review Imam Khomeini's statements about identifying the cultural problems of the Muslim world and their solutions. The primary questions of this paper include:

- 'According to Imam Khomeini, the founder of the Iranian revolution, what are the fundamental cultural problems that have led to the lack of development in Islamic countries?'
- 'What solutions did he suggested to end these problems?'

To better analyze Imam Khomeini's view, we have used Spragens crisis theory; because the crisis pathology and the presentation of the

solution by thinkers are generally examined in the background and according to its time occurrence.

### 1. Research Background

The Muslim world and even the West have always considered Imam Khomeini's thoughts. However, in the works written by researchers, nothing has been written specifically about the cultural challenges of the Muslim world based on Spragens' theory. Therefore, the present study examines the Imam's thoughts and the Muslim world from a new perspective. Some works that have been published in this regard are as follows. Arefi (1999), in "The Solution of the Political Unity of the Muslim world in Imam Khomeini's thought," says the idea of "Unity of the Muslim world" has been one of the long-standing and fundamental intellectual pursuits of Imam Khomeini. He explains how to achieve political unity in a crisis-ridden and fragmented world of Islam with no ground.

Jafarpisheh (2008), in "Imam Khomeini and the Principles of Islamic State," explains 'was the purpose of Imam Khomeini's uprising?' 'Did he consider the Anti-oppressive and seeking respect of the Muslims, or did he consider material and economic issues?' Relying on the monotheistic view of the Imam in the Lordship, he emphasizes Anti-oppressive and seeking-respect in Imam's thought.

Fouladi (2008), in the "Strategy of the Muslim world Unity in Imam Khomeini's thought," examines the issue of unity in Imam Khomeini's thought. So addresses questions about the unity of Muslims. For example, 'What are the ways to strengthen unity?' and 'what effects does it have on Islamic countries?'

Sotoudeh Arani and Daneshyar (2009), in the article "Pathology of International Relations from Imam Khomeini's View," seek to answer the question: 'What are the harms of international relations from Imam Khomeini's view?' The authors say, Imam Khomeini believes that there is inequality and discrimination in the political structure of international relations; this relationship violates the human rights of weak nations. According to the Imam, there are two groups in international relations. Those in power use it to exploit the oppressed and the oppressed of the world who are influenced. In addition to the above works, other articles examine Imam Khomeini's political thought dimensions that are not close to the present study or are written in journalism and lack the necessary scientific basis.

### 2. Thomas Spragens' Crisis Theory

According to Thomas Spragens, political theories' goal is to provide a holistic view of political society with a critical eye to understand it; and eliminating its shortcomings, and restoring health to society by confronting and overcoming the roots of the disorder. In other

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words, the purpose of political theories, according to Thomas Spragens, is to cure and contribute to the political community psychologically. Thus, through it, they can overcome society's political problems and solved its challenges. This method determines the purpose and appropriateness of political theories, the theorist's approach in writing his work, and ultimately its purpose. Thomas Spragens is a political science traditionalist who uses historical, philosophical, and anthropological methods in political science.

His efforts to understand political theories provide a theoretical, philosophical, logical, and practical framework to discover the internal logic and method of understanding any theorizing. In the first step, in the name of crisis and disorderly observation, he claims that political thinkers of every age are highly realistic, and their political ideas are the answer to the problems of their political environment. Accordingly, political theories are not merely academic pastimes but are deeply relevant to politics's practical and everyday issues. Moreover, they try to provide a comprehensive imagine and a relative understanding of the world of politics (Barzegar, 2005: 48).

At this level, Imam Khomeini also observed cultural crises in Islamic societies and suffered from the disorder and forgetfulness of the original Islamic culture.

The second step, called pain detection, comes after looking for irregularities searching for the cause (Abbas Tabar Firoozjah, 2006: 55). Only the mind of an extraordinary person can remain calm after observing disorder. In such a case, the heart and mind of a healthy person will make him study more. Observe is the natural motivation of "Logic," and the concerned mind seeks further research. Thus, the solution to the first problem is to answer 'What is wrong?' which creates new confusion. The answer for the disorder observation phase is itself the seed of subsequent questions. The excitement that initially led the theorist to research is still active because it has yet found no solution to the disorder (Spragens, 2010: 79).

At this stage, Imam Khomeini, after observing disorder and cultural crisis in Islamic societies, could not leave this crisis alone and sought the causes of this issue. Therefore, he recognized the pain and cause of the cultural problem in the Muslim community.

The third step is called order and dream of rebuilding society. Again, irregular observation presents two issues: difficulty identifying causes and the correct political order. However, if a person recognizes his time's political situation as irregular, he can establish an orderly and proper system. Therefore, the theorist must answer the question, 'what is the correct situation if this situation is bad?' 'If so, what is health?' After recognizing the pain, Imam Khomeini sought to present a fair society. So, he rebuilt the present culturally crisis-ridden society with his ideal community.

The last phase is the treatment. The last part of political theories is "Offering a Solution," practical suggestions and recommendations. These recommendations are sometimes explicit and sometimes implicit (Davari Ardakani, 1998: 270).

Imam Khomeini states his solutions for overcoming the cultural challenges development lack of realization in the last phase; recommendations that resolve many cultural challenges. To understand Imam Khomeini's thoughts according to the crisis theory, at first must examine the time conditions and his thoughts to guide the reader's mind to the subject.

### **3. Conditions and Time Requirements for the Formation of Imam Khomeini's Ideas**

Along with the internal developments in Iran and Islamic societies, time requirements have been influential in shaping the views of Imam Khomeini. The fundamental issues and decisive results during his life includes several sections. First, the dominance of liberalism in the West and the peak of its evolution, birth, and decline of the communist system and Russian socialism (Leninism-Stalinism), the emergence and decline of some extremist and totalitarian ideologies, such as Nazism in Germany, Fascism in Italy, and Stalinism in the Soviet Union, the rise of nationalism, especially in the Middle East and the Muslim world, the spread of nationalist or racist ideologies based on Pan-Arabism and Pan-Turkism, the increase of the bipolar system and the rise of the Cold War, get into the power of the United States and the former Soviet Union and, finally, towards the end of his life the relative victory of the West and liberalism in the Cold War and its effects on the attitudes of societies and individuals dominated by instrumental reason and relativistic views on science and humanities, The emergence of postmodernist theories, the expansion of communications and the globalization of cultures, and most importantly the religious and political awakening of the world peoples, especially the gradual rise and resurrection of the Muslim world. Also, the dominance of secularism, materialism, individualism, and utilitarianism under the influence of other principles of liberalism and the new attitude of the Western world are among the most prominent features of this period (Jamshidi, 2000: 19).

The above issues and living in Iraq and Iran and being a student of scholars such as Abdolkarim Haeri Yazdi, Mirza Javad Maleki Tabrizi, Muhammad Golpayegani, Muhammad Ali Boroujerdi, Muhammad Taghi Khansari, Abbas Araki, and accompanying Ayatollah Boroujerdi had a tremendous impact on his political thought. In addition to the above issues, we must refer to the political developments of the last two centuries in Iran, such as the Constitution, the infamous Reuters and Darcy agreements, the black

coups and Reza Shah coming to power, the discovery of hijab, and encounter with religious manifestations in Iranian society, the nationalization of the oil industry, the coup d'etat of 28 Mordad, the execution of the devotees of Islam, land reform, the White Revolution, the 1920 uprising of the Iraqi people, the formation of Israel in the Middle East, Arab nationalism, etc. Each of them, for their part, influenced the development of Imam Khomeini's political thought. Such an intellectual and political environment and the cultural situation of the Muslim world caused Imam to realize the existence of a cultural crisis in Islamic communities.

#### **4. Causes of Cultural Crisis in Islamic Societies**

##### **4.1. The Entity of Cultural Crisis**

In culture, any event that breaks the norms and values deviates from social discipline and jeopardizes the doctrinal foundations and society's material and spiritual interests is a cultural crisis. Therefore, confrontation with such an event requires the management and process of managing the cultural problem. Undoubtedly, society will solve the situation in culture when it acts according to a clear and convincing model in the face of a cultural crisis. For example, today, globalization in the cultural dimension is one of the most fundamental cultural problems of countries. This trend started in economics but did not continue and was extended to politics and culture (Goodarzi, 2003: 139).

This trend, undoubtedly, has become a significant crisis today and related some opponents of the globalization process to these problems. Countries' response to this crisis is similar to turbulent actions and, in a sense, sound strategy if it does not rely on a pre-determined plan. However, countries will actively or super-actively face this crisis if a suitable model and a specific design will actively or super-actively face this crisis (Pourezzat, 2002: 42).

##### **4.2. Cultural Crisis from Imam Khomeini's View**

According to the Imam, the cultural crisis is very complex, and its solution is more complicated. But, in his view, the problem has affected the Muslims' minds and thoughts and guides them to the colonialism desires. Therefore, he introduces the essential cultural crisis in the Muslim world as the young people and intellectuals' cultural self-destruction.

Unfortunately, our country, which has Islamic laws, jurisprudence, and culture, has ignored these rights and followed the West. So, the West is attractive for a section of the nation that they think the West is everything. This intellectual, mental, and cerebral dependence on the abroad is the source of most nations and our countries misery (Khomeini, 1989: 4).

According to Imam Khomeini, colonial culture is much worse than the weapons of bullies. If the Third World fails to solve this

vital issue, it cannot achieve transcendent growth. It should start from the basis and children with the help of schools and universities. Expressing and promoting Western culture in scientific and educational environments and attracting young people to this culture is one of the harms seen in society. Imam Khomeini, in the description of some of these intellectuals, says:

Everywhere now, such intellectuals are being trained with Westernized ideas. As a result, the same Taghut thoughts are being cultivated now. The person who used to say that everything should be in English is now dead, and may God have mercy on him. He had thus lost the content and had been emptied. A person's face, like other people, but the content is related content. Soon we will not be able to reform these intellectual and "Libertarian" strata from the content that has been injected into their [brain] for fifty, thirty, twenty years that emptied and neglected them (Khomeini, 1989: 24).

According to Imam Khomeini, the current cultural crisis does not belong to any particular country and is taking root in all Muslim states and has targeted all Muslims globally.

The most critical domination of the West or the East over the Islamic countries has been cultural domination. In those centers, our children become dependent on the West or the East after graduating from university. Young people who now work either for China or the Soviet Union or the United States in different countries, and especially in Iran, many of them have graduated from the same universities, but without identity (Khomeini, 1989: 319).

Most scholars regard the West's goals in the Third World around the following axes: achieving cheap raw materials, expanding the monopoly market for manufactured goods, and providing a ground for investing additional capital (Saei, 2001: 175).

However, these studies have overlooked some points of cultural domination as the basis of colonization and exploitation of these countries. A country will not succumb to the West but despite the feeling of cultural inferiority and weakness. So, Imam Khomeini considers cultural domination the most significant dimension and knows it the great calamity of Islamic countries. The tragedy has befallen the Muslim community for years; other troubles will crack easily by solving this problem. According to Imam Khomeini, the cultural crisis includes the following characteristics:

- A) The culture derives from colonialism in Islamic countries in contrast to the rich culture of Islamic countries;
- B) The target of an aggressive culture is the majority of the youths;
- C) The West wants to inspire the belief that progress is the same as the Western way and culture;
- D) Basically, "Cultural Aggression" has unique characteristics compared to military or economic aggression. Cultural aggression is usually invisible and intangible, long-term and long-lasting, rooted



and profound, all-encompassing, calculated with a wide range of programs and tools, broad and comprehensive, practical and risky; E) Fighting and destroying cultural domination is much more complicated than economic and political domination and lasts years.

#### **4.3. Psychological Dependence, a Critical Factor**

The human soul and body built the thought when the human soul became dependent on the destructive and counter-cultural factors of that country; it will gradually become a creature that will only listen to the commands of aliens. Thus, the cultural crisis in society begins here. Imam Khomeini, in this regard, says:

We need time to have an independent culture, not the colonial culture that Westerners offer us. They changed our culture in such a way that even our talking has become Western. We use western names to name the streets, Roosevelt, Kennedy, and so on. It is an example of Westernization. While you will not find a road called Muhammad Reza or Nader in Europe, our compliments and conventions are Western.

So, we found a spiritual attachment that is worse than anything. University graduates are trained according to their goals. The West, through its propaganda, has attracted young people and the growth of Western thought in them (Khomeini, 1989: 25).

Another practical method of the enemy to destroy the national and Islamic culture is the spiritual dependence of Muslims on Western culture. Therefore, according to the Imam, designing universities and society are under Western interests. The youth's spiritual weakness has caused them to see the West as their dream city and pursue material prosperity, exploitation, and unbridled enjoyment in life and living within the framework of material and animal life away from spirituality, morality, and humanity. Thus, one of the ancient methods of the enemy to expand its domination is using deviant beliefs against genuine beliefs and values. They are trying to transform religion, which is the cause of awakening, dynamism, anti-oppression, justice-expanding, and the ingredient of happiness in this world and the hereafter, into the cause of individualism, isolationism, seeking-oppression, backwardness, and monasticism. According to the Imam, "Foreigners, especially the United States, have been trying for the last half-century to deprive our culture and cultural and scientific programs of their Islamic-human-national content, and instead use colonial culture" (Khomeini, 1989: 81).

Placing these seedlings in the minds and souls of people will take them away from religious and human values and will be immersed in Western culture every day. But, on the other hand, institutionalizing this thinking in the minds and souls of people will take them away from religious and human values and drown them in Western culture every day.



According to Imam Khomeini, spiritual dependence on the West has led to another level in the Islamic youth life. That is intellectual dependence because western thinking has been rooted in the Muslim's minds for many years and has caused the intellectual influence of the Islam enemies.

They made us dependent on all sides, and this intellectual dependence caused the West as the source of everything. Therefore, to believe that we have to bring everything from the West, to seek treatment for defects in the West. As long as this dependence exists, we cannot find independence. We will never become independent unless we believe we have a culture, we have everything, and we do not need the West. What the West gives us cannot grow us. They want to keep us on the same level. The young people who we delivered were influenced by Western thoughts that should be changed (Khomeini, 1989: 230).

This intellectual dependence creates a situation in which people feel alienated from their culture and nationality. Domestic goods, national independence, and dignity have not crucial to the individual. Neither cultural sovereignty nor economic and political freedom will be necessary, and these factors are the Western favorite.

What Westerners export in the name of science, culture, growth, and excellence is very different. Their thinking is different for the Eastern countries. Their teachings to them are partial or colonial. They make everything dependent on themselves but do not give us anything. All believe we are dependent, primarily reliant on thoughts. Our youth, older men, educated people, intellectuals, many of these thoughts are dependent on the West and especially on America. Even those who do not have malice and want to serve their country, because they do not know the right way and believe that they should get everything from the West, are dependent on them. This dependency is the source of all the dependencies we have after cultural dependence comes economic, social, and political ones (Khomeini, 1989: 357).

## **5. The Ideal Society of Imam Khomeini**

In Imam Khomeini's ideal society, there are the following cultural components: cultural independence, the rulership of divine law, the transformation of society into divine human beings, thought freedom, and the people's awareness and awakening.

### **5.1. Cultural Independence**

For Imam Khomeini, nothing in society is higher than cultural independence; without cultural autonomy, a community will forever be colonized and dependent, even if it's political autonomy. Therefore, Imam Khomeini constantly said to the Iranian nation: "You should try to regain what you have lost during the period of

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puppet regimes, especially "Spiritual Independence" (Khomeini, 1989: 347).

This cultural independence is not only for the society citizens, but officials need to be more vigilant. Imam Khomeini says in this regard: "We say, sir, do not listen to others keep your independence, give up obedience" (Rouhani, 1980: 887).

Therefore, the Iranian authorities must not only renounce their allegiance. Still, they must help other Muslim nations to free themselves from the domination of the dictators: "The Iranian nation hopes to cut off the hands of foreigners from all Islamic owners and restore their independence" (Khomeini, 1989: 150).

### 5.2. The Rulership of Divine Law

The political system and the governing laws on it distinguishes Islamic societies from Western and Eastern civilizations. In Islamic societies, divine law prevails on written human law, and others will be acceptable in case of non-conflict with this law. The current conditions in Islamic countries created by the West or the East were not ideal for Imam Khomeini; therefore, he tried to rule the divine law on the Iranian society once again with the formation in the first phase after the Islamic Revolution the Islamic Republic. Regarding the importance of the religious ruling law in society, he says:

In Islam, only the divine law rules, which the Prophet and his caliphs also practiced, are now obliged to do the same. A person does not rule even if he is a prophet or a caliph. In Islam, there is no person, but the divine law governs, and everyone must obey the law of God. The law is based on divine justice, the Qur'an, and the Prophetic tradition. We are its follower, and we must act accordingly. In Islamic law, there is no difference between individuals and groups. Although the Prophet was an Arab and spoke to the Arabs, he said that no Arab has any honor over the non-Arabs, and no non-Arab has any integrity over the Arabs (Khomeini, 1989: 425).

### 5.3. The Transformation of Society into Divine Human Beings

In the Western school, everything is based on humanism. Therefore, what is acceptable in creating pleasure and desirability of individuals is not contrary to the freedoms of others and the law. But in Islamic society, the goal of human satisfaction is not in this material world. Everything is based on the happiness of individuals and their becoming divine-human beings. Accordingly, Imam Khomeini states the purpose of Islam: "In Islam, everything is the prelude to humanization. If left alone, it will destroy the whole world. But if he is educated, will fulfill all the needs of this world and the hereafter of human beings, and if he becomes stropic or moves against his natural path, will destroy the whole world" (Khomeini, 1989: 172).

Therefore, the society's problems key to building a divine-human being is in strengthening spirituality. Thus, an Islamic system must

solve problems and not neglect spirituality; it is a pain cure. We believe that Islam is the only school that can guide and advance society, and if the world wants to get rid of the problems and live humanely, it must convert to Islam (Khomeini, 1989: 437).

#### **5.4. Thought Freedom**

The next indicator of a desirable cultural society is freedom of thought. In a culturally closed community, people will soon lose themselves and become enslaved to other cultures and lose the power of reasoning. Such a society does not promote cultural independence, and it will value any offered product to it. Imam considers one of the characteristics of a perfect human being to rely on argument and reasoning and avoid imposing ideas. In principle, he believes that setting ideas is impossible. Islam is a religion based on discussion and logic, and it is not afraid of freedom of speech and writing and other deviant schools that have failed in the eyes of themselves and their scientists (Khomeini, 1989: 81).

#### **5.5. Awareness and Awakening**

The next indicator is awareness and awakening. A society with negligent youths who are oblivious to new science and technology will always need foreigners. According to Imam: “The precise point that is hopeful for me at the end of my life is the awareness and awakening of the young generation and the rapidly growing intellectual movement. By the will of God Almighty, it will reach a definite result, which is the cessation of foreign rulers and the expansion of Islamic justice” (Khomeini, 1989: 114).

Explaining the Islamic awakening among the Iranian nation and the necessity to share it with other countries, Imam Khomeini says: Must share it with the nations. Just as in Iran, the Iranian people, the youth, the Basij, and the nomads allied themselves against the conspiracy of the United States and the Pahlavi regime against Islam, they woke up. They took the tanks off the scene with clenched fists. However, until the nations do not wake up and unite, despite their abundant resources and facilities, they are doomed to corrupt governments and criminal America and other superpowers (Khomeini, 1989: 325).

After describing the ideal society from Imam's view, according to Thomas Spragens' theory of crisis, the next step is to treat cultural challenges. The following are ways to treat the cultural turmoil of the Muslim world.

### **6. Treating the Cultural Crisis from Imam Khomeini's View**

According to Imam Khomeini, the cure for all the problems of Muslims can be summarized in a few cases that overcome through which many crises of Islamic societies, especially the cultural crisis.

#### **6.1. Islamic Unity**

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Unity means solidarity, oneness, monochromatism, and union; in the term, it means Islamic unity. Thus, the unity of the Islamic nation's idea originated from the basic principles of Islam. Imam Khomeini's believes that if the relations between Islamic countries are focused on the beliefs sharing, unity of words, and other commonalities, it will reduce differences and areas of separation, and a new and active identity will emerge. In his view, Muslim differences are rooted in nature, geography, indigenous languages and cultures, and most importantly, the conspiracies and tricks of the hegemony, who, relying on the above elements, try to intensify differences, divide and highlight differences. Therefore, must resolve struggles between Islamic countries based on strategic principles and methods. Dialogue, entente, rapprochement, familiar feeling, and belief in a common destiny constitute unifying categories (Behzadi, 2014: 53).

We always need unity. The Holy Qur'an has always commanded unity for us and the world Muslims throughout history, so we must achieve unity in practice (Khomeini, 1989: 436).

It is religious unity that creates this vast and compact community. Therefore, if you are interested in independence, have spiritual unity (Khomeini, 1989: 268). The only way to restore the greatness and dignity of the Islam and Muslims insight is the responsibility of protecting religious unity and brotherhood, that only guarantor of the independence of Islamic lands (Khomeini, 1989: 460).

The secret of our victory was the word unity, solidarity, attention to God Almighty, and Islam's protection. Keep this secret (Khomeini, 1989: 339).

The secret of all the troubles of Islamic countries is word difference and lack of coordination, and the key to victory is the word unity and harmony creation. Muslims' interests and escape from division and separatism, and sectarianism are all for Islam and towards Islam, which is the all misery and backwardness basis (Khomeini, 1989: 198).

### **6.2. Cultural Independence**

Cultural independence in Islamic societies is one of the treatments that Imam Khomeini constantly emphasizes. The principle of educating a nation is its correct culture (Khomeini, 1989: 88). Therefore, the dear government of Iran and other impoverished countries of the world, if they want to escape from the evil trap of the great powers to the end, they have no choice but to reform their culture and independence (Khomeini, 1989: 447).

According to Imam Khomeini, proper education is impossible without serious attention to Islamic culture and identifying the danger of the foreign cultural invasion and the resulting deviations. Therefore, a nation is never freed from the trap of demons until recognizing the characteristics of colonialism and imported cultures.

Thus, what guarantees the correct educational system and ultimately closes the way for hegemony's influence is the healthy and humanizing culture of Islam. But unfortunately, what has caused this cultural independence to be lost is the Islamic rulers' dependence on the West and the East and pursuing their schools. Imam Khomeini says in this regard:

“No, we do not compromise with any superpowers and powers, neither under American domination nor under the Soviet burden. We are Muslims, and we want to live. We want to live a poor life but be free and independent. We do not wish foreign-dependent progress and civilization. Instead, we want a culture based on honor and humanity to maintain peace. But unfortunately, the superpowers want to dominate human beings' society and every Muslim, and we are obliged to stand against them and not compromise” (Khomeini, 1989: 340).

According to the Imam, opposing the Islamic Revolution is independence from the East and the West. Thus, the world revolutions tended to the right, the right agreed with them, and the left opposed them or leaned to the left and vice versa. But Islam is neither Eastern nor Western but is on a straight path. Therefore, the Islamic Republic is a follower of Islam. Today, it is not a left follower, so the leftists are against it, and it is not a suitable follower, so the rightists are against it (Khomeini, 1989: 250).

He knew the duty of Islamic scholars and all Muslims to end the oppressive situation in their country, overthrow the oppressive governments, and form an Islamic government that is the way to the happiness of hundreds of millions of people (Nawazani, 2005: 3).

“Now that we cannot form a general government, we should not sit aside, but all the things that Muslims need and are part of the duties of the Islamic government, we should do as much as we can” (Khomeini, 2015: 53).

“Whoever believes the formation of an Islamic government is not necessary, has denied the necessity of implementing the Islam rules, and has denied the comprehensiveness of the rules and the immortality of the Islam religion” (Khomeini, 2013: 98).

### **6.3. Defending Islamic Values**

When Islamic rulers remain silent towards Western aggression to the Islamic culture, the enemy will become bolder and invade new Islamic values every day. But, on the other hand, Islamic rulers' commitment and sense of responsibility, reliance on God, and their ability to resist these conspiracies can revive Islamic values worldwide. Imam says in this regard: “Muslims must, with all the necessary means and instruments, to confront seriously in defense of the religious values and interests of Muslims, and strengthen the ranks of their holy struggle and defense. And do not let these

ignorant, despairing and followers of the devils to attack the ranks of the Muslim faith and dignity anymore” (Khomeini: 315).

#### **6.4. Introducing Real Islam**

The non-introduction of true Islam by elites and religious scholars is one of the negligence of the Muslim world, which has caused young people to turn away from their Islamic beliefs and be attracted to a foreign culture. Imam Khomeini pathologies this condition and says to the Iranian nation:

“Our duty is removing the ambiguity created regarding Islam. However, we can do nothing to remove this ambiguity from our minds. We must force ourselves and the next generation to order their future generation as well. Remove the ambiguity regarding the bad advertising about Islam found in our educated people's minds for hundreds of years. It would help if you introduced yourself, your Islam, the examples of leadership and Islamic government, to the people of the world, especially to the academic group and the educated class” (Khomeini, 2008: 400).

#### **6.5. The Benefits of Unity**

##### **6.5.1. Resistance to Foreign Culture**

Standing up to Western culture is one of the great virtues of unity, and by acting it, no foreign power can invade the land of Muslims and be afraid of this great power. Imam Khomeini says:

“A true Islam unity. Let go of some of their lusts and join hands as a brother. Do not have a schism, become brothers, all stand against the West and the governments of the East and are not westernized. If all have word unity, the Jews cannot covet Palestine; so they do not allow you to unite. Let them know that the hands that want to take your resources, take your wealth for free, plunder your underground and extraterrestrial reserves will not allow Iraq and Iran to unite; Iran and Egypt to join. Altogether, find the unity of the word. They will not let this not your duty” (Khomeini, 1989: 382).

##### **6.5.2. Execution of Islamic Rules**

What separates Islamic states is the conspiracies of foreigners and divisiveness among Muslims. This factor has caused some Islamic countries' rulers to abandon their reliance on their nation and turn to the West to rule a little more. The move to the liberalism school and the abandonment of Islamic law result from the apparent support of Western governments. It seems that many divine commandments are being abandoned by Islamic governments today under the pretext of conflict with human rights. Imam Khomeini says: “I hope that this country will achieve its interests by considering the Islamic rule that all people and Muslims are brothers; and all Islamic countries should overcome the powers and succeed in implementing the laws of Islam to the end” (Khomeini, 1980).

Elsewhere, he advises Islamic rulers: “My message to the Arab and Muslim brothers is to put aside differences and give each other a



hand of brotherhood, and at the same time and in alliance with all non-Arab Muslim brothers, make Islam your only support. So you can be a power that the superpowers will never want to dominate you, and thus attack you from left and right, and not plunder everything from you, with abundant material resources and, most importantly, a divine and spiritual reserve, which is Islam” (Khomeini, 1989: 82).

### **6.5.3. Divine Prosperity and Mercy**

In Islam, the destiny of human beings is not separate. All are equal and brothers and should strive to achieve divine prosperity and mercy. However, intellectual, ethnic, political, etc., differences between these societies make this path rugged. At best, they seek individual happiness instead of a collective one. However, in the least possible situation, Muslims can guarantee each other's satisfaction. Therefore, Imam says: “Be together and do not be divided. With dispersion, there is all corruption. With reliance on God, there is all goodness and happiness” (Khomeini, 1989: 316).

Therefore, he considers heaven and bliss the result of unity, solidarity, and union between the believers and their brotherhood with reliance on God. And citing the verse of brotherhood, he addresses the believers:

“See also this verse. Resort all the ropes of God, all of you, be brothers so that in heaven, too, you will be brothers. If there is no brotherhood here, may is not a paradise for you” (Khomeini, 1989: 476).

### **6.5.4. Acting on a Religious Duty**

From Imam Khomeini's point of view, observing unity and alliance is a religious duty. Therefore, this task, especially where more general interests are at stake, is essentially obligatory and assumed by all. In particular and critical circumstances, even Imam Khomeini considers the lack of unity as a kind of "Suicide" and "Collective Suicide" (Jamshidi and Irannejad, 2012: 176).

Today, we are obliged to avoid the difference of the word in every dress and occupation and turn to the Islamic unity, which the Book and Sunnah constantly recommend, and to make the word right higher and the term false lower. At this sensitive time when our country and dear Iran are in great danger, the task of all groups and individuals is severe and significant. Today, weakness, coldness, and the word difference are considered suicide and wasting the blood of the Islam children (Khomeini, 1989: 311).

## **Conclusion**

Spragens states that a thinker creates a theory in four steps: problem ology, Etiology, Ideal ology, and Solution ology. An examination of Imam's political thought regarding the cultural problems of the

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Muslim world shows that Islamic society is facing a severe cultural crisis. A crisis rooted in spiritual dependence and self-destruction against the West.

This situation has caused the West to colonize and exploit Islamic lands and direct Islamic youth's thoughts and ideas in the desired direction. After identifying the crisis and its etiology, the Imam introduces his ideal society. Imam ideal society is a society with characteristics such as cultural independence, the rule of divine law, the transformation of society into divine human beings, freedom of thought and thought, and awareness and awakening. Imam Khomeini seeks a solution to the unity of the Muslim world and the severance of cultural ties with the West to achieve such a society. In addition to restoring self-esteem to Muslims, the Muslim world will agree to strengthen their power against the West to fulfill their divine duty and guarantee their collective well-being.

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

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### Abstract

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

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

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### Introduction

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

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

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

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

### 1. Resistance Essence

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

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

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

## **2. Genealogy and the Roots of Resistance Discourse**

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

### **2.1. Religious Foundations of the Resistance Discourse**

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

## 2.2. Empirical Foundations of Resistance Discourse

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

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

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

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

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

### **3. Resistance Levels**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### 3.1. Inner Level

#### 3.1.1. Cultural Resistance and Arena

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

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

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

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

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

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

### **3.1.2. Resistance and the Economic Arena**

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

### **3.1.3. Resistance and the Political Arena**

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

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

### **3.2. External Level**

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

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

### **3.2.1. Regional and International Resistance Groups**

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

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

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

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

### 3.2.2. New Order and Strategic Depth of Resistance

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

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

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

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

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

### **3.2.3. The Future of the Palestinian Issue**

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

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

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



Map Number One: The Domination Process of the Palestine Land

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### **Conclusion**

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



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

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

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## The Statusology of the Revolutionary Government in the Second Phase of the Islamic Revolution Emphasizing the Intellectual System of the Supreme Leader

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### Abstract

The Islamic Revolution of Iran is the producer of a fundamentally different system from other systems in the world. While the Islamic Revolution has begun to move in the second phase, explaining the nature of the revolutionary government and studying its status in the current situation is necessary. To achieve this, we should focus on the intellectual thinking of the leadership as a guide for continuing this process. The present study aimed to realize this critical question and answer the fundamental question, 'the nature of the revolutionary government and the situation it exists?' and 'is it possible to preserve it?' The results are obtained by qualitative content analysis method, focusing on the intellectual thinking of the Supreme Leader. The results indicated, with qualitative content analysis and concentrate on the leadership thought system, the nature of the revolutionary government is monotheistic and in historical and comparative approach has similarities with the community in the Prophet era at the beginning of the formation and continuation of the path. However, in the current situation, despite moving forward, it has been exposed to reactionary damage; to prevent the occurrence of restitution, it must protect its nature by educating a revolutionary man.

**Keywords:** Revolutionary Government, the Second Phase of the Islamic Revolution, Monotheistic School, Restitution, Revolutionary Man.

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## The Status Ology of the Revolutionary Government in the Second Phase of the Islamic Revolution Emphasizing the Intellectual System of the Supreme Leader

### Introduction

The occurrence of the Islamic Revolution as a significant event in the evolution of human society indicated the formation of a movement that was inherently contrary to revolutions, activities, and popular trends in the world. Emphasizing the universal and natural slogans in the statement of the second phase of the Islamic Revolution by the Supreme Leader has shown this fundamental distinction.

In this statement, the keyword of "The Revolutionary Government" as a description for the current system of the Islamic Republic is defined as follows: The Islamic Revolution, as a living and willful phenomenon, always has the flexibility and readiness needed to correct its mistakes but is not revocable and passive. It shows a positive sensitivity to criticism and considers it a blessing from God and a warning to those who are passive professionals, but by no means distances from any of its values, which, thank God, are mingled with the religious faith of its people. After the formation of its system, the Islamic Revolution has not and will not fall into stagnation and silence. It not only sees any contradiction between the revolutionary sensations and the political and social order but also defends the theory of the revolutionary government forever (Khamenei, 1397).

The second phase statement and its description, referring to "The Revolutionary Government Theory," express essential points. They are such as:

- 1) The revolutionary government based on its religious worldview is a theory in its nature;
- 2) The specific nature of this theory is revolutionary military planning, in which any change is based on evolution and dynamism in its heart;
- 3) In this theory, originality is meaningful and content-based. The continuity and survival of any kind of structure depend on the degree of success in maintaining its revolutionary nature. Where the facilities do not achieve the desired goals, they lose their legitimacy;
- 4) In this situation, what is essential is to focus on and pay attention to the nature of the revolutionary government.

This system has included everything that will happen in the process of the Islamic Revolution because the three issues of self-construction, socialization, and civilization have been considered three crucial areas from the beginning. After passing four decades, in the statement of the second phase, the issues have been emphasized. It represents an important concept called the revolutionary government. Therefore, the present study seeks to answer the following questions to analyze the content of the revolutionary government:

- 1) What is the content and nature of the revolutionary government?
- 2) What is the current situation of the Islamic Revolution in terms of the nature of the revolutionary government?
- 3) What is the essential slippage of the revolutionary government?

4) What is the most important factor that protects the revolutionary government?

Since the present study is qualitative, it does not have a hypothesis because qualitative research generally seeks to explain problems.

### 1. Research Background

It related no direct findings to the research topic but can include the following cases in the background of this research on a case-by-case and indirect basis.

1) Shafi'i, in his article entitled "The Islamic Revolution of the Great Prophet (PBUH), The Model of The Islamic Revolution of Iran," has compared these two revolutions and has analyzed them focusing on two points, as such: First, the context of the revolution, the conditions of the process, principles, goals, characteristics, methods of struggle, and victory factors. In this article, the complete correspondence between these two revolutions has been examined.

Furthermore, the Islamic Revolution has been expressed as an example of the Prophet's course in the present era. Finally, twelve principles have been obtained in explaining the revolution, which is: Justice, the rule of Islam and the Qur'an, education, and cultivation of human being, providing the path to perfection, human respect, human independence and freedom, the formation of a monotheistic system for revival and ruling of virtues, human well-being, human education and knowledge, defense of the deprived and denial of domination. This research is similar to the present study in terms of subject and findings.

However, Shafi'i's findings cover only a part of the current research subject. In addition, the researcher's approach in this article is not systematic, and the results do not have a coherent and systematic concept. (Shafi'I, 1385);

2) Mazaheri, in his article entitled, "The Study of The Future of The Islamic Revolution Based on Three Predictions of Transformation, Control, and Evolution," has studied the end of the Islamic Revolution and his study is based on three main possibilities, as such: Transformation and normalization of the revolution (observing the cessation of the revolution from within), controlling the revolution (following the expiration of the process from the outside), development, continuation, and evolution of the course (observing the ideals, capacities, and historical trends).

Among these three possibilities, the product, continuity, and expansion of the Islamic Revolution have more accepted reasons and pieces of evidence that predict its occurrence as something between certainty and probability (Mazaheri, 1392);

3) Jamalzadeh, Babahadi, and Feizi, in their article entitled, "Sustainable Components of the Islamic Revolution in the Intellectual System of the Supreme Leader," has studied the factors for the

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durability of the Islamic Revolution with the method of content analysis and has finally derived four main themes as the pillars of the Islamic Revolution, including: "Islam, leadership, people, and efficiency." (Jamalzadeh, Babahadi, and Feizi, 1396);

4) Farsian and Manouchehri emphasized the jurisprudential approach of Imam Khomeini, concluded that moving in the direction of ethics based on collective wisdom focused on freedom and tolerance as the pillars of ethics of political jurisprudence can consolidate the continuation of the Islamic Revolution. (Farsian and Manouchehri, 1397);

5) Eivazi, in his article entitled "Introduction to Examining the Slippages of The Islamic Revolution of Iran," has discussed the pathology of the Islamic Revolution.

In this article, two main points are explained: First, weakness in the theoretical field and second, weakness in management, which are mentioned as obstacles to accurate pathology of the situation of the Islamic Revolution. (Eivazi, 1384);

6) KhanMohammadi (1389), in his article entitled "Pathology of The Islamic Revolution of Iran from Imam Khomeini's View," has discussed the essential slippages of the Islamic Revolution.

It includes division, presenting an authoritative (Taghouti) image for the government, presenting an upside-down image for Islam, abuse of freedom, economic dependence, aristocracy, and luxury. (KhanMohammadi, 1389);

7) Mohammadi and Ghorbani, in their article entitled "Islamic Revolution of Iran from the Perspective of Martyr Morteza Motahhari," have studied the nature, purpose, leadership, and slippages of the Islamic Revolution. In this article, the main goals of the Islamic Revolution are explained in four topics, as such: directing thoughts and ideas towards Islam, organizing material life, establishing human relations of men based on equality and brotherhood, and making the construction of society from the ruling systems and regulations based on the Islamic model (Mohammadi and Ghorbani, 1392).

So, the reviewed articles have mainly examined the subject with a partial view, and the lack of a systematic approach has caused the connection of some concepts to be unclear. Therefore, in this research, the Supreme Leader's statements have been used in a systemic approach focusing on the idea of the revolutionary government. The main difference of this research is the existence of a systematic view for examining the slippages and removing the slippages of the Islamic Revolution. An approach activates at the operational level without being limited to the field under discussion.



## 2. Theoretical Considerations

The term "Revolution" describes a wide range of events, developments, and trends that have led to significant national or transnational results in modern human history. However, as the simplest political definition, revolution is described as a specific, integrated and sensational event that leads to a change in the formal political structures (Golkar, 2019).

There are different views on how the Islamic Revolution took place and its nature divided into four general categories: Theories that consider the origin of the Islamic Revolution based on economic factors (Looney, 1384; Skocpol, 1982; Katuzian, 1397).

Theories explain the source of the Islamic Revolution based on political factors (Shoja'eian, 1382; Abrahamian, 1982; Fuzi, 1385) such psychological factors (Zonis, 1370; Davis, 1362; Gurr 1970).

Theories consider cultural factors as the central element in the occurrence of the Islamic Revolution (Hosseinian, 1390; Panahi, 1388).

The critical issue in the analysis of the Islamic Revolution is that the Islamic Revolution, due to its different dimensions compared to other existing revolutions, has affected the theoretical field and is in a way defecting the current theories (Panahi, 1388).

This aspect of a difference there is in Imam Khomeini and the leader of the revolution. The Islamic Revolution was a movement with specific goals - specific goals, though in some places general; dreams that were gradually crushed clarified, and its instances revealed, but the plans were clear.

The revolution's objectives were: Yearning for Islam, standing against arrogance, preserving the country's independence, dignifying human beings, defending the oppressed, scientific, technical, and economic progress, and promoting the country.

When one looks at the Sayings of Imam Khomeini (may God bless him and grant him peace) and the primary documents of the revolution, one sees that all of these are rooted in Islamic texts. People-centered, relying on people's faith, people's beliefs, and public motives and emotions, are part of the main foundations of the revolution (Khamenei, Meeting, 5/19/1390).

Therefore, unlike other revolutions, the Islamic Revolution has not become a political system due to its different nature and content.

Creating the ruling political system in Iran has maintained the conditions and characteristics of a revolution. Relying on the three pillars of the revolution (leadership, people, and the school) has continued to move dynamically, depending on its universal goals. Unlike the alternative political systems of other revolutions, it has not fallen into a conservative and static state (Mohammadi, 1382).

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So, the Islamic Republic system is not like other political systems. On the contrary, it maintains its revolutionary foundations in continuing for its survival.

For the formation of any revolution, one intellectual element and two human factors are needed, considered the pillars of the revolution. The literary element is the ideology and school on which the process is based, and the human features are people and leadership. When these three elements are put together and have the same direction, the revolution is formed. Obviously, the greater the strength of these three pillars, the faster the formation and victory of the revolution (Shafie'i, 1385).

Skocpol introduces the clergy leaders of the Islamic Revolution as revolutionary elites who have a great potential for mass mobilization and state-building. They have shown this ability both in the revolution and in the war. In his view, the Islamic Revolution showed that mass mobilization for war by revolutionary leaders could be state-centered projects (Skocpol, 1988: 164).

Consequently, in the theoretical field, different theories can only explain part of the aspects of the Islamic Revolution. In the heart of the Islamic Revolution, based on the world revolutions and the realization of the Thermatron principle, one cannot claim that the Islamic Revolution has followed the same path. Therefore, we should seek a comprehensive understanding of the revolutionary government theory in the theoretical field, partly explained in this study.

### 3. Methodology

Following principles as the main principles in the qualitative analysis of statements have used, regarding the statements' high number and to understand accurately far from individual presuppositions and to close the intellectual thinking of the Revolution Supreme Leader.

#### 3.1. Paying Attention to the "Intentions" of the Supreme Leader by Studying his Statements

"Statements" is the plural form of "Statement" and means "To Unfold and Uncover." In other words, the difference between statement and speech lies in its manifestation. "Intentions" refer to "Wills and Purposes" and differs from statements in that they focus on intentions, orders, and hidden and more inward aspects. This research aims to derive the definitions of the Supreme leader by having a deep and systematic study on the statements and is to prevent incorporating individual presuppositions and personal perceptions.

#### 3.2. Individual (*Ijtihadi*) Inference

The Supreme Leader himself does the necessity of paying attention to this method and its explanation. In expressing the importance of this point, he asserts the need to pay attention to the principle of inference (*Ijtihad*) in confronting Imam Khomeini's statements and says:

"The Imam's views are a collection and fortunately have been recorded precisely up to now." Therefore, like all the texts from which can infer the speaker's thinking through the right way of inference, the right way to conclude is to see all the words and put them together - their general, specific, absolute, and valuable comments.

Words must be weighed against each other and compared. Then, the whole sum of these words represents the opinion of Imam Khomeini. Of course, this is not an easy task, but it is clear what we need to do. It is an Ijtihad work. It is an inferential task that you, young people, can do. Sit down and work in different fields to infer Imam's opinion and deduce from the words of Imam Khomeini.

### **3.3. Focusing on the Principle of Holism**

One of the most essential and fundamental principles in the systematic method is to pay attention to the principle of holism (Khosrow Panah, 1396). It means that it is not possible to achieve a deep knowledge and understanding of the subject on a case-by-case basis without considering the general condition of the "Intentions." Therefore, to understand an issue and problem, one must see that subject in the system's public need and other topics in a relevant and systematic way.

### **3.4. Using Principles for Examining the Problem**

According to the principle of comprehensiveness of Islam, identifying the issue in this approach is referring to the principles. Recognizing the main point is first determined by referring to the basics of Islam history and the Qur'an. While in other methods, admitting the problem is done by social observation through inductive ways. Then should answer the problem and finding a strategy in the basics of Islam. This approach considers Islamic principles as a way not only in treatment but also in diagnosis.

## **4. Research Method**

According to the principles of methodology in the research methodology, the method adopted in the present study is a qualitative content analysis method with a systematic approach. It means that data analysis has been done systematically and according to the content analysis method in the whole system of thought.

## **5. Qualitative Content Analysis**

Quantitative reduction of text to numbers in the quantitative technique has often been criticized for losing combined information and meaning (Fang and Shannon 2005).

The qualitative content analysis appears where quantitative analysis reaches limitations. Therefore, qualitative content analysis can be considered a research method for the mental interpretation of the content of textual data through systematic classification, coding, and theme creating or designing recognized patterns (Iman, 1390).

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Furthermore, with qualitative analysis, one can consider an experimental, methodological, and controlled step-by-step approach by observing the elements under study (yan zhang, 2006).

Qualitative content analysis allows researchers to interpret the authenticity and reality of data in a subjective but scientific way. The objectivity of the results is guaranteed by the existence of a systematic coding process. The qualitative content analysis goes beyond the words or factual content of texts and examines explicit or implicit themes or patterns that are as explicit content (Iman, 1390).

Adopting this method for analyzing the Supreme Leader statements has been done with the same purpose to extract the hidden patterns of his opinions and intentions by scientifically and systematically examining the text of his comments and finally achieving a model close to his intellectual thinking. However, the basic principles that were considered in the methodology section have used qualitative content analysis in this research in a unique way. The primary purpose of this research is to analyze the situation of the revolutionary government in the current period of history. Thus, at different times, in the Supreme Leader's statements, there are comparisons and contrasts between the recent events after the Islamic Revolution and the circumstances of early Islamic history.

Therefore, analyzing the current situation of the revolutionary government has been done based on the analysis of the early history of Islam. Thus, the studied statements are divided into two general sections: Words related to the study of Islam's early history and the period of the Imamate of the Infallible Imams statements associated with the last two years and paying attention to the points and repetitions expressed in these lectures. Comparing the concepts obtained in these two sections using the qualitative content analysis method is the direct approach.

### **6. Data Collection and Analysis Methods**

According to the holism principle, collecting and analyzing the data has been done based on a systemic approach. Considering that the research method is qualitative analysis with historical adaptation, the two main parts of the texts have been studied:

A) Texts related to the analysis of Islamic history;

B) The text of the statements of 1396 and 1397.

To compare the concepts in these two sections, the study and qualitative analysis of the statements in these two areas have been done simultaneously. The study of the analytical Islam history is based on the books published by the Supreme Leader.

The two hundred and fifty-year-old man, Hussein's war fairer, two Mujahid Imams, the interpretation of Surah Al-Mujadilah, the performance of Surah Al-Bara'at. Also, we analyzed the statements of the Supreme Leader on the Prophet's prophecy in 15 lectures. But, on

the other hand, interpreted leader speech in 1396 and 1397 was the primary source in analyzing the current situation of the revolutionary government.

Analyzing these two sections and the obtained categories overlap with each other, and finally, the corresponding categories have been extracted as the main categories.

The Reviewed Sources are summarized in the Table Below:

**TYPE OF THE TEXT SOURCE FOR DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS**

STATEMENT	STATEMENT OF THE SECOND PHASE OF THE ISLAMIC REVOLUTION.
STATEMENT	STATEMENTS INCLUDING THE SUBJECT OF THE PROPHECY OF THE PROPHET (15 LECTURES), THE REVOLUTIONARY MAN (2 LECTURES) STATEMENTS OF 1396 AND 1397.
BOOK	THE TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY-YEAR-OLD MAN, HUSSEIN'S WAR FAIRER, TWO <i>MUJAHID</i> IMAMS, INTERPRETATION OF SURAH AL-MUJADILAH, INTERPRETATION OF SURAH AL-BARA'AT, GENERAL OUTLINE OF ISLAMIC THOUGHT IN THE QUR'AN.

## 7. Research Findings

The categories and concepts obtained from the study of statements in Islamic history and comments on the Islamic Revolution have been very similar to each other. In the Supreme Leader's remarks, the most significant similarity between the Islamic Revolution and the Revolution of the Prophet and the foundations of both revolutions were defined in the same way.

### 7.1. The Monotheistic School is the Leading Category in the Formation of the Revolutionary Government

In confronting the Supreme Leader's system of thought, the monotheistic school forms the core of his system of thought, based on and about which all other pillars find meaning. Consequently, the central post of the revolutionary government is the monotheistic school, and the main foundation of the theory of the revolutionary government is designed accordingly. This school has three main concepts:

#### 7.2. Monotheistic Thinking

The monotheistic school seeks the rule of monotheism in all the pillars and components of the universe.

Monotheism is both belief and action. Monotheism is a strange thing. It is both belief and action. The components of monotheism are:

Firstly, we must know that there is God;

Secondly, we must know that God is one; that is, there is only one power, and one will involve in the order and planning of this vast world;

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Thirdly, we should know that the one who has the right to give the rules of life and social systems to human beings is again one, namely God. You see, this is an essential thing. The law, the social rules, must be taken only from God (Khamenei, 1396: 172).

Belief in Monotheism and Unitarianism is a doctrinal principle of every Muslim and must appear in social life (Khamenei, 1396: 175).

### 7.3. Human Dignity

Another principle of the revolutionary government is human dignity. Man, i.e., the nature of man, the essence of humanity was humiliated before Islam came; pride belonged to money and position; it did not belong to a human being. Then, the Prophet of Islam came and gave value to humanity and made people understand that man can reach a position, contact a pinnacle, and fly above the angels. This respect for human beings is one of the basic principles of the school of Islam. The principle of human dignity is one of the revolutionary principles and a strong motive for creating revolutionary principles of Islam (Khamenei, 1396: 175).

This concept is derived from human creation in terms of its relationship with the creation system. There are two verses in the Qur'an that give the same interpretation that I said-Allah SWT says: "And He has subjected to you whatever is in the heavens and whatever is on the earth" (Al-Jathiyah: 13).

Allah says all of these are subservient to you. What does subservient mean? It means now you are subjugating them all, and you cannot have an influence on them, but you are potentially created, and the worlds of existence and the universe are made in such a way that everyone is subjugated to you. What does subservient mean? It means they are in your fist, and you can use them all in the best way. It shows that this creature, whom God subjugates the heavens, the earth, the stars, the sun, and the moon, must be very dominant to the divine creation. This dominance has also been specified: "Certainly we have honored the Children of Adam" (al-Isra: 70).

The phrase "We have Honored the Adam Children" - includes the phase of legislation and creation (Statement in the Meeting with the Government Agents, 12/9/1379).

### 7.4. Justice: Elimination of Class Discrimination

In addition to honoring human beings, the revolutionary government must perform justice and consider the establishment of justice as a goal and mission for itself. Justice means eliminating the gap between rich and poor in the country and fighting poverty in the country and the proper distribution of wealth. It is different from Marxist thinking; this is different from the equality expressed by the socialists or communists; this is the view of Islam; Islamic sources and Islamic records all confirm and emphasize this meaning. We are not to get the wealth of the rich and take that wealth from them; no, we must govern



the country to remove it. Well, this is a fundamental issue and is still focused on in the world today (Khamenei, Meeting, 30/6/1396).

This issue is an indispensable matter in the religious foundations. "Certainly, we sent our apostles with manifest proofs, and we sent down with them the Book and the Balance, so that mankind may maintain justice." (Al-Hadid: 25)

The principle of the prophecy of all the prophets and sending of messengers and books was to settle "Justice" - that is, the same as social justice, economic justice - among the people. So, these are old Islamic concepts (Speech addressed to the Iranian nation, spring 1/3/1399).

**Table No. 1- The Main Category of the Revolutionary Government**

<b>The Formation of the Revolutionary Government</b>	
The main Category	Monotheistic School
The Main Concepts	Monotheism
	Justice
	Human Dignity

**7.5. Restitution, the Leading Category in Examining the Slippages of the Revolutionary Government**

The three essential pillars of the monotheistic school are among the fundamental foundations in the theory of the revolutionary government in the intellectual thinking of the leadership.

The revolutionary government is a government in which these three pillars have been realized. Therefore, the Supreme Leader's statements and repetitions, which are explained in the problem examination, are the situation of the revolutionary government in confronting this school following the rule of Islam. Therefore, along with the analysis of the rebellious government nature and content in the systematic approach to the category of Islamic community deviation as the harm and threat the main point in the revolutionary government and the word restitution is used to describe this slippage: "Restitution means the movement that the revolution had started and the nation was moving in its direction with revolutionary force and speed, may weaken in some places, then stop, then return; this is restitution; restitution means to return." All great well-known revolutions-such as the French Revolution, the Russian Revolution, and the processes in Africa, Latin America, and elsewhere-almost without exception were inflicted to this slippage in the first years of their lives.

Forty years have passed, and the standards of the revolution have not been changed or manipulated; unlike these revolutions, we were able to keep and maintain these standards. But it is dangerous.

I have to tell the danger to our dear people. Moving towards aristocracy is moving towards restitution; instead of paying attention to the weak class, we become motivated by the affluent and extravagant courses in the country, this is a move towards restitution; if we rely on



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foreigners instead of relying on people, we pin hope on the foreigners, and this is restitution; this should not happen. The elites of society must be mindful; the managers of the organization must be aware. Managers of the country must be aware; people must carefully look at our behavior and the conduct of managers with great attention. Restitution is a dangerous matter.

When restitution occurs, the same former revolutionary people are operating in the government. Instead, they have changed their manner, they have changed their way; it is as if the revolution had occurred for them to leave, and it happened for us to come to work! The revolution did not happen for this purpose; revolution means change, revolution means a change of direction, revolution means considering lofty goals and moving towards them; if we forget these goals, it is no longer a revolution (Khamenei, meeting 29/11/1396).

"The plight of backwardness or restitution is the great enemy of any revolution that penetrates and grows in revolutionary societies. The penetration of corruption and the creation of doubts in the minds of young people about goals, material desires, employment in worldly ornaments and comfortable life in society, and the appearance of signs of luxurious life among the revolutionary elements are signs of the influence of the plight of restitution and backwardness. Likewise, dealing with property and amassing wealth, infliction of moral, financial and administrative corruption, engaging in internal disputes, which is itself a hazardous corruption and ambition destroy the ideal palace of the Islamic Revolution and every other truth" (Khamenei, meeting 17/10/1373).

In the second phase statement of the revolution, the Supreme Leader also points out this critical point if they did not put aside the process standards. The revolutionary movements were not ignored; in some periods of the forty-year-old history of the revolution – since neglecting them was damaging and harmful - the achievements of the process would be much more significant. The country would be far ahead of other countries in achieving its grand ideals. There would not be the current problems that we face today (Khamenei, Statement of the Second Phase of the Islamic Revolution, 1397).

In these circumstances, the occurrence of restitution leads to change and alteration in the monotheistic school, as follows:

### 7.6. Tyrannical Rule (Taghoutigari)

The *Taghout* rule in the historical and comparative analysis of the Islamic Revolution with the Prophet revolution occurs when restitution penetrates the body of the government, as has happened in the history of Islam.

You can see what happened to the history of Islam after the Prophet and who rode around the Islamic *Ummah*. Therefore, the basic principle of Islam, Monotheism (Towhid), was abolished, and tyranny

(*Taghout*) became the center. Who was the tyranny (*Taghut*)? Mu'awiyah Ibn Abi Sufyan (Khamenei, 1396: 177).

**7.7. Class Discrimination**

Restitution destroys justice. When the affairs of society are in the hands of people who are far from the monotheistic school, one cannot expect justice to be achieved in such a condition as has happened in the history of Islam. In ‘Uthman, the financial equality created by the Holy Prophet was disturbed and destroyed. The Holy Prophet himself lived a life of contentment. Extravagance and luxury were by no means witnessed in the Holy Prophet's life and the life of those close to him. Then, the person who had taken up the position of the Prophet, pretending to be his successor, became the tyrant (*Taghuti*) in front of the representative of God. However, luxury was manifested in his life to the extent that man becomes astonished (Khamenei, 1396: 177).

**7.7.1. Degradation**

When restitution occurs, the principle of human dignity is lost, and the revolution leaves its dynamism and mobility. According to the historical evidence, honoring the man and valuing humanity and individuals were neglected in Islamic society. The Umayyad caliphs- Mu'awiyah and his son Yazid believed that the whole world of Islam and the Islamic society belonged to them and that the people were their property, slaves, and servants. Well, Imam Hussein faced such restitution, such backwardness, such a return, and restitution means backwardness and returns to what is other than Islam. Return to what is against perfection and sublimity. Going back, going down, going back to misery; this is called restitution and backwardness (Khamenei, 1396: 216). The categories related to the concept of restitution are given in Table 2 and Figure 1.

Figure 1 shows the definition of the monotheistic school, its practical actions, possible changes, and its situation at the time of restitution.

**Table No. 2: The Main Category of Slippages of the Revolutionary Government**

<b>Examining the Slippages of the Revolutionary Government</b>	
The main category	Restitution
The main concepts	Tyrannical rule ( <i>Taghoutigari</i> )
	Class discrimination
	Degradation

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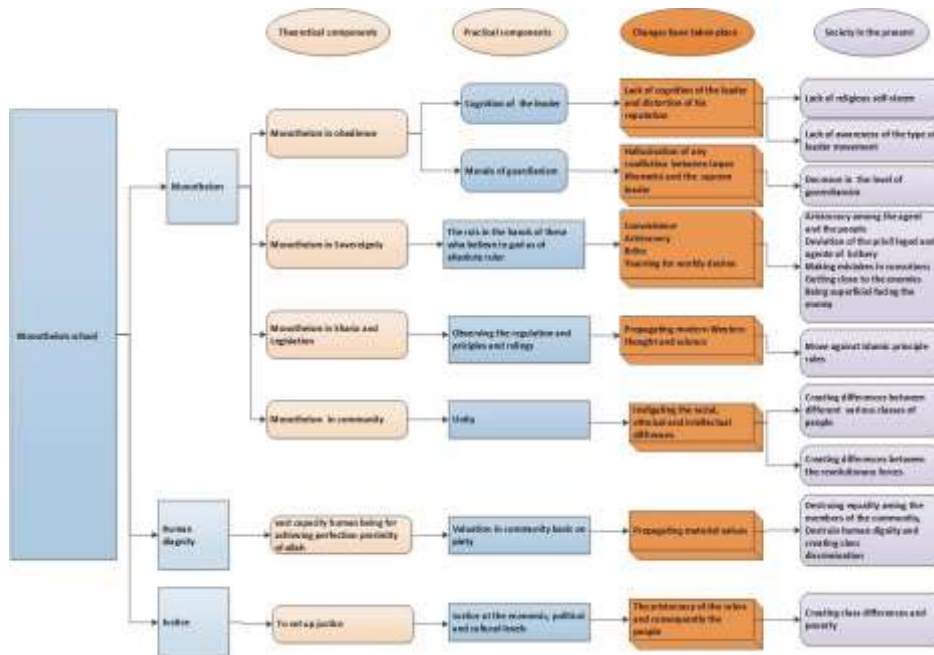


Figure 1- The Course of the Revolutionary Government and the Damage of Restitution. The Book "Two Mujahid Imams," Khamenei 1396.

7.8. Revolutionary Man, a Fundamental Category in the Protection of the Revolutionary Government

Finally, the protection of the revolutionary government is achieved through intense training of people. Man relies on four main strategies: Piety, Kabir jihad (fighting Satan), obedience to revelation, and trust in Allan (Khamenei, Meeting, 3/3/1395).

The mentioned strategies in revolutionary man led to the creation of characteristics in him through which he would gain the attribution of "Revolutionary." However, we should note that the revolutionary quality is not attributed to a particular person, but it can allude to all members of society.

As for the extent of extreme action, one cannot be expected to do the same kind of action that others do. Or one cannot be expected to have the same level of revolutionary that others have. In other words, Revolution Arianism is not specific in everyone and can have five indicators as follows:

7.8.1. Adherence to Values

In this part, Revolution Arianism means having a firm belief in values defined by pure Islam.

7.8.1.1. Pure Islam

The first basis is adherence to pure Islam versus American Islam. Pure Islam is the opposite of American Islam, and American Islam has two branches: One branch is petrified Islam, one branch is secular Islam; this is American Islam (Khamenei, Meeting, 14/3/1394).

7.8.1.2. Trust in the Truth of the Divine Promise

One of the principles of Imam Khomeini was to rely on divine assistance, to trust in the truth of the divine promise, and on the contrary, to distrust the arrogant and oppressive world powers (Khamenei, Meeting, 14/3/1394).

#### **7.8.1.3. People Being at the Center**

The Islamic Republic means this; people are at the center, goals are for the people, dreams belong to the people, interests are the property of the people, authority is in the hands of the people; these qualities refer to caring for the people: The people's vote, the people's will, the people's movement, the people's action, the people's presence and the people's honor in the government of the Islamic Republic. So, this is one of those principles, and we should believe in (Khamenei, Meeting, 14/3/95).

#### **7.8.1.4. Belief in Progress, Promotion, Alteration, Perfection, and Interaction with the Conditions**

One of those basic principles and values is the belief in promotion, alteration, perfection, and interaction with the conditions by avoiding the deviations and mistakes in this path (Khamenei, meeting 14/3/95).

#### **7.8.1.5. Supporting the Deprived and Achieving Social Justice**

It is one of the definite principles of Imam Khomeini; everyone should try to eradicate poverty; everyone should try to get the deprived out of deprivation and help the deprived as much as it is possible for the country (Khamenei, Meeting, 14/3/1394).

#### **7.8.1.6. Justice**

One of the ideals is justice; these are the words that some of the brothers said here. Therefore, fairness is fundamental; it has different branches; we should not be contented to the name of justice; it should be observed (Khamenei, Meeting, 4/20/1394).

#### **7.8.1.7. Rejection of Domination**

Imam Khomeini believed in the independence of the country; he was against any domination on the land. During all these years, many enemy's activities against our country and nation cause independence damaging of the country.

Whether sanctions or threats, they have targeted freedom. Everyone must be vigilant and be aware of the enemy's goals. It is also one of the main foundations (Khamenei, Meeting, 14/3/94).

#### **7.8.2. Sublime Effort for Achieving the Ideals**

The second indicator is the excellent effort to achieve the ideals, not forget the plans, and not give up on the great goals. It is to never give up on achieving those lofty goals and lofty objectives; do not give in to pressure.

When you go near the enemy, it hinders you. [But] this obstacle should not prevent you from leaving, from continuing your movement. Therefore, let us not give in to the pressures; let us not be satisfied with the current situation, since if we consent to the current situation, the result will be regression and backwardness (Khamenei, Meeting, 14/3/95).

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### 7.8.3. Adherence to Independence

The third indicator is adherence to independence. Independence is essential; internal independence, regional independence, global and international independence; this means that in all these issues, we should maintain the freedom of the country and the independence of the government (Khamenei, meeting 14/3/95).

### 7.8.4. Urging Vigilance against the Enemy

Vigilance against the enemy. To know the enemy, be observant of the enemy's actions (Khamenei, meeting 14/3/95).

### 7.8.5. Religious and Political Piety

The fifth and last indicator is religious and political piety, other than individual righteousness, which is necessary. We have personal purity based on which you and I should avoid sin, protect ourselves: "Save yourselves and your families from a Fire" (al-Tahrim: 6) (13) to distance ourselves from the fire of holy hell, from the fire of divine wrath; this is individual piety. Social piety - Islamic piety related to society-strives to achieve what Islam has required from us (Khamenei, meeting 14/3/95).

## Conclusion

Attention to the content and nature of the revolutionary system and its continuity quality in the second phase statement as a movement charter and the essential vision of the Islamic Revolution doubled the necessity of this research. In addition, however, paying attention to the systemic approach to the issue was necessary to obtain a systematic understanding of the problem. Therefore, this study analyzed the Supreme Leader's statements with a systematic approach and concluded three main categories.

The first category in the theory of the revolutionary government and the intellectual thinking of the Supreme Leader is based on the monotheistic school. A school in the three components of monotheism, justice, and human dignity form its fundamental pillars. The ideals of the Islamic Revolution, to the revolution, adheres to its dynamic movement on this school's realization. But identifying the foundations of the monotheistic school is part of the Supreme Leader's intellectual thinking approach towards the revolutionary government.

Another essential part goes back to explaining his comparative historical approach in dealing with issues and managing affairs. He believes in referring to the Quranic principles, Imam's life and the history of the development of Shia life, and a comparison between the past and Imams' practice. Since he considers the Islamic Revolution as the continuation of Shia rule, the Islamic Revolution paves the way for Imam's reappearance (Imam Mahdi (a.s.)). Hence, the revolutionary system mentioned in the second phase statement and the biological

and contextual basis in the monotheistic school need to be understood and compared with historical developments.

In this regard, he considers the revolutionary government in the historical-comparative approach similar to the Prophet's city (*Madinat al-Nabi*) at the beginning of its formation. Therefore, he regards the formation of the Islamic Revolution of Iran at the beginning as the Prophet's city during the Prophet's time. Furthermore, in the correspondence made, it is essential to pay attention to the slippages and threats towards the Islamic Revolution over time because the prophetic community suffered slippages in the continuation of its movement, which eventually led to the martyrdom of the Imams to preserve the truth and the foundation of the predictive rule. Therefore,

Restitution is the second most fundamental category concerning the revolutionary government's theory; because there appears attention to the harms and threats and the type of change and transformation in the monotheistic school. In fact, under this category, the need to cover mistakes in the second phase of the Islamic Revolution is necessary. In this case, restitution is placed as one of the pillars of the monotheistic school and leads to deviation. The way out of this slippage and threat in his system of thought led us to the third category, the revolutionary man. Revolutionary man is the essential capacity for the realization, preservation, and survival of the monotheistic school and, in other words, the revolutionary government. This term created in the revolution can be called a "Revolutionary Man" in the Supreme Leader's words. A dynamic man who is on the move and lives in a sweep towards the revolution.

In other words, the revolutionary man is realizing the revolution, and the process paves the ground for teaching the rebellious people. The characteristics of this man include adherence to values and pure Islam, sublime efforts for achieving pure Islam, adherence to political, cultural, and economic independence, urging vigilance to the actions of the enemy, and religious and political piety.

Then, based on the intellectual thinking of the Supreme Leader, the obstacles to the characteristics realization of a revolutionary man were identified, which are listed in Table 3.



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**Table No. 3- The Concept of evolutionary Man and Obstacles to its Realization**

Calculating order	Elements	Obstacles of realization	
		Foreign	Domestic
Adherence to the values	Trust in the divine promise against the enemy	Petrified Islam and Secular Islam	Presenting an individual religion and superficial religion
	pure Islam	Offering empty power or waging media war against power.	Trust in arrogant powers and material calculating system
	National Unity	Denial of the legitimacy of the government in the completion of democracy through media war	Lack of comprehension in democracy and the means of its realization
	Belief in promotion, alteration, perfection	removing ethnic, intellectual, religious, and political gaps	Individualism and lack of attention to national resources
	democracy	Struggle for separating the government from the people	The inefficiency of structures to increase the role of the people in social changes
	justice	Striving for the domination of capitalism	Aristocracy in privileged, and its spread to the familiar people
	Rejection of domination	Cause terror	Convenience Weak historical memory in standing against the oppression
	Supporting the oppressed	Vindication of the oppressor and spending money for supporting the oppressed	Individualism and utilitarianism
Aiming the goals	Not yielding	Social humiliation	Laziness Conservatism Disappointment Extreme pragmatism
	Not accepting the present situation	Cultural Invasion	Westernization
Adherence to independence	cultural	Penetration project	Inefficiency of officials
	political	Sanctions/emergence into the global economy	Lack of realization of resistance economy
	economical	The threat of bribery	Ignorance and indifference to the actions of the enemy
Vigilance to the actions of the enemy	<i>KabirJihad</i>	Presenting American Islam and Secular Islam	Misunderstanding of religion and its functions Reducing religion to the individual sphere
Religious piety	Political piety	Propagation for secularism and individualism	Laziness Convenience Secularism and utilitarianism

What can be said as the conclusion is that the Islamic Revolution is the product of the theory of the revolutionary government, under which it needs to pay attention to its principles in the monotheistic school. Besides, as the intellectual thinking of the Supreme Leader has always been focused on historical changes and developments



concerning the monotheistic worldview, we must consider the transitions and effects of the revolutionary government, especially in the second phase of the revolution. Therefore, awareness people that the Islamic Revolution, as the prophetic community, is in danger of restitution and deviation in its path face the monotheistic school with changes and transformations, will eventually continue the direction more straightforwardly.

Therefore, in the second phase of the Islamic Revolution, paying attention to the current situation of the revolutionary government and striving to benefit from the possibility of training and growth of rebellious men can pave the way for this path. Therefore, the second phase statement is an instruction and a charter that emphasizes the monotheistic revolution school and attention to preserving and protecting the revolutionary government stated in orders and prohibitions.

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## The Role of Identity-Semantic Ideals of Executive Elites in Iran's Foreign Policy (1368-1376)

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### Abstract

Researchers use various political science and international relations theories with modifications to analyze Hashemi's foreign policy in the period 1368-1376. Most writers believe Hashemi's foreign policy was realistic according to materialist and rationalist theories, and the power-ideology equation changed in favor of power during this period. Others, using liberal-capitalist approaches, argue that Hashemi's government tended to converge with international economic and financial institutions and organizations. However, the above research vacuum is ignoring the government and society identity components in this period and its impact on foreign policy. The identity of political actors has a decisive effect on their behavior in the international arena; therefore, the identity of the Islamic Republic of Iran has been an influential factor in the foreign policy of this country. With the descriptive-analytical method, the present study aimed to examine the effect of identity ideals on Hashemi's foreign policy. The hypothesis of this research is: Hashemi's policy-making and foreign policy orientation are influenced by the identity components of the domestic executive political elites and the dominance of the Westernist identity discourse over the international system after the collapse of the Soviet Union.

**Keywords:** Identity, Hashemi, Iran Foreign Policy, International System, Constructivism.

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### Introduction

The analysis of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran in different periods (from 1357 until now) is impossible entirely in the framework of a political theory. Therefore, researchers and scholars use a specific approach or a combination of different ideas for each period. For analyzing Hashemi's foreign policy, we need to use this point. Nevertheless, most scholars have used the realistic theory to analyze Hashemi's foreign policy. The present study aimed to examine the Western orientation of Hashemi policy-making in the domestic and foreign arenas with an emphasis on the constructivist approach.

The countries foreign policy is developed according to the concept of identity, self-knowledge, and others. Identity as a tool in strategic interaction between countries determines the role of government. Determining the position, status, prestige, behavior style, and countries' function in the international system is determined by their cultural and civilizational level in the world. A country that does not define "Self" and "Other" becomes passive and confused in defining and determining national interest, policy-making, and foreign policy orientation. Finally, it has ambiguities and difficulties in deciding commonalities and differences with other political units and cannot form alliances with world powers. "Self" and "Making-other" form the basis of the formation and incubation of the foreign policy orientation of countries. (Dehghani Firuzabadi, 1388).

After the Islamic Revolution victory and during the Iraq war against Iran, some political elites and thinkers of the society were engaged in developing an identity for the Iranian nation that relied on Islam and Islamic honors. Ancient Iran has not a place there. Some considered "Nation" as opposed to "Ummah" and "National Identity" as opposed to "Islamic Identity" (Mojtahedzadeh, 1385: 33).

After the end of the imposed war, Hashemi in foreign policy emphasized the components of pragmatism, westernism, internationalism, and in the domestic arena, specialization, revival of capitalism, and modernization. Hashemi did not limit himself to political activity in a particular political group and had a good reading and interpretation of political Islam. His supporters attributed support or opposition to Hashemi with support and resistance to the Prophet, and Hashemi rebuked his critics as "Nagger." Hashemi replaced the modern speech system with a dominant speech in the Imam era. In his arena, warriors had not a place. This arena was for specialized forces, university graduates, wealthy classes, manufacturing enterprises, etc. In Hashemi Rafsanjani's mental space, warriors were revered and sanctified, but most played the role of a proud heritage left by their predecessors. Even the way Hezbollah figures adornment has changed in the new scene, everything has moved towards a technocratic rule. In such circumstances, the warriors, who had spent a long time on the battlefield, suddenly found the world depicted during the war years a

lost world. Thus began the grounds for hatred and opposition to Mr. Hashemi and his speech and the represented world. In the previous speech challenge, Mr. Hashemi stood in front of the world of war speech next to the world of the rational discourse of development and progress (Kashi, 1379: 354).

During his presidency, Hashemi sought economic development and "Simulation" with the capitalist economy, "Integration," and "Convergence" in the international system. But, from Hashemi's belief, a product needs "Experts" and "Technocrats," so in this period, "Value," "Traditional," and "Committed" went to the "Margin" and were gradually "Rejected." And in the domestic arena, over time, they became Hashemi's "Rival" and "Other." Moreover, regarding Hashemi's pragmatic and authoritarian spirit, intolerance towards critical forces, "Intellectuals," "Left Political Forces," and "National-Religious Elites and Intellectuals" also became serious "Opponents" and "Critics" of Hashemi. Hashemi avoided creating "Others" and "Rivals" in the international arena by adopting a policy of "De-Escalation." However, in this period, the "Zionist Regime" was considered "Other."

### **1. Constructivism Approach**

According to Social Constructivism, ideas are the basis of everything. Thus, the material world alone is not enough to explain the function of the world, but abstract and semantic forces shape behavior, identity, and benefit. Regarding Constructivism, norms guide foreign policy (Kayser, 2015: 49).

From the Constructivists, ideas and identities are components of governments' behavior. In other words, societal ideas, interests, and institutions influence the behavior of governments and the formation of preferences and priorities that form the basis of social goals and the base of strategic calculations of governments (Minesashvili\_Kakachia, 2015: 172).

Alexander Wendt, the leading theorist of Constructivism, believes national identity consists of four layers: individual identities, distinctive identities (including cultural, religious, linguistic, and ethnic), role identities, and collective identities. He considers national identity as a combination of three layers of personal identity, role, and typical that creates a central meaning at the national level. First, personal identity refers to a person's position in the division of social work and their social role, which is often objective. Second, role identity refers to the mission and duty that a state considers for other states and nations. Then, specific identity refers to a kind of political unit, whether it is an empire, a nation-state, a sectarian, or in the state-nation-building stage or linguistic, civilizational, and cultural characteristics. Collective identity refers to the government's position with other actors, especially the main actors in international relations

(Wendt, 1999: 325). National identity is not a static phenomenon, but it is redefined in dealing with the established structure. And governments simultaneously reproduce their identities through their daily social actions. So identities are fluid, evolving, and dynamic categories. From the constructivists' approach, interests as an idea are intersubjective and interpretively epistemological (Folescu, 2009: 5). Finally, identity considers as the root or basis of political or social action in contrast to advantages (Baki, 2009: 4). Constructivism shapes the state's priorities and activities. Issues related to identity are at the center of Constructivism theory. From a constructivist perspective, identity is a part of the social environment and domestic and international politics (Wiener, 2007: 14).

We can explain government identity based on the "Concept of Personal Identity" model. Just as individuals differ in personality, values, interests, and characteristics, so do governments. Likewise, governments are different socially, historically, and so on. Each government focuses on the particular brand, creates a picture of it in their minds, and knows other governments. Thus, governments play a different role in the world. In addition, each government has a mission based on the unique nature of society, such as governments that emphasize their historical mission. Thus, the type of government is determined by the membership in existing social groups, interests, values, the kind of personality (Headley, 2007: 1-2).

Government or ruling elites have a role in foreign policy in the process of defining identity and interests. Elites play a decisive role in determining interests and identities in developing countries, especially in the Middle East. Therefore, there is a distinction between the functioning of elites in developed democratic political systems and developing authoritarian systems. In developed systems, elites often play a role in specific and accepted frameworks. Therefore, during the socialization process, they internalize different norms and act according to them. Thus, they simultaneously advance two socialization processes; on the one hand, they are influenced by domestic means.

On the other hand, there are international norms and constant interaction between these two levels. In developing countries, especially in the Middle East, elites often define means and incorporate them into political culture, becoming identity elements (Qahramanpour, 1383: 312-324).

According to the constructivists, construct identity formation through the interaction of structure and agent. Therefore, constructivists believe in the process of interaction between agents and systems. Consequently, they reciprocally build each other. The interaction between design and agent and the dialectical relationship between the two that constructivists accept raises the question of forming interests and identity. In this way, the government's

advantages are concluded from the interaction with the structures, and it has an internal relationship with it (Haji Yousefi, 1382: 50).

The relationship between national identity and foreign policy has not been considered for years due to the dominance of realism in international relations. However, with the emergence of the evolutionism approach in international relations and having importance to ideals, ideas, and immaterial elements, the identity component found its place in international relations. Identities shape actors' interests and actions, and understanding them is critical to analyzing actors' foreign policy and global behavior. Identity means a relatively fixed understanding based on empty roles and the expectations of others. Therefore, it is a relational matter (Moshirzadeh, 1383: 183).

Researchers divide Constructivism into three thought progress: systemic, unitary, and holistic. Systemic Constructivism emphasizes the role of immaterial, cultural structures, rules, norms, and intellectual structures at the international system level on governments and the formation of their identities and interests. That is, what determines the states' identity derives from their interaction with the global system. Different constructivists examine the unit level of the relationship between social and legal norms and values and domestic or national legal rules and their impact on the identity of states. The emphasis here is on the internal sources of the formation of the essence and interests of governments. According to the constructivists, understanding the states' foreign policy must understand what these norms are and rules are defined - for example, in their constitutional texts, standards within their social culture, norms and values in their political cultures, and even cultural means over foreign policy studies institutions and 'how do they influence foreign policy?' Finally, unite-level Constructivism tells us why governments behave differently, despite their existence in a single international environment. The third group is holistic constructivists.

It wants to connect these two views and know immaterial influencing factors (normative-cultural-value) on the governments and systems "Internationally and internally." (Moshirzadeh, 1384: 19-20). The theoretical framework of this paper is holistic Constructivism.

## **2. The Emergence of New Semantic Identity Ideals in Iranian Society in The 70s**

The stabilizer fundamental pillars of identity in Iranian society are based on Islamism, nationalism, and positioning towards the West. However, from 1368 to 1376, fundamental changes occurred at the domestic and international levels, which had primary identity-semantic effects on the executive elites of Iranian society. As a result, factors create the elites' identity components in Iran, such as a new reading of Islam, the strengthening of the nationalism component with

the fall of communism, and the supremacy of the cultural features of Western civilization. The following discussion reviews a specific reading of Islam, strengthening nationalism and westernism in the Hashemi period.

### **2.1. Expediency-Based Islamism in the Hashemi Period**

The Islamic world has always been the arena of Sunni and Shia religions. These two, throughout history, have had different theological, jurisprudential, political, and so argue. The main difference between the Sunni and Shia schools is the constant interaction of religion and state (caliphate) and prolonged governance experiences in this field. The Shia minority, unlike the Sunnis, unless a few times, has not had such an experience.

Some scholars believe that the existence of such an experience in the Sunni world has given their political and jurisprudential thought an "Efficientism" feature. So in the Sunni jurisprudential structure, categories such as the political order of society, security, and public interests have a special place. In contrast, less attention to Shia jurisprudence indicated the inverse situation of Shia in Islam history. According to the results, the Shia political experience, like Sunnis, and the status change from the relaxed, limited, and closed state of the clergy to the government, causes the entry of elements that are the requirements of state orientation into Shia jurisprudential thought.

According to the Supreme Leader of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Ayatollah Khamenei, dynamic jurisprudence is concerned with the reality and needs of society. "Correct jurisprudence is based on facts. People according to their needs extract them from the Quran and tradition and correct and firm documents" (Khamenei, 1372).

"Expediency" in Shia jurisprudence is not an independent source along with other sources, and it is an argument if there is a valid religious reason for its validity or the intellect rules it definitively. According to Shia principles, the expediency-thinking of the ruling Islamic state is about the material or national interests; but, the Islamic ruler is the Imam. Therefore, during the absence time, the comprehensive jurist governs. Based on material and spiritual goods that the holy shari'ah considers necessary to maintain, the conditions entrusted to him deal with expediency in various aspects of foreign relations. Therefore, the ruling expediency should be in the framework of general religious and intellectual criteria and according to the book's spirit and tradition. The Islamic State has responsibilities towards its people and all Muslims and the needy, and sometimes there are conflicts between these responsibilities. One crucial rule is the "Priority of More Important than Important;" recognizing and superiority the essential expediency on important expediency can protect the highest interests of Islam and Muslims (Arjini, 1387: 167).

The concept of "Expediency" was introduced during the Ayatollah Khomeini era. At that time, Imam thought more than anything about

the Islamic Republic's expediency. Therefore, he preferred preserving and continuing this system before all the religious obligations, including prayer and Hajj. Accordingly, issued an order to establish an "Expediency Discernment Council" to propose a way out of the impasse based on the interests of the system if the parliament and the Guardian Council disagree. The absorption and articulation of the modern expediency concept of the state could have made it possible to get out of any jurisprudential impasse and help the system in the stalemate of conflict with the sharia rules. "According to the Imam, this expediency-thinking is not unlawful but is a part of the legal authority of Islamic ruling, and the necessary consequence of the belief in reason and the acceptance of rational expediency for social issues by the ruling" (Tuyserkani, 1380: 139).

The Supreme Leader of the Islamic Republic, Ayatollah Khamenei, in a meeting with the regime's agents on 9/11/1368, emphasized the three principles of "Dignity, Wisdom, and Taqiya" in foreign policy. In his view, dignity is "the movement of the Islamic society and system in any of its international confrontations should not lead to the humiliation of Islam and Muslims". Regarding the concept of wisdom, they also believed in maturity in affairs and securing national interests. "The Islamic system should work wisely and not move based on emotions and ignore vital interests and material advantages. The vision must be perfectly wise and mature". Finally, Taqiya in foreign policy is: "Taqiya is the shield of the believer. Where do they use the bumper? The bumper is used on the battlefield and during conflicts. So, Taqiya is in war; because it is an amulet, a trench, and a shield. Right now, global arrogance has power, and you have goals, and you want to do things. Therefore, there is no need for everyone to constantly announce from the tribunes and compete to do something and not do it later" (Khamenei, 1368).

Creating a balance between ideology and pragmatism in the formulation and implementation process of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic was one of the most complex and challenging issues of the system. Unfortunately, the construction cabinet could not resolve the conflict despite all efforts. Therefore, the place of general interests and the position of this factor in foreign policy ideology remained unclear. In addition, Hashemi Rafsanjani's pragmatism was strategically inconsistent with the ideal content and Ummah-based of the constitution. Prioritize economic development that followed the World Bank's policy to attract foreign investment, expand production, and increase employment and privatization (Azghandi, 1389: 90).

## **2.2. Nationalism**

At the beginning of the revolution's victory, "Islam" was a determining factor in developing Iran's foreign policy. However, gradually, with the passing of time and the occurrence of various events, including the long war and the failure to export the revolution,



the Islamic Republic was forced to reconsider its foreign policy's ideological rules and standards. Therefore, pragmatic considerations based on the survival needs of the regime prevailed. Hence, in parallel with the above developments, nationalist tendencies won over trans-National-Islamic directions (Hunter, 1380: 240).

The end of Imam Khomeini's era is the beginning of essential changes in the balance between the components and variables of pragmatism and ideology in the Iranian foreign policy in favor of activism. This very subtle and gradual change lasted eight years, and the theory of Islam began in one country. But, the intersection of three sets of events: domestic, regional, and global, together laid the foundation for a change in the national interests and foreign policy of the Islamic Republic (Ramezani, 1381: 13). In the Hashemi period, regardless of the closeness of Iran and Islam, the necessity of "National Dimension" in the foreign policy of "Islamic Iran" is explained as follow:

A) The division of political units is definite today, and "Monopoly" is impossible, at least in the current situation;

B) Attention to the land and sensitivity to the borders and their preservation is an obstacle to prevent the infiltrating of the imperialist and aggressor powers that have targeted independent governments and any Islamic government;

C) The Islamic Republic and any Islamic government need a secure land and base to establish the Islamic government and strengthen and perpetuate the revolution;

D) The framework of Islamic Iran itself is a pillar for forming the Islamic homeland of Islam; its strengthening and preservation as a prelude to creating a powerful Islamic world pole and constructing a "Single Nation" is necessary (Nakhaei, 1376: 299-300).

Thus, after the war, the identity based on nationalism, material values, conventionalism, and weak Westernism replaced the identity based on fundamentalism, semantics, and transcendental affairs due to developments inside and outside the country. During this period, technocrats returned semanticism and commitments, and Mr. Hashemi replaced the modern speech system with the dominant speech system in the Imam period. Warriors had no place in this field, but it was the specialized forces, university graduates, wealthy classes, manufacturing companies, and so on. In Hashemi Rafsanjani's thought, warriors were revered and sanctified but mostly played the role of early and glorious heritage (Kashi, 1379: 354).

### **2.3. Westernism**

After the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the socialism identity-semantic components in the international community, the liberal Western discourse in many fields, especially in economics, culture, and politics, became the dominant global discourse at the first term of Mr. Hashemi Rafsanjani. The capitalist economy and free-



market model by institutions and organizations are based on the teachings of economic liberalism emphasized by developing countries. During this period, the Hashemi government designed its financial programs in line with the international economy. With the end of the imposed war, Mr. Hashemi's government pursued an economic policy following the Western capitalist model. New policies increased the influence of pro-capitalist groups and fostered the spirit of private commercial profit. Development policy has upset social balance, increased inequality, changed values, and created various other issues.

Therefore, the central element of this discourse was growth and construction, utilitarianism, pragmatism in formulating and implementing policies with observing Islamic values at home and foreign policy. The necessity of transforming the war economy system into a free market and reconstruction system necessitated forming a "Construction" cabinet. On the other hand, the transition from the ideological cabinet to the technocratic cabinet imposed new insights on elites to interpreting and explaining political concepts. Debate on national interests was an essential concept. According to Ali Akbar Velayati, Iran's foreign minister in Hashemi's cabinet, "economic considerations overshadow political priorities" (Hosseinizadeh, 1386: 137).

In both governments, Hashemi Rafsanjani focused his efforts on rebuilding the country economically. Their economic policy during this period was based on economic liberalization, privatization, and the reduction of state monopolies in the economy. In this regard is used the eternal and foreign private sector and expanded free trade zones. At the same time, Iran entered the world economy that caused international organizations' involvement in domestic socio-political issues.

### **3. The Impact of Nationalism on the Hashemi Foreign Policy**

#### **3.1. Changing the National Role from a Savior Government to a Federal Government**

The dual identity of the Islamic Republic of Iran allows for different interpretations of the "Neither Eastern nor Western" principle. While the "Islamic Republic" expresses romantic ideals and loyalties inconsistent with the foundation of the current international system. The "Iran" component refers to geopolitical realities and a specific territorial unit and nation-state that impose boundaries and ideological internationalism restrictions. On the other hand, the Islamic Republic is the product of an all-out political revolution that its consequences have had a very significant impact on foreign policy. In the first years of the Islamic Revolution victory, like other revolutionary governments, the prevailing conditions allowed forming a radical and idealistic reading of "Neither Eastern nor Western" politics. At the same time, the post-war period required a pragmatic approach. In

other words, at the beginning of the establishment of the Islamic Republic of Iran, the "Islamic Republic" component was the pillar of shaping the central discourse of foreign policy. While in the years after the war, the "Iran" component became more decisive. In this period, the identities resulting from the revolution, or in other words, cultural-ideological identities, should have given way to organizational identity or identity resulting from the labor division (Tajik, 1383: 91).

The consequence of accepting the principles mentioned above led to tangible changes in the national role of Iran. This action caused a significant difference in Iran's relations with the Persian Gulf countries and Western Europe. The end of the war pushed the Iranians towards reconstruction because the war destroyed Iran's economy. The aggressive approach that prevailed during this period delayed friendly relations with neighbors and beyond. End of this period, many of Iran's foreign policy necessities had been affected by the war, eliminated. With the end of the conflict and confrontation conditions between countries, there will be changes in countries' attitudes and positions. The end of the war shifted the balance of power between Islam's pragmatic and ideological interests in favor of the former because the terrible consequences of the imposed war taught Iran to use its control in securing its national interests as a nation-state instead of playing the savior of Islamic countries and the Third World (Ehteshami, 1378: 128).

### **3.2. The Priority of Nationalism Over Islamic Internationalism**

According to this view, the priority of national interests over transnational interests in conflict situations is for the time constraints; if multinational responsibilities are before national interests regarding the value principles, but national interests according to time and place take precedence over them. Some belief in this theory. (Dolatabadi, 1375). For example, Sayyed Mohammad Sadr writes: "In the current situation, the Islamic Republic of Iran is the heart of the Islamic world. Therefore, the security of the Islamic Republic of Iran has priority over the security of the Islamic world, not actual superiority, so, maintaining the security of the Islamic Republic of Iran means maintaining the security of the Islamic world". The overhead view, with any justification, indicates the priority of national interests in practice; the subject principle does not matter.

Hojjati Kermani's idea is beyond: "The claim that the Islamic government is transnational is theoretically correct. However, considering the obligation to international treaties and the custom of international law, the global nature of the government and leadership of the Islamic Republic of Iran is not the constitution purport, and not compatible with the custom of international law, or claimed by the leader and government of the Islamic Republic of Iran" (Kiani, 1386: 84).

Achieving Islamic ideals and commitment to Muslims and defending their rights in this period, as in the past, maintained its absolute status in foreign policy. Still, the Islamic Republic was obliged to provide and fulfill them as much as its power and ability. In other words, the decision-makers and the foreign policy executors of the Islamic Republic of Iran during these years, recognizing the facts, had concluded that they should consider other governments as representing the interests of their nations. Therefore, paying more attention to the foreign environment and participating in the international ruling system replaced distancing from the global climate during the Iraq-Iran war.

### **3.3. Nationalist Interpretation of Foreign Policy Principles**

#### **3.3.1. The Principle of Issuing a Revolution; Internal Modeling**

At the same time, with the de-escalation process in foreign policy, it was needed to plan new interpretations of some themes and principles of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran; to reduce the mental obstacles and limitations facing foreign policymakers. In addition, the new process created after the adoption of Resolution 598 reduced the external appearance of the revolution. As a result of this process, there was less support for the revolution export. After the war, emphasized the spiritual aspects of the revolution export. In this regard, President Hashemi said: "Issuing a revolution means issuing the revolution thought, not interfering in the affairs of the other; we cannot stop issuing an idea with a soldier, thought is even stronger than a laser". Elsewhere he says: "We do not have anything called the export of revolution. It means that we introduce our revolution to the world, and whoever wants can use our experience. We do not intervene militarily in any country in any way" (Ettelaat, 1381: 3).

Iran's foreign policy during the Rafsanjani era moved away from adventure and became more pragmatic. It has three main pillars of this new thinking. It was accepting the severe limitation of Iran's ability to change in the political arena of the Islamic world, closer to the West, and improving relations with Iran's neighbors (Milani, 1381: 410). Simultaneously, the Islamic Republic of Iran faced three important realities with resolving its foreign policy problems and issues. First, pay attention to the fact that the international system operates based on interdependence. Therefore, Iran cannot change the quo status and take effective action outside the existing international structures. Then, Iran was aware of its profound economic problems in the post-war period. Accordingly, it sought to implement an effective and comprehensive reform of its financial system and administrative apparatus. Finally, Iran should use foreign aid to improve the many economic problems. In this regard, attempt to address the economic difficulties of military weakness and shortcomings in financial investment from a structural perspective. The world king believes: "After the Imam Khomeini death, Iran's foreign policy has become

based on national interests rather than ideological considerations. Iran revised the slogan of "Revolution Issuing" to avoid confrontation with its neighbors; the slogan "Islamic Revolution Issuing" created riots in some Persian Gulf countries, such as Iraq and Saudi Arabia. Sadri also believes that the fiery orientation, despite claims against the Clinton administration, is the best description for this decade's foreign policy" (Sadri, 1381: 462).

In this regard, Iranian leaders expressed the concept of Iran's regional role as a spreading center of the Islamic Revolution to its neighbors, which has strengthened Iran's political-military structures. As a result, the attention to military and economic infrastructure is of greater priority and importance to Iranian leaders. Therefore, Iran's primary goal is to develop the Islamic Revolution, especially in its neighboring countries. In continuing this, Iran wants to appear as an actor in the region with effective military and political influence and power. Therefore, achieving such a process should be considered the heart and center of gravity of Iran's policies. The new trend that was created after the adoption of Resolution 598 reduced the outward appearance of the revolution and made it somewhat homely. As a result, there was less talk of revolution issuing, but the method and discourse of exporting took on a different form. During this period, some of the early leaders of the revolution said that if we provide political freedom and independence for the people and society, our country will be a sample for others. It will affect all third-world countries and Islamic governments without any problems.

### **3.3.2. A New Interpretation of Independency in Foreign Policy**

The concept of independence is one of the keywords of the leader of the Islamic Republic, Ayatollah Khamenei, in the field of foreign policy. According to the leader idea, the primary goal of the domination system is the submission and dependence of the Islamic system on the arrogant powers. Thus, according to the cruel world, the Islamic Republic's crime is to adhere to Islam, independence, and the interests of its nation. In our opinion, this issue is the key to the success, power, and survival of the Islamic system in the international arena. Therefore, Iranian people relying on Islam will proudly continue their glorious path in the world (Khamenei, 1373).

The Islamic Republic's emphasis on adopting independent diplomacy, free from dependence on arrogant powers, was not unaffected by Iran's internal developments. A moral understanding of the state duties emphasizing self-confidence, self-reliance, achieving total sovereignty, the realization of independence culture, and the denial of self-destruction and alienation from the West provided belief in the strategy of confronting the hegemonic order of the two imperialist superpowers, striving to establish a just international system and striving to export the culture of revolution. It led to the schooling of foreign policy (Dehshiri, 1380: 374).

The Islamic Republic of Iran is the historical result of the Iranian political struggles to interruption ties and supplying political independence and national sovereignty. According to accepting Islamic Revolution management by clergy, its tendencies were naturally religious and based on Islamic thought (Sari al-Qalam, 1379: 93).

Ehteshami believes that "Independence" and distance from the great powers seems to be more of a sign of honor displayed inside the country (Ehteshami: 164). By showing xenophobia, Sandra McKay believes that Ayatollah Khomeini knew the roots of Iranians in the twentieth century (McKay, 1380: 283).

#### **4. Hashemi Islamism and Foreign Policy**

Hashemi's foreign policy discourse is a sub-discourse in the dominant discourse of Islamism with a jurisprudential-political approach throughout the life of the Islamic Republic. According to the article main emphasis on Hashemi's foreign policy analysis, the essential components of this sub-discourse include:

##### **4.1. New Foreign Policy Architecture Based on the Concept of the Islamic State Expediency**

According to Imam Khomeini, the critical and pivotal factor in any decision is the maintenance of the system. Thus, by granting absolute authority to the jurist, he expands the government's maneuvering power in dealing with the worlds political, economic, cultural, and social problems based on practicality. As a result, it increases the ability to lead Islamic society in different times and places, dealing with modernism. He insists not on the appearances of the Shari'ah but its nature; that is, the practicality is imposed on command. And this argument presumption is the Ummah rationality can discern its interests. Since the ruling is one of the wise and their leader, it is following them, and in other words, it emphasizes the connection between reason and law.

Imam Khomeini, in response to disagreements between the Shura Council and the Guardian Council on legislation and other issues, stated: "The government, which is a branch of the absolute guardianship of the Prophet, is one of the basic rules of Islam and precedes all the sub-rules, even prayer, fasting, and Hajj. Therefore, the government can unilaterally cancel legal contracts with the people when that contract is against the country's interests and Islam. And it can prevent the occurrence of something, whether worship or non-worship, that occurrence is against the interests of Islam. In addition, the government can temporarily stop Hajj, the essential divine duty, if it opposes the country's interests". In the theory of absolute guardianship of the jurisprudent, Imam Khomeini considered the expediency of the Islamic government above the basic rules of Islam. This attitude was the basis for the formation of the Expediency

Council to resolve the dispute between the Shura Council and the Guardian Council. Thus, the Velayat-e-Faqih theory formed a new version, "The Precedence of the Government Expediency and Expediency-oriented Over the Basic Rules of Islam" (Bashirieh, 1381: 9-48). During the construction period, expediency-oriented based on Islamic fundamentalism intensified in the face of domestic issues.

In the foreign policy literature of the Islamic Republic, the content load of pragmatism is considered equivalent to the concepts of expediency-oriented and Islamic realism. Still, pragmatism seems to have a maximum reading of Islamic expediency-oriented or realism. Of course, in this context, Mr. Hashemi Rafsanjani uses the concept of Islamic realism. According to him, Islamic realism means that we do not forget Islam. Our ideals are becoming more Islamic and realistic. Also, his moderate personality trait adds to the degree of deepening of Islamic realism in foreign policy. In this regard, Hashemi Rafsanjani acknowledges that "perhaps my first characteristic is moderation, which is in my nature. I reached moderation from my thoughts" (Rahmani, 302).

#### **4.2. Reconciliation of Islamic Ideology and Realities and Its Impact on Foreign Policy**

Revolutionary pragmatists and idealists consider the foundations of the existing international system to be oppressive and illegitimate and believe religion and belief to the highest and first source of political loyalty to the people instead of nationality. However, like the proponents of the Islamic world order, pragmatic revolutionaries have never hidden their commitment to work to establish a world order based on Islamic ideals and consider it their true and ultimate goal (Ramezani, 1381: 62).

While the idealists consider the spiritual and material support of Islamic and liberation movements in different parts of the world the best way to export the revolution, pragmatists insist on going in and providing an exemplary sample of an ideal Islamic society. Proponents of the Islamic world order consider conflict with the current international system inevitable and, in the current situation, seek to establish the outstanding Islamic order in the world. In contrast, the pragmatic attitude recommends peaceful coexistence. It postpones its full and final realization of the future by defending the gradual groundwork for establishing a world order based on Islamic values.

Also, in the eyes of pragmatic revolutionaries, the weight of "Being Iranian" and "Being Islamic" in forming the national identity of Iranian society is relatively balanced. At the same time, idealists place the national and Iranian character in the shadow of the Islamic and religious image (Milani, 1383: 216).

The tendency towards pragmatism was not directed against the "Ideal Vision of the Islamic World Order" but in its continuation.



In this period, the pragmatic narrative of neither Eastern nor Western politics is a new perspective from the view mentioned above, which seeks to reconcile far-sighted unrealistic ideals with contemporary political realities while moderating them (Karsh, 1989: 85).

#### **4.3. Umm al-Qura Theory and Hashemi's Foreign Policy**

Dr. Mohammad Javad Larijani introduces the pillars of Umm al-Qura's theory as follows:

**A)** The Islamic world is a nation composed of people with cohesion, direction, and movement. Velayat is the same. Imam guides the Ummah and is responsible for the whole Ummah;

**B)** The criterion of the Ummah unity is its leadership. Thus, the country will become the Umm al-Qura of the Islamic world, worthy of leading the nation. Therefore, the main criterion is "Velayat," not the strategic position and the like. If a country claims to be an Umm al-Qura, it must increase its geographical boundaries and make choices in its Ummah. A group may be the Umm al-Qura of Islam and then removed from this position;

**C)** After the Islamic Revolution, Iran became the Umm al-Qura, and Imam Khomeini took over two positions: the legal leadership of the Islamic Republic and the province of the Islamic world. According to this theory, conflicting between the requirements of these two honors, the Ummah interests always have priority, except Umm al-Qura that its preservation is obligatory on the entire Ummah;

**D)** In the dialectical connection between the Umm al-Qura and the Islamic world, all nations must defend the Umm al-Qura (Larijani, 1364: 47).

Umm al-Qura and the Islamic Ummah each have rights and duties towards the other. Umm al-Qura 'must protect and support the Ummah and help it and try to prevent the oppression of the powers. And in return has the rights, which is the duty of the Ummah towards the Umm al-Qura. If Umm al-Qura 'is attacked by the enemies and opponents of Umm al-Qura, help Umm al-Qura with all her might and existence. (Larijani, 1369: 47).

#### **4.4. Tolerant Tendencies in Foreign Policy Are Rooted in Islamic Interests**

Tolerant tendencies of the foreign policy behavioral pattern of the Islamic Republic are derived from the characteristics and structure of ideological traditionalism. It is based on the concepts of expediency and necessity in jurisprudential principles and scientific requirements and the establishment and continuation of the Islamic government. Assuming the existence of the national government and resolving the founding conflict with it, expediency and necessity should be considered the essential and practical measures that provide a wide range of possibilities for the tendency to compromise and tolerance (Nowruzi, 1382: 380).



The tolerant tendencies of the foreign policy behavior of the Islamic Republic of Iran are to deviate from some of the components of Islamic political thought that played a crucial role in the theoretical infrastructure of its foreign relations in the early years of the revolution. These components are Jihad, ignoring the national territory of states, and interfering in their affairs. Invasion means basing relations with Islamic and non-Islamic nations instead of the governments that are their legal representatives, Nafy Al-Sabil, or strategic struggle with the world's superpowers. However, in the second decade of the revolution, there has been an objective, customary, and to some extent under the charter and international law principles as normative rules in Iran's foreign relations. It has brought the country closer to a global camp with a universally accepted and regulated geopolitical hierarchy.

### **5. The Impact of Western Identity Ideas on Hashemi's Foreign Policy**

While maintaining the positions of Islamic fundamentalism, Hashemi tried to adopt goals in foreign policy that are based on supplying internal needs; and increase the compatibility of foreign policy goals with the international environment to advance and succeed in foreign policy during the construction period (Yaghubi, 1387: 55).

Hashemi Rafsanjani, with awareness of the international environment, pursued some goals in foreign policy. They are ending Iran's international isolation, normalization of Iran's containment policy by the United States, attracting foreign capital, acquiring modern weapons, and reviving military forces.

#### **5.1. Tendency to Convergence in the International Order**

By adopting UN Security Council Resolution 598, the Islamic Republic of Iran has embraced existing international norms. Despite the belief in unfairness, some international standards, such as the veto in the UN, abandoned its past policy of disregarding these organizations. Iran reached an agreement with major international economic organizations, namely the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, and the government of Hashemi Rafsanjani adopted policies of structural adjustment and economic reform to rebuild Iran's economy (Haji Yousefi, 1382: 5).

Convergence and integration in the international order of this period, which officially began with the adoption of Resolution 598, was the beginning of a new era formed by the first generation and group of political leaders after Ayatollah Khomeini. In general, Iranian leaders since 1989 have emphasized constructive diplomacy. However, during this period, the modern orientation of Iran's foreign policy had similar components to the previous period. Although it had established an exceptionally peaceful way to repair Iran's foreign policy since the second half of the 1370s, its emergence as a

convergence strategy had not materialized. The new trend was based on peaceful coexistence and economic cooperation with the developed countries of capitalism. But for the fulfillment of this process, they need new opportunities and conditions for Hashemi Rafsanjani to play the role of president and Ayatollah Khamenei's position of the Supreme Leader. Together, they changed and reformed foreign policy that affected other social and political life aspects and the new leadership. The focus of the policies of the Islamic Republic of Iran in this period was to restore stability in the Persian Gulf region.

Consequently, establishing more robust relations with the global capitalist system was one of the priorities of Iran's new trend. On the other hand, the Islamic Republic of Iran sought to rebuild its relations with international and regional organizations. In following Iran's tendency in the Hashemi period, examine the convergence with the Western system of the global system as an example:

#### **5.1.1. Connection with International Financial Institutions**

Hashemi's plan for the post-war period was implemented by encouraging foreign investors to invest in Iran and borrow from world banks. He had four specific goals: ending Iran's political isolation, changing America's view of Iran, attracting foreign investment to Iran, and acquiring modern military weapons. Thus, we can investigate Iran's practical and behavioral strategy in foreign policy in the form of normalization.

The first and second development programs from 1368 to 1376 had economic growth as their primary goal. Therefore, these programs included a set of economic policies, such as privatization, encouraging foreign investment, developing and modernizing the stock market, and creating free trade zones. In connection with such policies, the Iranian government sought to play a more favorable role in international economics. To this end, strengthening relations with the global capitalist system was a priority in its foreign policy process. Hence, it established strong links with international financial institutions such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. In addition, Iran increased its stake to influence the IMF's decision-making process. Iran's cooperation with organizations was appropriate until 1371. Still, since Bill Clinton implemented a policy of bilateral containment against Iran and Iraq, Iran's relations with international financial organizations have entered a phase of conflict and struggle. The majority of Iran's loan applications to the World Bank were disrupted by US domination. At the same time, the technical, expert, and research cooperation benefited from the World Bank's experience and the IMF's recommendations. In addition, in 1374, Iran applied for membership in the GATT, which had become a WTO. Mr. Kalantari, the Minister of Agriculture, emphasized Iran's membership in the World Trade Organization because, in his opinion, Iran could not live apart from the world community and ignore global developments in

the agricultural and industrial sectors. Instead, they should become a member of the World Trade Organization as soon as possible to gain a fair and worthy share of the world market (Azghandi, 1381: 105).

#### **5.1.2. Adherence to Western International Norms and Rules**

The main characteristics of the tendency to accept and adhere to Western international norms and rules in Hashemi's foreign policy are:

- Emphasis on peaceful coexistence and avoiding of hostile and conflicting actions against the existing global system, despite fundamental dissatisfaction and criticism of its principles;
- Accepting the role of the United Nations in Iraq's invasion of Kuwait and adhering to Security Council resolutions in this regard;
- Emphasizing the role of international organizations and world forums and encouraging third world countries to use these levers to defend their interests;
- Willingness attracts foreign and international interests, facilities, and investments to participate in domestic economic activities and industrial projects.

#### **5.2. Anti-Western Adjustment**

After the death of Ayatollah Khomeini in 1368 and Rafsanjani's positive role in the release of American and other Western hostages in Lebanon, there were signs of improved relations. In addition, the United States appreciated Iran's position in the Gulf War, and US President Bush said: "It brings goodwill, goodwill". But this situation did not last long. Both side's leaders were severely criticized internally for their reconciliation policy. In October 1992, shortly before stepping down, Bush passed a law to prevent Iran-Iraq nuclear proliferation, including pre-imposed sanctions on Iraq.

In relating with the region's countries, Iran limited itself to government-government relations, and in practice, pursued a "Secular" foreign policy and avoided any action that could be considered interventionist. Instead, the country followed the establishment and maintenance of peace and stability for economic and political reasons.

This policy also manifested itself in Iran's relations with many other countries. Thus, Iran sought to normalize its relations with all other countries, including the West, which required avoiding critical and propaganda actions against these countries, limiting oneself to government-government ties, and, in practice, abandoning any plan to export the revolution. Iran also pursued a policy of non-confrontation with foreign countries as long as the other side had the same approach. Thus, militant policies continued only in countries that followed hostile policies toward Iran and countries whose relations with Iran were unimportant.

#### **5.3. Acceptance of the Theoretical Model with Western Nature in the Field of Economics**

Economic adjustment policy was the base of many countries since the late 1980s, including the former socialist countries (Eastern Bloc) and the Third World. In addition, international financial institutions such as the World Bank also recommended and supported the implementation of this policy to create more coordination in the global economy. Thus, the turn in the economic policies of the Islamic Republic coincided with similar turns in other parts of the world. But the successful advancement of this policy, like any different model, required its preconditions and requirements. The most important of these preconditions are as follows:

- The relative consensus within the government and major political institutions on the economic liberalization program;
- Regulating a clear, coordinated, and workable plan for the implementation of the economic liberalization program;
- Relatively favorable social contexts, and in particular the lack of organized solid forces opposed to the program.

In such circumstances, extended the pursuit of some ideological and political goals and tendencies in the country's foreign policy beyond the borders. Thus, while Iran's international position was still fragile, such activities exacerbated the situation and fueled international accusations against Iran. In addition, the continuation of revolutionary ideological policy in the Middle East and opposition to Western plans to resolve the Palestinian crisis intensified international pressure on Iran; especially by the United States, and in 1995 led to the intensification of economic sanctions on Iran (in the form of the Damato-Kennedy plan). These sanctions severely restricted foreign investment, in which conditions were necessary to advance economic reforms (Delavari, 1385: 7-164).

### **Conclusion**

The scientific community still considers foreign policy analysis focusing on international relations theory despite the decline of government involvement in the post-Ostafalia era. The present study aimed to use constructivism theory to study Hashemi's foreign policy.

In 1989, changed the identity components of Iranian society regarding the national and international developments. Factors caused significant changes in the identity of Iranian society: ending the imposed war in 1989 and the beginning of the construction period, the weakening of the spiritual components and the emphasis on the material elements, and the coming to power of the technocratic class in Iran, the collapse of the Soviet-led semantic-identity discourse in the 1370s and the dominance of the Western-led liberal-democratic identity discourse, especially the United States. These changes led to a new interpretation of Iran's foreign policy behavior. As a result, Iran's behavior changed from a revolutionary, aggressive, rigid, and

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revisionist state in the international system to a corrective, defensive, flexible, and supportive behavior. In other words, the constructive government's attempt in the foreign arena was changing Iran to become a regular player in the international system over time.

During this period, the interpretation of revolutionary Islam shifted to expedient Islam, which strengthened pragmatic foreign policy and distanced it from ideological foreign policy. The revival of nationalist elements, the strengthening of the middle class, and the rise of technocrats also strengthened this. The Soviet-led socialist-communist collapse identity discourse and the dominance of the US-led liberal-democratic discourse and the overlap with the above developments strengthened the reasonable discourse in Iranian foreign policy.

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