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About Journal

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

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A Comparative Study of the British, German and French Governments' Strategies Concerning Muslims and Their Consequences

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Abstract

The European countries have adopted a particular policy and manner to conflict with Muslims in their countries. These policies are classified into three behavioral patterns of British, German, and French. The British model is cultural pluralism, the German is Muslims' integration in German society, and the French are melting melt pot. In their belief, Muslims must be dissolved in French culture and eliminated their religious identity. Other European countries follow one of these three models. The present study aimed to answer the following questions: 'What effect have these strategies and patterns had on the living conditions of Muslims and the whole society of that country?' 'Were the approaches a plan or practical?' 'Which policies have been more successful quickly or strictly in confronting Islamic extremism (Takfiri terrorism) and Secular extremism (European terrorism)?' 'What was the practical result of these approaches in the Western European countries' social and security conditions?'

Keywords: Europe, Muslims, European Muslims, Islam, European Islam, Islamophobia.

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Introduction

The Muslim population of Europe is about 25 million (approximately 5% of the total European population). In the European Union (28 members), France and Germany have the most prominent Muslim people. France's Muslim population is about 5.7 million (8.8% of the French population) and a maximum of 10 million. Germany has the second-largest Muslim population in Western Europe after France, with nearly 5 million Muslims, 6.1% of the German people. Approximately 3 million German Muslims are Turkish. The United Kingdom is the third most Muslim country in Europe, with about 3 million Muslims (6.3% of the total population)(<https://www.pewforum.org/29/11/2017/Europe's-growing-Muslim-population>).

In 2016, the average age of European Muslims was 30.4 years old,



which was 13 years younger than other Europeans who are 43.8 years old. In other words, 50% of European Muslims are under 30, while this number is only 32% for non-Muslim Europeans (<https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/11/29/5-facts-about-the-muslim-population-in-europe/>). Muslim women in Europe have almost 2.6 children, one child, more than the average non-Muslim European woman with 1.6 children (<https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/11/29/5-facts-about-the-muslim-population-in-europe/>).

With the growing Muslim population in Western Europe, each of these countries has adopted a specific policy to deal with Muslims in their country. Considering the ever-increasing population and manifestation of Muslim identity in their countries, Western European governments should answer: ‘How to interact with Muslims in rising political tensions?’ ‘How to integrate them into the social body and

maintain social unity and internal security.

1. Attitudes of Western European Governments towards Muslims

Western European governments have a standard discriminatory view and literature against Muslims in their policies and general situation.

Each of these countries has different approaches to confronting Muslim minorities.

These approaches differ based on several factors. These include the political tradition of each country encountering with the religious role in political and social life, the part of minorities and the amount of minorities recognition, the multi-culturalism of countries that have been the native land of Muslim immigrants, history and the reason of their presence (as workers, immigrants, refugees, etc.) and the type of relationship with the immigrant-sender country (colonial history) and finally, the number of Muslims to the total population and their geographical distribution (Majidi and Sadeghi, 2014 AD/1393 SH: 261).

Some important questions will be answered in this paper: ‘What effect did these approaches have on the living conditions of Muslims?’ ‘Have been these approaches plan or practical?’ ‘Which policies have been more successful quickly or strictly in confronting Islamic extremism (Takfiri terrorism) and Secular extremism (European terrorism)?’ ‘What was the practical result of these approaches in the Western European countries' social and security conditions?’

Western countries analyze the Islam and Muslim issues with two different, not necessarily contradictory, political tendencies; neo-conservatism and liberalism. Following the clash of civilizations theory, neo-conservatives consider the whole of Islam challenging. Liberals deprecate Islamism, social Islam, or political Islam. In Europe, neo-conservatives are inventing the concept of "Eurabia." Liberals divided Islam into good Islam and evil Islam; instead of the modern Western's alleged claim of "Multi-culturalism," they emphasize "Religious Management," "Government Interference in Religion," and the "Islam Nationalization." (cf: Khani, 2018 AD/1397 SH: 45-53)

We can categorize European governments' approaches to Muslims and controversial issues such as the establishment of mosques and policy-making on the religious needs of Muslim citizens and public policy goals towards them into three behavioral models of English, German and French. Other European countries are following one of these three main models.

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Policies of Western European Governments towards Muslims	European Governments’ Patterns of Behavior towards Muslims
multi-culturalism	British: a policy of cultural diversity
forced equalization policy in Western society	Germany: convergence and integration
secularization of Islam (European Islam) and gradual unification	France: a policy of melting and unification

1.1. The English Approach: The Politics of Cultural Diversity (multi-Culturalism)

"Multi-Culturalism" is the policy of managing a multicultural society concerning the different cultures of that society, creating equal opportunities for other ethnic groups to display customs, and accepting different identities. This strategy is known by metaphors such as "Salad Bowl" or "Cultural Mosaic."

This policy is based on flexibility to the beliefs and Muslims' rituals and supplying their cultural and religious needs. The history of multi-culturalism policy in Britain back to the 1960s, when the country faced a wave of immigrants. Ray Jenkins, a senior British government official, emphasized the importance of integrating ethnic minorities. He defined that based on "Cultural Diversity," not "Equality," which should be based on respect for minorities' rights (Rex, 1996: 237).

In the multi-culturalism of Laissez-Fair¹ the government seeks to avoid interfering with social unification while respecting the different cultures of society. In this type of culturalism, none of the existing cultures is "more Important" or "more Valuable" than other cultures.

After accepting the United Kingdom cultural diversity in governmental schools in the 1970s, compulsory religious education programs in the country's schools also included Christianity, Judaism, Islam, and Sikhism.

Muslim girls are allowed to wear the hijab in public schools provided that it complies with the color requirements of school uniforms. Since 1998, the U.K. government has allowed religious schools to receive government grants after years of efforts by Muslims to recognize Islamic private schools.

Unlike some other European countries, building a mosque in the U.K. was not controversial. The decision to issue a permit to build a mosque was handed over to the local authorities. As a result, some

1. It is a French phrase meaning "Let It Be Free." In economics, the concept of Laissez- refers to a system of free economics in which the government intervenes minimally. Here the pattern of British multi-culturalism, in which ethnic groups are free to express their culture and the government does not interfere in their integration based on their accepted values, is called Laissez-fair.

Muslim women's veil (niqabs) is permitted in Britain (Gallis et al., 2005: 12).

Some examples of this approach are as follow: licensing the mosques building and private Islamic schools, lodging the educational courses to familiar with Islam like other religions in the school curriculum, freedom in the clothing of Muslim women, etc.

At the same time, there are still many legal, social, and economic constraints on British Muslims. In Britain, a convergence policy caused Muslim immigrants to accept primary British institutions and learn English. British Muslims are far behind British and even non-Muslim immigrants in economic well-being, job opportunities, and education.

Disclosure of British government report in 2004 indicated that Muslims in comparison to the country's total population are faced three times more likely to unemployment, lower economic activity, higher age disproportion of employed people, and higher concentration in disadvantaged areas².

The British Home Office report on religious discrimination confirms that Muslims, more than Christians, Jews, or Buddhists, suffer unjust behavior in schools and protests (Weller et al., 2001: 23).

One of these reasons is related to the "Race Relations Act." Based on this law, the British government forbade race discrimination; while considered the Jews and the Sikhs to be one race and did not consider the Muslims race. The British government has refused to extend anti-racism law to religion-based discrimination, a key concern for Muslims.

This policy has been criticized and changed over the past decade, especially since the July 2005 London bombings. After that, the secular extremist attacks began to introduce the British cultural diversity policy as a factor in overemphasizing the preservation of individual and collective identity at the cost of sacrificing common British identity and values (Shirgholami, 2009 AD/1388 SH: 405).

1.2. The French Approach: The Policy of Melting and Assimilation

The policy of "multi-Culturalism" is the opposite of the assimilation policy, known as the "Melting Pot."

Despite Muslims' problems and restrictions in Britain, their life conditions and rights in France are not comparable to Britain. The French government, known for its laicism tendencies, does not allow religious interests in public schools, does not even sponsor an Islamic school in the country, and has been prevented from building mosques

2. Many British Government documents on Relations with the Muslim Community were leaked to the media between April and May 2004. See for Example: Winnett, 2016: 1.

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by Muslims.

Based on the French extremist interpretation of laicism as the foundation of the French Republic, the extremist policy of unification was used through educational institutions and other organizations. Their purpose was to make the culture of Muslim immigrants and their children through compulsory laws, non-Islamic and French.

France has rejected the pattern of cultural diversity in its governmental schools, and French students have no education about Islam. It is against wearing prominent religious symbols and considers it anti-laicism. These policies caused the prohibition of the Islamic hijab in schools (since 2004). The ban on hijab in schools and at work became one of the biggest problems for French Muslim girls and women. Hundreds of Muslim girls have been expelled from public schools for refusing to remove the hijab. They have been forced to study virtually or by private tutors, and some prefer to drop out of school. After that, the French government banned face and head coverings (niqabs) in public places and prohibited prayers in universities. The strangest law was the ban on Islamic swimwear and swimming with the hijab on the beach (<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/9/4/2021/a-law-against-Islam>).

Muslim men also face restrictions and even suspension and dismissal for performing their daily worship at work. Muslims' attempts to build large mosques or turn some buildings into places of worship have failed. They force to perform their rituals in garages and parking lots.

The social and economic well-being of French Muslims is much lower than that of the host society. Few Muslims are present at the highest levels of French politics, media, judiciary, commerce, and public services. Despite the millions of Muslims, there are no Muslims in the French parliament. According to statistics, 30% of young Algerians (between 18 and 30 years old) and 28% of Moroccans living in France are unemployed (Gallis et al., 2005: 24).

Decades of French struggle with the hijab and Islamic symbols have led to similar French-style bans in some European countries, including Bulgaria, Austria, Belgium, and Denmark.

1.3. German Approach: The Interface between Assimilation and Cultural Diversity: Integration and Convergence

Germany representative the interface between the French and British policies and the convergence policy. Integration is the process of cultural and political alignment and consensus on shared values. This concept is the contrast of disintegration. The literal meaning of integration in the Oxford Dictionary is:

1) Combining two things so that one becomes an inseparable part of the

other;

2) Full membership of an individual in a community.

For a long time, this country had adopted an indifference and non-intervention towards Muslims; because German officials considered the existence of a Muslim minority as a temporary phenomenon that could be ignored.

Until 2000, German citizenship laws were based on the blood principle.³ According to German politicians, Germany was not an immigrant country. So, the immigrants were guest workers, and their length of stay in Germany did not matter. But in 2000, Germany changed its citizenship laws to allow those born in that country to acquire citizenship.

Germany has not yet formalized Islam (<https://uu.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:1325847/FULLTEXT01.pdf>), but it was eager than France to supply its Muslim population's cultural and religious needs. Those are establishing Islamic welfare, social and cultural institutions, and Islamic schools for Muslims, facilitating the construction of mosques with traditional or modern architecture, etc. German officials believe that teaching Islam in religious lessons in public schools allows Muslims to formally learn about their religion with an interpretation consistent with liberal democracy and not be attracted to extremist groups. Germany has pursued an active integration policy since 2005 that new and unemployed immigrants have been forced to take compulsory courses in the German language, culture, law, and history. The German "National Integration Plan" includes more than 400 actions for government, businessmen, and social workers focusing on education, the development of language skills, and immigrants' integration into the labor market (<https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/datablog/2014/nov/26/UK-germany-ipsos-mori-poll-attitudes-immigration>).

The Germans consider language integration as the first step in integration and have had some success. For example, three-quarters of Muslims born in Germany grow up with the German language as their first language, and 46 percent of all Muslims say their national language is their first language. This figure is 37% in Austria and 34% in Switzerland

(<https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/full/10.1111/nana.1269126>).

Germany has also launched propaganda campaigns to encourage its people to integrate the process of immigrants and Muslims. For

3. A Method of Granting Citizenship According to Which each Person's Nationality is Determined by the Nationality of one or both of his or her Parents.

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example, the country has been awarded the "National Integration Prize" for the proper treatment of its German citizens to immigrants and the willingness of the Germans to help them (<http://p.dw.com/p/2d7LS>). However, the hijab for schoolgirls and their female teachers following the atmosphere in other Western European countries has been tense in recent years. Teachers in Hamburg and Brandenburg are free to wear the hijab, but Baden-Württemberg and Saxony have banned hijab as a violation of government neutrality against religions. The German constitution also protects the right of individuals to freedom of religious ritual, not complete spiritual freedom, which is a combination of pluralism and integration. Therefore, Muslims have complained of numerous violations of their religious freedom.

Muslims' religious beliefs are often at odds with German rules on family rights, burial rules, animal sacrifice, and identify religious holidays. German Muslims have not been able to gain the status of a public institution for their institutions (<https://www.hrw.org/report/26/02/2009/discrimination-name-neutrality/headscarf-bans-teachers-and-civil-servants-germany>).

2. Common Policies of Western European States towards Muslims

The specific approaches of these three countries have not been formulated or become operational in a pure and absolute way. Instead, the strategies and behaviors of these governments show that, despite their reputation for these three approaches, they have adopted standard and unified policies towards Muslims.

2.1. The Politics of mono-Culturalism Instead of multi-Culturalism

Western countries and the three most powerful countries in Western Europe, Germany, the United Kingdom, and France, do not have a common approach to European Muslims. Still, all European governments agree upon opposition to the "Identity-Seeking" of European Muslims (Majidi and Sadeghi, 2014 AD/1393 SH: 261). Today, shifting the policy of multi-culturalism to mono-culturalism is the aim of Europeans. Most Western governments' cultural programs and executive policies regarding Muslims aim to "Individualizing" and "Secularizing" Islam.

Under various executes, including the aftermath of September 11 and the 2005 London underground bombing, the British government has changed the "Laissez-Faire multi-Culturalism" policy to another form of multi-culturalism emphasizing secular Islam.

2.2. Promoting Secular Islam (European Islam)

Western governments, despite differences in their declared strategies, consider Islam and Muslims as a stranger. They claim the coexistence

of religions and pluralism and the freedom of cultures, but they do not look neutral or optimistic, and with their Islam phobia, try to change Islam and Muslims at will. One of the cultural and discourse-building actions is the idea of "European Islam" and secular Muslims' discourse against the Islamist cult. According to the Western statesmen belief, it can reduce the range and power of the genuine Islamic cult and keep Muslims busy. Therefore, "Pluralism" (the usual slogan of Europeans) was replaced with "Religious Management" and "Interference in Religious Affairs." (ibid., 306)

The "European Islam" project is one of the main cultural projects of Western governments, which is designed and implemented to individualize the religious beliefs of Western Muslims.

The central concept in the idea of European Islam is divided into four categories: secular Islam, nationalized and institutionalized Islam, recreated Islam in the West, and committed Islam to the explicit or implicit covenant of coexistence. But there are some overlaps in these perceptions.

The critical common denominator of European Islam idea is the secularization of the European Muslims' behavior and beliefs. This idea of Islam merely combines its practical manifestation and historical experience and from Europe, theoretical and academic teachings.

European Islam has been sacrificed in line with the West guided policy in "Word-Making," the dignity and position of theological and jurisprudential debates in this sense (ibid., 330).

There is no the equal interpretation of "European Islam," but its scheme there is in the works of "Manuel Castells," "Jorgen Nielsen," "Ingmar Carlson," "Olivier Roa," "Babi Salman Saeed," "Ayhan Kaya," "Sarah Sylvester," "Bernard Lewis," "Jürgen Habermas," "Bassam Tibi" and "Tariq Ramadan."

"Babi Saeed" has a critical view of European Islam and considers it a continuation of European Orientalism. Tariq Ramadan tries to justify European Islam from an inter-religious point of view by referring to "Fiqh al-Aqaliyyah." The position of Muslim writers is significant for Europe. So, the idea of "European Islam" is widely promoted by people like Bassam Tibi, in addition to Europeans (Sadeghi, (2011 AD/1390 SH), <https://www.porseman.com>).

In Istanbul, Ayhan Kaya, Professor of International Relations at Bilgi University, believes that European policy towards European Islam includes two simultaneous and contradictory approaches: "Individualization" and "Institutionalization" of Islam in Europe. According to Kaya, the generation of Muslim immigrants in Western European countries is being destroyed between personalizing and

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institutionalizing Islam (Kaya, 2010: 47).

Some European Muslim writers, who are among the promoters of European Islam, with contorted arguments from the history of Islam, make evidence to justify secular Islam. For example, "Bassam Tibi," a Syrian professor living in Germany, takes secular Islam from the history of Islam.

He says: "As a Muslim immigrant living in Europe, I wish Islam was included in Europe, not vice versa, that Europe becomes a part of Dar al-Islam. European identity is not Islamic or Christian, but secular and based on civic culture." (Tibi, 2009: 204 – 224)

Based on the idea of "European Islam" or "Secular Islam," European governments try to change the Muslims' identity. They do not even refuse cult-making and the conflict between secular Islam and genuine Islam. For example, in the official and governmental conferences on "Islam in Germany," German government officials try to bold liberal and secular Muslims and put them in front of the Islamic Muslims and incite Muslim religious strife by cult-making. For example, by confronting the representatives of Muslim associations in Germany, such as the heads of the "Central Council of German Muslims" and the "Turkish-Islamic Association in Religious Affairs." (Ditib) with artificial institutions such as the heads of liberal mosques (mosques with female imams or gay mosques, etc.) (<https://p.dw.com/p/38zM>)

2.3. Islamophobia and anti-Islamism

Islamophobia is a common feature of all Western European governments and official media. The induction of panic from Muslims for non-Muslims, the collapse of trust between them as ordinary citizens of a country, and the spread of the morbid state of "Islamophobia" are seriously pursued among non-Muslims in all Western European countries.

Various media are trying to create a state of panic and hatred towards Muslims and expand their activities. The induction of panic among Muslims for any widespread propaganda in favor of Islam is another part of Islamophobia politics. Before September 11, the Muslim movement was overall in the West. Instead of spreading their Islamic activities, Muslims are now waiting to pass the time. They should be aware of all government programs in dealing with Muslim issues while creating a balanced state. Islamophobia and anti-Islamism in Western Europe take place on three levels:

- 1) Public space level, in the form of verbal and physical violence;
- 2) Media level, in the form of negative imagery;
- 3) Government level, in the form of discrimination in civil rights and services (e.g., discrimination in employment, litigation, education,

religious freedom, etc.) (Sabbaghian and Khaksar, 2016 AD/1395 SH: 142).

Citizenship Principles	Definition	Related Institute
Civil rights	necessity rights for individual liberty, personal discretion, expression freedom, thought and religion, ownership of property, the conclusion of legal contracts, and right of withdrawal	Judicial court
Political rights	The participate right in the exercise of political power, as a person to whom political power has been delegated or as a voter to the members of such a body	Parliament and councils
Social rights	The right to have some economic and security well-being	Educational facilities and social welfare

The Division of Citizenship Principles according to Citizenship Rights based on the De La Paz

For the past two decades, Islamophobia has been the main content and function of racial hatred and has affected public perceptions of Islam and Muslims. It represents media encounters, blocks Muslims' access to the labor market, and maintains discriminatory actions in the private domain. With scandals and widespread propaganda, the media tries to instill in people four beliefs about immigrants and Muslims:

- 1) Muslims and immigrants are dangerous;
- 2) They prioritize receiving welfare services and violating the rights of indigenous peoples;
- 3) They impose their culture on society;
- 4) Finally, various institutions and organizations do not create any obstacle on this route and allow immigrants and Muslims to maneuver (<https://pe.annabaa.org/culture/2772>).

Threats to Muslims, insults and closing mosques, etc., are the consequences of this approach. France is at the top of anti-Islamic countries with the most apparent forms of Islamophobia and anti-Islamism, i.e., insulting the Prophet of Islam and Muslims (<https://www.iribnews.ir/00C706>).

Despite claiming religious freedom, Britain has the most significant Islamophobia films (Cultural Islamophobia) (Sabbaghian and Khaksar, 2016 AD/1395 SH: 142). Germany, under the discourse of integration (which beliefs in the integration of Muslims in itself and a kind of cultural superiority), with racist contexts, has emerged new forms of Islamophobia and anti-Islamism.

Islamophobia is one of the most destructive forms of contemporary racism in Germany and is a pervasive and inclusive phenomenon that

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flows without any challenge in the mainstream media, the internet, and social media. Racism in Germany has been caused after living in Germany for several generations. Muslims should not be included in Germany's nation and national image and be humiliated as immigrants and outsiders. Muslims are regarded as problematic factors related to the ancient temporal space through the intermingling of racial discourses and integration (cf: Ameli et al., 2021:1-190).

Manufacturing Country	Title	Manufacturer	Date
USA	Mohammad: the last prophet	Fine media group	14, 2004
USA	Mohammad: the legacy of a prophet	PBS	December 17, 2002
UK	Mohammad: Biography	History channel	unknown
USA	Islam: empire of faith	PBS	2000, March 5, 2005
USA	Story of Islam	Mpi home video	March 12, 2002
Turkey	Understanding Islam: the signs of the last day	Quantum leaps; EDS	September 25, 2006
U.K.	An Islamic history of Europe	BBC (BBC four)	2005
UK	A Muslim in the family	BBC	May 2, 2004
U.K.	The smell of paradise	BBC	Unknown
U.K.	Why did we choose Islam- the enlightenment	Unknown	Unknown
USA	Inside Mecca	National Geographic	October 21, 2004
U.K.	Me and the mosque	BBC	Unknown
USA	The past secrets of the Koran	Towers productions	March 2, 2006
UK	Mohammad: mercy to humankind	Unknown	Unknown
U.K.	The life of Mohammad	BBC	July 18, 2011

List of anti-Islamic and anti-Islamic films made by Britain and the United States (Sabbaghiyan and Khaksar; 2016: 142)

Classification of manifestations of anti-Islam	Behavioral examples
Verbal and physical violence	Attack to Muslims, especially veiled women and Muslim mosques
Intimidation	Intimidating Muslims in public spaces from physical and financial harm
Damage to Muslim property	Damage to Muslim equipment in schools and streets

Examples of anti-Islamism in Europe

45List of anti-Islamic, anti-Islamic, and anti-Muslim films made by Britain and the United States

2.4. Continued Pressures and Restrictions against Immigrants and Muslims

After World War II, Europe forcibly got help from Muslim immigrants to provide its labor force. Therefore, the onslaught of immigration to Europe intensified, and immigrant rights gradually became a

challenging issue in Europe. Hence, formed immigration and citizenship laws. Since the beginning of the 21st century, especially after September 11, the pressure on immigrants and Muslims in Western Europe has increased with all its ambiguities. The monthly of *Le Monde* in March 2004 called Europe an "Immigrant Rights Cemetery," and in an article by Alain Morice criticized France's new immigration law (Majidi and Sadeghi, 2014 AD/1393 SH: 237).

These issues have led some analysts to consider migration to the West as "New Colonialism." "Every colonialism is replaced by a newer version, commensurate with the time and demand of the colonial economy. Slavery becomes drudgery, and drudgery becomes work with knowledge and expertise. Finally, the confrontation between the "Colonizer and the Colonized" is replaced by the "Worker and the Employer." In the post-colonial era, old colonialism has returned with new faces (ibid.).

The result of restrictions is discrimination. Occupational, housing, and school discrimination are Muslims problems, and Muslim women regarding their hijab have more experience these discriminations.

3. Consequences of Western Governments' Strategies towards Muslims

The statements of Western officials and their views reflect the West's pluralism towards Islam and Muslims and generally include three main perspectives:

- 1) Separating Islam from extremist Muslims and inclining to cultural pluralism, cooperation, and coexistence with Muslims;
- 2) Believing in the superiority of Western civilization over Islamic civilization;
- 3) Accusing Islam: the third view directly targets Islam and accuses it of being a religion that encourages terrorism and supports terrorists. These politicians condemn Islam and denounce it due to its teachings, which have confirmed al-Qaeda, the Taliban, ISIS, etc.

Despite their differences, Western European governments' strategies are similar to standard anti-Islamic policies such as mono-culturalism, the promotion of secular Islam, Islamophobia, increasing pressure and restrictions on immigrants and Muslims. These orientations and approaches have had disturbing consequences in these countries against Muslims and all Western European societies. Some of these consequences are as follows:

3.1. Increase in Violence and Crimes Related to Hatred and Racism (Decrease in Security)

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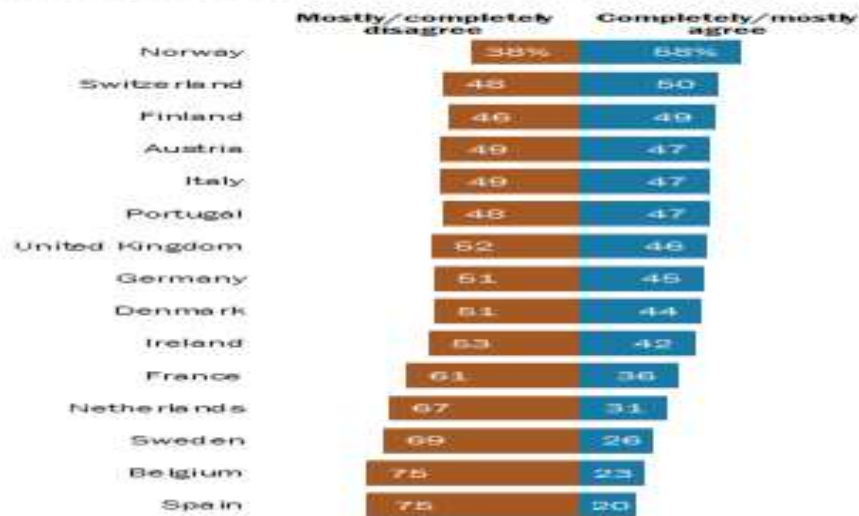
The first effect of monoculture, Islamophobia, anti-Islamic policies and anti-immigration laws in Western Europe is to increase nationalist and racist sentiments and escalate violence and hate-related crimes. Crimes of Islamophobia range from violent behavior to insults to Islam and Muslims to physical attacks.

Naturally, the growth of negative attitudes against Islam has led to increased attacks on Islamic centers and Muslims.

Nationalist propaganda caused a wide range of Western European societies proud of their national superiority, even more than their religious affiliations. For example, 61% of French, 52% of British, and 51% of Germans believe that they carry a culture of superiority over other nations and ideologies. It suggests that media propaganda focuses on nationalism, national and ethnic supremacy, and even racism, rather than cultural pluralism, equality and humanity, and coexistence and peace. The result of such policies is the cultural divergence of society, not social unification and empathy.

In many countries, people are split on whether their culture is superior to others

% who agree/disagree with the statement, "Our people are not perfect, but our culture is superior to others"



A sense of cultural superiority (<https://www.pewforum.org/29/05/2018/nationalism-immigration-and-minorities>)

Racial and cultural arrogance caused hatred, hostility, and antipathy of other cultures and races, especially foreigners and immigrants. Therefore, in all cases, the intensity of hate experiences in Western European countries is significant. A common type of social hatred, known as "Discrimination" in education, employment, and social relations, has more severe effects than other types of hatred due to its long-term adverse effects. In addition to the hate crimes in everyday

life, there is another type of Islamophobia hate experience in which Islam or Muslims are directly humiliated, hated, or blamed. We call these kinds of hate experiences "Hate Ideologies."

The practical reflection of hatred has led to increased crimes of anti-Islamic hatred and antipathy in recent years. In France, for example, there were nearly 400 attacks on Muslims in 2016 (because of their religion) (https://www.bbc.com/persian/world/160120/01/2016_the_France_hate_crime_against_Muslims), which is the result of spreading hatred and increasing anti-Islamic emotions in this country.

In the U.K., three-quarters of Muslims believe that hatred against them increases in society; 68% have experienced a different form of Islamophobia daily (www.irna.ir/news/84309371). In the U.K., even health centers have become a place for repressing Muslims. The British counter-terrorism police force people to go to mental health centers. They refer the person to the racist deterrence plan with the least tolerance of mental distress. Muslims are directed to a mental health center at least 23 times more often than whites for extremism (<http://www.shabestan.ir/mobile/detail/news/1059969>).

The annual "State of Terrorism" report published by Europol states: "No other country in the European Union had more than two right-wing terrorist attacks in 2019, but in Britain, three terrorist attacks planned and one carried out." The "Stanley" terrorist attack happened a day after the terrorist attacks on Christchurch mosques in New Zealand. In the episode, Vince Fuller attacked cars driven by blacks and then beheaded a Bulgarian teenager. Fuller targeted Muslims in this attack, and he was shouting: "All Muslims must die and white supremacists must rule. I want to kill a Muslim." (<https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/crime/Vincent-fuller-jailed-sentence-christchurch-mosque-shooting-prison-latest-a9099266.html>;<https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/crime/stanwell-attack-stabbing-kill-muslims-christchurch-shooting-vincent-fuller-terror-latest-a9062181.html>)

According to the announced statistics, in 2019 and 2020, targeted Muslims and Islamic centers in Germany by 950 and 901 racist attacks. Meanwhile, many people who target racist attacks and behaviors do not report them to the authorities. In 2020, the non-governmental organization "e.V" founded to combat Islamophobia, received 228 reports of various Islamophobia attacks in Germany. 48.7% of mentioned islamophobia attacks occurred on the streets or public vehicles, and other attacks occurred at work and in educational and service environments. Muslim women, due to their hijab, are two-thirds of the people targeted by islamophobia attacks (https://eprints.lancs.ac.uk/id/eprint/2016/1/80451_hargreavesphd.pdf: 179).

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Discrimination-based hatred experience is relatively less intense in German society. Due to the nature of the law in Germany and Germany's primary motivation for attracting immigrants and Muslims, namely "Labor Supply." At the same time, among these four types of experience, the experience of discrimination in schools and universities with 46.6 shows the highest level of expertise (www.irna.ir/news/84309371). Right-wing extremists attacked more than 100 mosques and religious institutions in Germany in 2018 (shia-news.com/000rcW).

Muslims are constantly exposed to hatred through language, social symbols, and relationships. So, these countries, especially Germany, have witnessed the growth of racism and Islamophobia in recent years and even the formation of racist and fascist parties. The rise of racist groups, neo-Nazis, and far-right parties such as PEGIDA⁴, Ubyk, the German Alternative Right Party, the French National Front, etc., are the consequences of such unilateral and Islamophobia policies.⁵

In recent years, right-wing extremists have been on the list of perpetrators of terrorist attacks in Europe. Their attacks caused the death of 190 people between 1990 and 2015, such as the deadly terrorist attack on the Christmas market in Berlin on December 19, 2017.

4. The fascist group PEGIDA, which stands for "Patriotic Europeans Anti-Islamizing the West", is a racist and fascist movement founded in 2014 at the invitation of Lutz Bachmann. PEGIDA took its first step in criticizing Germany's population and immigration policies, but its main image gradually emerged and became a full-fledged anti-Islamic movement. The leaders of this extremist group protested against the presence of immigrants in Germany, using the issue of immigration in Germany and the growth of the immigrant population and the consequent decrease in the growth of the German population. But after a while, the main purpose of this extremist group emergence in Germany became clear, and Islamists were targeted by the protests of this group and its supporters, and the members of this group called for stopping the growth of Islam in Germany and chanted slogans against Islam.

5. For more information, Cf: Hate Crime Studies in the United States (Ameli, Merali and Mohseni Ahooi, 2013), Hate Crime Studies in the United Kingdom (Ameli, Mohsenia Ahoi, Shah Ghasemi and Rahimpour, 2011; Ameli and Merali, 2015), Crime Studies Hate in France (Ameli, Merali and Shahghasemi, 2014) and Hate Crime Studies in Austria (Ameli, Mohseni Ahoui and Merali, 2020).



The number of right-wing extremist terrorist attacks over three decades (<https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/countering-radical-right/western-europe-right-wing-terrorism-rise/>)

Deadly RTV events by country 1990-2015		
Country	Deadly RTV events (number killed)	Deadly events per average million inhabitants 1990–2015
Austria	1 (4)	0.1
Belgium	3 (5)	0.3
Denmark	1(1)	0.2
Finland	-	-
France	9 (11)	0.1
Germany	82 (104)	1.0
Greece	6 (7)	0.6
Iceland	-	-
Ireland	3 (4)	0.8
Italy	5(6)	0.1
Luxemburg	-	-
Netherlands	3 (3)	0.2
Norway	3 (79)	0.7
Portugal	3 (3)	0.3
Spain	22 (22)	0.5
Sweden	17 (20)	1.9
Switzerland	1 (1)	0.1
United Kingdom	31 (33)	0.5
Sum	190 (303)	

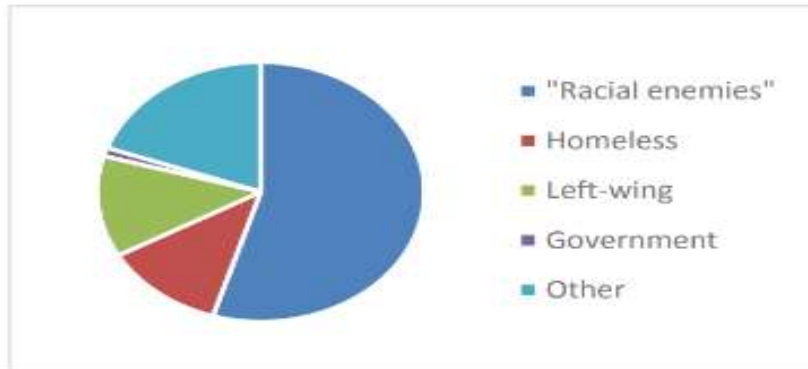
Graph of the people killed number in right-wing extremist terrorist attacks from 1990 to 2015 (Ravndal, 2016: 10)

Killed people in Germany with 82 deaths, the United Kingdom with 31, and France with nine show that racism is spreading rampantly in these countries.

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A brief look at the range of the victims of racist terrorist attacks shows that non-racial immigrants, the homeless, the left-wings, and finally, the government have been angered and hated by the perpetrators of terrorist acts.

Western Europe: targeting (deadly events)



Targets and victims extreme-right terrorist attacks
(<https://icct.nl/app/uploads/09/2019/Extreme-Right-Violence-and-Terrorism-Concepts-Patterns-and-Responses-4.pdf>: 12)

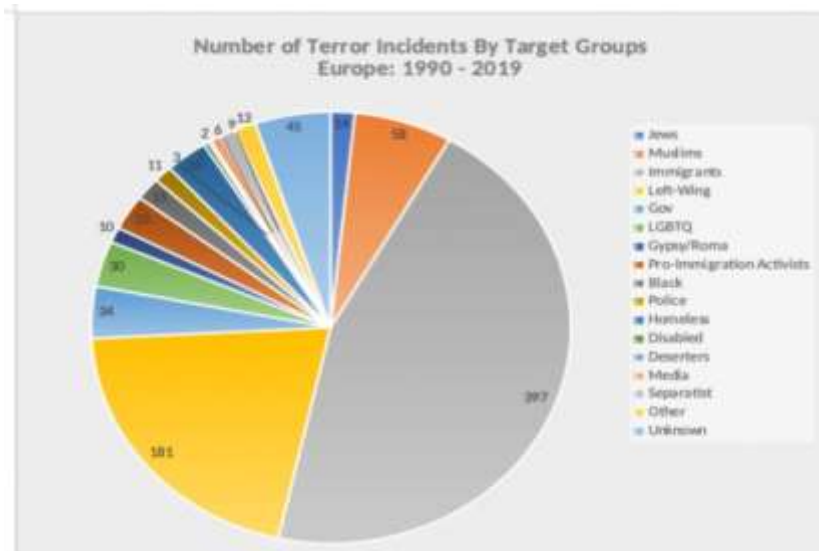


Chart of accurate victims of racist terrorist attacks by religion and race
(<https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/countering-radical-right/western-europe-right-wing-terrorism-rise/>)

Immigrants, Muslims, and pro-immigration activists have been at the forefront of the targets and victims of racist terrorist movements.

3.2. Leading Muslims and Immigrants to Extremism and Terrorist Attacks

Social scientists believe that in a society where the culture of equality

and brotherhood is institutionalized despite all the differences, we will see less violent movements. On the contrary, discrimination and socio-economic constraints provide caused the dissemination of extremist ideologies. Researchers in counter-terrorism admit that young people who engage in violent and extremist movements have been expelled from society and seek belonging and affiliation in Islamic jihadist networks and a solution that gives meaning to their lives. Isolation provides the best ground for extremist ideas and thoughts (<https://p.dw.com/p/3kr0u>).

The European crisis is derived from society's discrimination and rejection of a significant part of European citizens. Without tangible change, will grow terrorist operations in Europe. According to the research, Islamophobia, pressure, and restrictions on Muslims, and interference in Islamic countries do not weaken Muslims' beliefs; instead, they disturb the atmosphere of reconciliation and peace between them and other citizens. It has led some of them to extremist ideas and terrorist groups. Hence, Europe has been one of the main targets of Islamist terrorists in recent years. Terrorist attacks in Europe have increased significantly, especially after the Western intervention in Syria and the rise of ISIS. London, Manchester, Stockholm, Berlin, Nice, Brussels, Madrid, etc., are among the European cities where terrorist attacks have taken place in recent years.

The most prominent terrorist attacks in Europe since 2004 are as follows:

- March 11, 2004, Madrid. Four explosions on the Madrid metro during rush hour killed 191 people;
- July 7, 2005, London. Four blasts on London Underground killed 52 people;
- July 22, 2011, Oslo. "Anders Behring Breivik" first bombed Oslo and then attacked a youth camp, killing 77 people, most of them teenagers.
- May 22, 2013, London. Two al-Qaeda members have killed a British soldier on the streets of London;
- On May 24, 2014, four people were killed in an attack on a Jewish Museum in Brussels;
- January 2015, Paris. The attack on the offices of Charlie Hebdo in Paris left 17 dead;
- February 14, 2015, Denmark. Two terrorist attacks killed five people in two consecutive days in Copenhagen;
- November 13, 2015, Paris. Terrorist attacks across Paris, in concert, in front of the football stadium and left 130 dead;
- March 22, 2016, Brussels. Suicide bombings at Brussels airport and metro killed 32 people;

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- July 14, 2016, Nice. A truck attack on a French National Day celebration in Nice has killed at least 86 people;
- December 19, 2016, Berlin. Someone got into a truck in a Christmas shop and killed 12 people;
- March 22, 2017, London. A man drove into the Westminster area, killing four people;⁶²
- April 7, 2017, Stockholm. A man in a stolen truck entered the store;
- May 22, 2017, Manchester. A suicide bomber blew himself up at the Ariana Grande Concert Hall, killing at least 22 people;
- June 3, 2017, London. Terrorist attacks in London have killed at least seven people and injured 48 others (<https://www.ilna.news/fa/tiny/news-496799>).

In 2017, there were nearly 205 terrorist attacks in E.U. countries, killing 68 people and injuring 844 others. Separatists have done almost 67 percent of these attacks, 16 percent by ISIS, 12 percent by left-wing groups, 2 percent by right-wing extremists, and the source of 3 percent of these attacks is unknown (<https://www.trt.net.tr/persian/jhn/21/06/2018/hmlt-trwrysty-dr-rwp-45-drsd-fzysh-yft-996955>).

The rise of extremism and terrorist violence among Muslims caused Europeans to make up many of ISIS's foreign troops. Since the formation of ISIS in 2018, according to a British studying center, about 13,000 Europeans have gone to Syria and Iraq (<https://theArabweekly.com/europe-grapples-isis-returnees-and-their-families>). Among the 15 countries that played a significant role in supplying ISIS, soldiers are from four Western European countries (Belgium, Sweden, Denmark, and France). Most of the ISIS youth are from French-speaking or Francophone countries such as France and Belgium.

Ranking of ISIS Foreign Fighters by Country Based on Official Count

	Country	Count			Country	Count	
		Official	Non-Official			Official	Non-Official
1.	Tunisia	6,000	7,000	26.	Spain	133	250
2.	Saudi Arabia	2,500	-	27.	Canada	130	-
3.	Russia	2,400	-	28.	Denmark	125	125
4.	Turkey	2,100	-	29.	Australia	120	255
5.	Jordan	2,000	2,500	30.	Azerbaijan	104	216
6.	France	1,700	2,500	31.	Malaysia	100	-
7.	Morocco	1,200	1,500	32.	Philippines	100	-
8.	Lebanon	900	-	33.	Albania	90	150
9.	Germany	760	-	34.	Italy	87	-
10.	United Kingdom	760	-	35.	Norway	81	60
11.	Indonesia	700	500	36.	Finland	70	85
12.	Egypt	600	1,000	37.	Pakistan	70	330
13.	Belgium	470	470	38.	Sudan	70	100
14.	Tajikistan	386	-	39.	Switzerland	57	-
15.	Bosnia	330	217	40.	Israel	50	-
16.	Austria	300	233	41.	Ireland	30	30
17.	China	300	-	42.	India	23	45
18.	Kazakhstan	300	-	43.	New Zealand	7	6
19.	Sweden	300	300	44.	Brazil	3	-
20.	Kosovo	232	-	45.	Madagascar	3	-
21.	Netherlands	220	210	46.	Singapore	2	-
22.	Maldives	200	60	47.	Cambodia	1	-
23.	Algeria	170	225	48.	Moldova	1	-
24.	United States	150	250	49.	Romania	1	-
25.	Macedonia	146	100	50.	South Africa	1	-

Note: Based on data from Barrett (2014) and The Soufan Group (2015).

List of countries where ISIS soldiers are from
 (https://www.kellogg.northwestern.edu/faculty/benmelech/html/BenmelechPapers/ISIS_April_13_2016_Effi_final.pdf: 16)

Based on the researches, at least 1,700 people from France, 800 from Germany, and 800 from the United Kingdom have joined ISIS, some of whom have held important positions.⁶

European security forces estimate the number of Europeans related to ISIS or ISIS returning from the Syria-Iraq war was about 50,000 people (<https://p.dw.com/p/3kr0u>).

New figures from the Egmont Institute show that at least 700 European children and more than 430 European ISIS members have been prisoned so far in northern Syria, about 90 percent of whom are still in Syria. Only 10 percent of whom have been transferred to Iraqi prisons (Statistics for 2019) (<https://www.egmont-institute.be/new-figures-on-european-nationals-detained-in-syria-and-iraq>).

6. For Example, Reza Siam from Germany was the "Minister of Education" of the ISIL Terrorist group before he was killed in Iraq on December 24. It is believed that Mohammad Mahmoud, the leader of the forces recruited from Germany, who was born in Australia, first Worked in the Media Department of "al-Qaeda" and etc.

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Country	Adults (male and female)	Child
Austria	+3	0
Belgium	57	69
Denmark	+8	13
Finland	11-13	33
France	130	270-320
Germany	124	138
Italy	6	0
Netherlands	50	90
Spain	4	17
Sweden	31-45	57
Britain	+8	+10
Total	From 432 up to 448	From 697 up to 747
Total	From 1129 up to 1195	

Number of European members of ISIS imprisoned in Iraq and Syria
(<https://per.euronews.com/17/10/2019/New-Figure-European-nationals-ISIS-Detained-Syria-Iraq>)

The Europeans' wrong regional and global foreign policy is the leading cause of the spread of terrorism.⁷

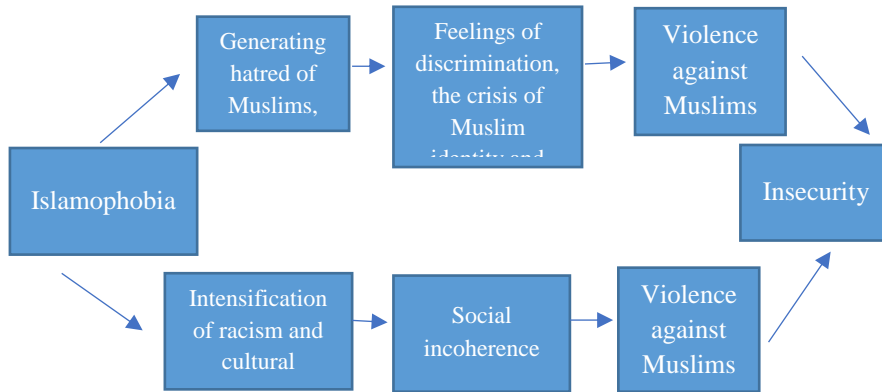
3.3. The Permanent Cycle of Violence and Declining Security in Western Europe

The divergent domestic policies of Western European countries, such as the Islamophobia and anti-Islamist approach, and the misguided and colonial foreign policy of Europe in West Asia, are two main factors in the spread of religious and racial extremism and the growth of various terrorist groups. On the one hand, Islamophobia is the driving force behind racist and right-wing extremists and their terrorist attacks on Muslims. On the other hand, it intensifies the religious prohibitions and restrictions of Muslims.

In conclusion, it caused the spread of the hatred and resentment of the two strata of European societies and the attacks, insults, and social disunity. This cycle of hatred and panic production is constantly recreated and intensified. Reducing security and increasing concern in

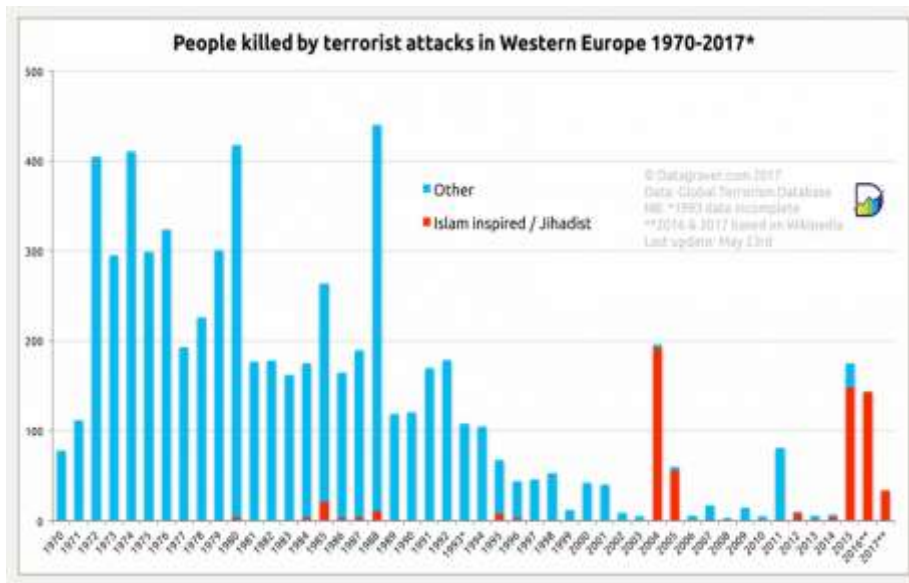
7. European politicians themselves also emphasize this issue. For example, Ken Livingstone, the former mayor of London, says that if Western interventionist policies had not been adopted in the Middle East, terrorist attacks would not have occurred in Europe today. Britain, France, and the United States have intervened in the Middle East for the past 100 years by establishing dependent governments and regimes and controlling the arteries of oil production. If they had not done so, the world today would be a safer place for humans to live (<https://parstoday.com/dari/news/world-i34422>).

Western societies about terrorist attacks are obvious consequences of such a cycle.



Terrorist attacks have not been limited to racists or Islamists, but other motives, such as separatism, have led to widespread terrorist attacks.

Contrary to mainstream media coverage in Western Europe, Islamist terrorists have carried out only a fraction of terrorist operations, which are less common than other terrorists.

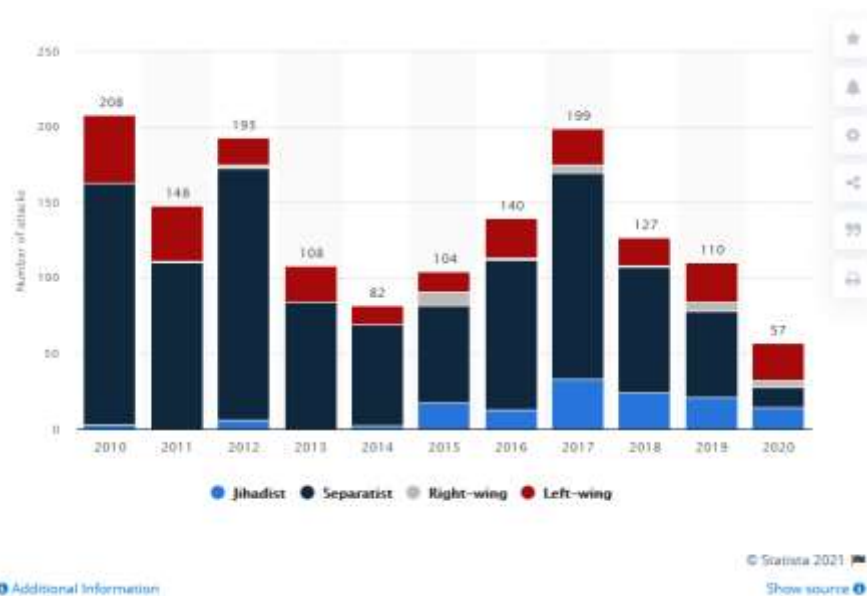


Graph of the number of people killed in terrorist attacks in Western Europe (from 1970 to 2017) (<https://www.datagraver.com/case/people-killed-by-terrorism-per-year-in-western-europe-2015-1970>)

Islamist terrorists have been prominent in Europe since 2004. It means that their terrorist attacks were not natural and inherent but rather

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a reaction to violent platforms such as media Islamophobia, restrictions and pressures, and so on.



Additional information

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Violence and terrorist attacks (successful and unsuccessful) from 2010 to 2020

Also, most terrorist attacks belong to separatists and Islamist terrorist groups, and right-wing and left-wing terrorist groups had equal terrorist operations (<https://www.statista.com/statistics/746562/number-of-arrested-terror-suspects-in-the-european-union-eu>).

In conclusion, from 2002 to 2017, more than 2,200 people were killed in various terrorist attacks in Europe, and terrorist attacks in these 15 years have left 8,100 people injured (https://farsi.iranpress.com/europe_and_america-i39568).

Furthermore, terrorist attacks with any motive can reduce economic security and lead to a wide range of psychological effects to change the economic behavior of companies and individuals. For example, people open a little value for their future and live more in the present.

The economic costs of Western European countries from the violence of hatred are also enormous. According to surveys, from 2004 to 2016, E.U. member states suffered a loss of 180 billion euros from terrorist attacks. This study shows that Britain suffered the most financial losses with a total of 43.7 billion euros, and only five terrorist attacks on Britain last year cost the country 3.5 billion euros. With 43 billion euros, France and Spain, with 40.8 euros, were second and third regarding the extent of economic damage from terrorist attacks.

This study found that terrorist attacks reduced investment in Europe, and people sought short-term profit rather than long-term financial gain

through savings and investment (<https://www.rand.org/news/press/06/06/2018/.html>).

Conclusion

European confrontation experience with refugee and immigration crisis and interaction with Muslims shows that Western European countries differ slightly in their declarative approaches. With the melting pattern, France tries to ignore Muslims' community. Britain claims it is multicultural and wants to be neutral between the followers of different religions and sects. Germany, between the two, believes that Muslims should be integrated into European and German society not to harm themselves. But policy-makers and politicians in these countries have security, threat-oriented (or at least challenge-oriented), and a pessimistic view of Muslims. The result of these views is the policies of Islamophobia and anti-Islamism, cultural unilateralism, the combination of Islam with secularism, and the increase of restrictions and prohibitions against Muslims. These policies caused the isolation and rejection of Muslims, the formation of racist and fascist extremist groups, the growth of social hatred, social divergence, and finally, the escalation of violence and hate crimes in these countries.

The three countries of France, the United Kingdom, and Germany differ slightly in violence. For example, the policy of ignoring Muslims in France has intensified the tendency of French Muslims to engage in terrorist movements such as joining ISIS. In contrast, the policy of integration in Germany (which has a kind of cultural arrogance) has intensified racist tendencies and secular terrorist movements against Muslims.

In Germany, there is less discrimination in the workplace due to the country's need for labor and the attraction of Muslim immigrants with the same motive. In the U.K., however, despite claims of cultural pluralism, Islamophobia, anti-Islamism, and systematic discrimination have increased discrimination among Muslims and extremist movements. As a result, as long as Western European countries continue their Islamophobia and anti-Islamic policies and do not implement religious and cultural pluralism, cultural freedom, and equal human rights, social divergence and violence will continue. And consequently, their social hatreds and their level of security will get worse and worse.

Reconsidering information-security policies can improve the social, economic, and political situation of Muslims and, consequently, of Western European societies as a whole. Any law, behavior, or action

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that endangers social coexistence is condemned. European officials should change their minds about the source of their security threats, take a right verbal action, and then raise public awareness. The recommendations are aimed primarily at national government institutions, then at the European Union, and following at smaller local communities.

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Analysis of the Accompaniment of Justice and Politics in Imam Khamenei's Political Jurisprudential Thought

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Abstract

Politics and the political system have the best opportunity to fulfil justice in achieving lofty human ideals. Therefore, complete justice in various dimensions is possible through the policy of justice and its rulers. With the descriptive-analytical method, the present study aimed to analyze and identify the existing relationships between politics and justice in Imam Khamenei's political jurisprudential thought. To this aim, investigated the role of politics in the fulfillment of social justice, political requirements of justice, politics, and obstacles to the realization of justice, and statements expressing the relationship between justice and politics. The results indicated that in Imam Khamenei's political jurisprudential thought, justice has a privileged position. So, it is the basic principles of his political jurisprudence, the essence of virtue, and a strategy to achieve high human goals and standards. As the most crucial dimension of the divine caliph of humans, politics or responsibility of his collective destiny caused the manifestation of justice realization and continuation. Justice is achieved through an open political system, that is, a system based on divine laws, and through principles such as just law, enforcement, oversight, public participation, and social balance.

Keywords: Justice, Politic, Imam Khamenei, Political Thought, Political System.

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Introduction

The relationship between justice and politics is one of the main issues of justice. Undoubtedly, Imam Ali's (AS) political approach is a practical model for combining justice and politics; because he has based his policy on justice. In narrations, justice is the adornment of rulers, or the supreme servants of God are just leaders. For example, Ali (AS) says: "Justice is the cause of the people's lives strengthen and the rulers' adornment. The superior servant of God is the fair leader who is both self-guided and guides others" (Tamimi Amedi, 1987 AD/1366 SH: 1, 64).

Imam Khamenei is one of the current thinkers that follow Imams' lifestyle, especially Ali (AS) from his youth until today, with high aspirations regarding the practical fulfilment of political justice. He is considered an expert and writer in this field; and has a comprehensive view based on modern jurisprudence. He has studied justice comprehensively and under human nature and the structure of existence, general justice. He considers it an essential component (Khamenei statements. Meeting judicial officials, 7/04/1377), the foundation of religion, law, government and political system, education, and the highest ideal of government and the most influential factor in creating an ideal city and healthy human being. The most crucial point in his view and thought is how to achieve justice in society and the relationship of the political system with it. He has considered justice as the primary condition for the growth of all values. He regards government as a movement to realize good and justice in human societies (Khamenei statements. Ceremony of ratification of the presidential decree, 12/05/1384).

The main question in the present study is 'In the opinion of the Supreme Leader, how is the relationship between justice and politics and the political system?'

The sub-questions are as follows:

- 'What is the basis of leadership theory in explaining the relationship between justice and politics?'
- 'What is his view on the politics of justice?'
- 'What is the role and function of politics in achieving justice?'

We analyze this issue in the thoughts and opinions of the Supreme Leader according to the main and sub-questions, based on the practical logic of view with a descriptive-analytical method. So, the present study aimed to present the relationship between justice and politics within his worldview and anthropological reason.

Examining the views of the Supreme Leader on the relationship between justice and politics is essential because he, as the guardian and leader, determines the macro policies and draws the roadmap of the Islamic system. Processing his pure thoughts in political justice seems necessary. Many thinkers in justice have dealt more with theoretical, philosophical, and moral issues. In this regard, thinkers

have paid less attention to the subject's comprehensiveness. Some have defined and classified justice, and some have discussed it from a philosophical, social, and moral perspective. The view of the Supreme Leader and his views in the field of justice has a special place compared to other thinkers. Regarding his strategic view on justice, the comprehensiveness of his views about justice in the theoretical dimensions and attention to establishing practical justice in all social aspects are the advantages of his attitude.

There has been no research on the relationship between justice and politics from Ayatollah Khamenei's point of view. There are researches on the principle of the relationship between justice and politics or government, or the study of justice from the Supreme Leader's perspective.

They fragmentally have examined the relationship between justice and power or the political system and government. According to politics, the relationship between justice and politics has not been considered, and its function is to fulfil and implement justice in society. According to the Supreme Leader, who is knowledgeable in various humanities fields such as economic, political, social, and other issues, the primary connection between politics and the political system with justice and its fulfilment has not been studied.

The innovation of the present study has two aspects: first, investigating the primary connection between politics and justice, emphasizing the role and function of politics with righteousness, and then focusing on the political thought of Ayatollah Khamenei as a knowledgeable in this field.

1. Theoretical Framework: Internal Logic (Logic in Use)

The theoretical framework in the present study is "Internal Logic or Logic in Use." In this logic, "To truly understand any search, one must understand its thought processes." (Spragens, 1991 AD/1370 SH: 33)

So, first, we determine an overview of the problem and then examine the issue according to its trends. The present study aimed to express the relationship between justice and politics and the political system regarding a thinker with a school and worldview attitude. Therefore, evaluating it in internal logic is better and causes to find the nature and roots of their reasoning (Tolmin, 1972 AD/1351 SH: 1, 85).

We first consider the general framework of an idea, which includes the introductory discussion and its elements, and then examine the issue in that format. Accordingly, from the Supreme Leader, our view of politics and justice has a connection with our view of the world and man. Our obvious philosophical interpretation of the world and human beings caused clarity of our political and social beliefs and, consequently, our imagination of justice and its fulfilment.

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Because "Every command about human political and social systems depends on the success of the philosophical interpretation of that system in the imagining life and its reception." (Sadr, 1977 AD/1356 SH: 41)

According to internal logic, in the present study, we consider the essential discussion (Worldview) and then anthropology (Nature) and finally politics and justice concerning them and then, the principle and how justice and politics relate.

It should be noted that finding the proper knowledge and understanding of the various dimensions of a subject depends on the precise and correct definition of its words. Therefore, first, we should learn the meanings and concepts of the vocabulary of the issue. Another noteworthy point is that we rarely find words that thinkers have an agreement about its meaning and sense. It is not possible to give a comprehensive definition of these concepts. According to this, we will define and study the mentioned concepts.

1.1. Justice Meaning

Justice is derived from "A-D-L" and means "Anti-Cruelty." (bn Manzur, 1984 AD/1363 SH: 11, 430) Raghieb Isfahani in al-Mufradat writes the meaning of justice is equality (Isfahani, 1991 AD/1412 AH: 551).

Tabatabai has defined justice as giving the rights of individuals based on merits (Tabatabai, 1983 AD/1404 AH: 1, 371). The comprehensive definition of justice is based on Imam Ali (AS), "Putting everything in its place," (Sayyed Razi, 1993 AD/1372 SH: Wisdom 437) which includes all definitions of justice.

1.2. Politic Meaning

Political scientists offer relative definitions of politics, and there is no consensus on its meaning. Each description relates to its one or some dimension, and this issue has complicated the concept of politics. Therefore, Politics literary means ruling over the people and managing the country, governing, presiding, leading the country (Langroudi, 1999 AD/1378 SH: 3, 2220), containing the country internal and external affairs (Moein, 1981 AD/1360 SH: 2, 1966).

Imam Khomeini defines politics, the relationship between the nation and the government, guiding the society towards their interests, providing the ground for the people worldly and otherworldly happiness, and guiding them to direct way (Mousavi Khomeini, 1998 AD/1377 SH: 13, 432).

According to Allameh Mohammad Taqi Jafari, politics is the management, justification, and regulation of human social life in the path of valuable energy (Jafari Tabrizi, 1990 AD/1369 SH: 47).

Imam Mohammad Ghazali, the great Sunni scholar, considers politics as the knowledge that provides the worldly and otherworldly happiness of human beings (Ghazali, 1972 AD/1351 SH: 1, 54-55).

The best definition of politics, "Doing what is right;" (Ibn Manzur, 1984: 6, 108) because, it includes all descriptions of politics.

2. Basic Discussion

2.1. Ayatollah Khamenei's Worldview and Its Relation to Justice and Politics

The basis of Ayatollah Khamenei's thoughts is the "School of Islam," and so, his political thinking is derived from the Qur'an, the Imams Sunnah, and the political wisdom of Islam. The book "General Plan of the Islamic Thought in the Qur'an," is a collection of his lectures in his youth, shows his thought (Khamenei, 2013 AD/1392 SH: 37).

According to religious knowledge, the Supreme Leader offers justice in an extensive dimension. It is based on the rules of pre-and late with ontological and epistemological orientation. In the ontological view, the source of justice is God, which is interpreted as justice or divine justice that brings justice to the whole universe. In the Supreme Leader's thought, perfection is a movement in line with "Natural Tradition" and "Divine Law."

Accordingly, justice has a fundamental role in the system of existence; fairness and justice are the law of creation. Every social system that follows this natural tradition and the divine law is successful (Khamenei statements. Meeting the judiciary officials, the families of the 7th of Tir martyrs, and a group of judges, 7/04/1380).

2.2. The Concept and Position of Politics

There are two approaches to analyzing the concept of politics. First, politics reflects human rational thoughts differently from definitive revelatory meditations such as Islamic teachings and insights. Then, intellect is next to revelation. In both approaches, intelligence works as a powerful and abstract tool from the apparent introductions, and the mind leads man to the goal. The scales of human wisdom evaluate all political phenomena. According to the Supreme Leader, intellectually, we can combine reason and revelation, so his view of politics has a religious epistemological basis, which is one of the most prominent aspects of his worldviews.

A theory based on the Qur'an is: "Establishing a logical and reasonable relationship, far from any unwarranted militancy, as well as accepting any domination and imposing in the relations with the world people" (Izdehi, 2006 AD/1385 SH: pp. 109).

The definition of politics offered by the leadership is one of the basic human needs (Khamenei statements. Meeting the people of Izeh, 9/01/1378), and a kind of unchangeable human needs is a permanent ideal (ibid.). He defines politics, "The ability to manage people's lives and the proper management of society, which is part of religion" (Khamenei statements. Meeting country members of Friday prayer headquarters, 5/05/1381).

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According to the Leader's political thought, the concept and position of politics are defined in Islamic principles.

2.3. Concept and Position of Justice

The following are the two main statements of the Supreme Leader regarding justice.

First, the right is the same as justice; justice is the same as the right (Khamenei statements. Meeting the cabinet members, 8/06/1384). It is based on the Supreme Leader philosophy and worldview that the principle is the truth in the world, and the false is the incidental and the non-principle. Fact means having the truth and conforming to reality or the soul of the matter (Jorjani, 1998 AD/1377 SH: 63).

In other words, we say: "This word is truth; it means that this statement corresponds to the objective reality, or more precisely, the objective reality corresponds to this statement" (Hosseini Beheshti, 2011 AD/1390 SH: 10).

Second, balance means observing pure justice (Khamenei statements. Big conference of sisters in Azadi Stadium on the occasion of Kosar Milad celebration, 30/07/1376). According to the Shia teaching, justice means balance and observance of achievements. Such a meaning is also reflected in the Supreme Leader statements. His definition of justice and fairness, with his comprehensive monotheistic view, derived from Imam Ali's (AS) word. Imam Ali (AS) says: "Justice means putting everything in its place and acting according to the right. Justice does not mean that society's perception should be the same" (Khamenei statements. Meeting agents and different strata of the people, on the day of the birth of Amir al-Mu'minin, 17/10/1371). He considers justice as moderation and balance in the life way. He has interpreted it as the correct balance according to the verse " و كذلك جعلناكم " (al-Baqarah: 143) (Khamenei statements. Meeting the head and officials of the Judiciary, 20/06/1368).

3. Investigating the Relationship between Justice and Politics

3.1. Terms Express the Relationship between Justice and Politics

Regarding the relationship between justice and politics, some of the questioned terms of leadership are:

First, divine justice has the most significant meaning concerning human administration to achieve happiness and perfection. Supreme Leader's first and most crucial issue is the great importance of justice in politics and society in human beings and communities' leadership. Its relationship with man and its socio-political movement, which from this perspective, divine justice as one of the principles of religion emphasizes its political advantage in leading human societies towards a perfect and just society or politics.

He believes the nature of social life is a joint effort to achieve happiness. The rules of society must be under human nature and the nature of creation; otherwise, it cannot cause human growth and

development. The nature of Islam is light and wants to remove obstacles. The mission of Islam is to make human beings and create a utopia and complete society. In this monotheistic society, coercive domination and oppression have no meaning. In the Islamic community, according to the teachings and recommendations of the prophets of God, people have found think and decision-making power; they choose and know the enemies and repel them (Khamenei statements. 15th anniversary of the demise of Imam Khomeini, 14/03/1383).

Faith and a just environment are essential conditions for achieving perfection. In the wrong and oppressive social system, man cannot reach maturity and does not have the opportunity to get his model and raising (Khamenei statements. Meeting a community of the people of Holy Mashhad and the pilgrims of Ali Ibn Musa Al-Reza (AS) on the day of Eid al-Fitr, 15/01/1371).

Second, the fulfilment of justice in politics is practical with establishing the Islamic government (Cultural Research Institute of the Islamic Revolution (n.d.), 1/01/1366).

The goal of the Islamic society is the fulfilment of justice and a just society (Khamenei statements. Meeting the "Cabinet" at the beginning of the second term of the presidency of Mr Hashemi Rafsanjani, 3/06/1372). According to him, the most immediate goal of establishing an Islamic system is to place social justice and Islamic fairness (Arefkhani, 2008 AD/1387 SH: 71).

Accordingly, the Supreme Leader considers the Islamic Republic, a system formed based on popular participation and the rule of divine law, to be founded on justice (Khamenei statements. 21/06/1377). In line with this goal, the Islamic Revolution and the system of the Islamic Republic achieved parts of justice that were considered impossible during a period in Iran. One day in this country, this justice was inconceivable for anyone; it has been achieved today (Khamenei statements. Sermons of Friday prayers in Tehran, 26/12/1379).

According to him, the result of the establishment of justice in the country is that today. The Islamic Republic of Iran is the herald of justice, freedom, humanity, spirituality, brotherhood, equality, dignity, and honour in the world (Khamenei statements. Joint ceremony of the Armed Forces at Shahid Nojeh Air Base, Hamadan, 18/04/1383). The establishment of justice in such a system begins at the top of the pyramid of sovereignty; that is, divine political guidance is leadership accompanied by the administration of justice. The philosophy of my existence and the likes of me here - I am a student - is to administer justice and nothing else (Khamenei statements. Meeting the martyrs' families of the Armed Forces and Jihad Sazandegi, 4/07/1377).

Third, the mission of religion is the link between the developmental (innate) criterion and the action criterion for the implementation of social justice. According to the Supreme Leader's school and

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worldview, the most critical mission of religion - based on justice - is the realization and guarantee of social justice (ibid., 28/10/1375).

The mission of faith is to recognize the innate dimensions of man (His needs, possibilities, and talents, such as human rights, human dignity, and freedom). On the other hand, it is to pay attention to the applicable criteria of justice (demands, social motives, elimination of causes of injustice, etc.).

More importantly, we should balance these two dimensions of human life to achieve justice in society. The second type of criteria pays attention to the politics and interests of the community. Therefore, social justice is formed from the harmony of these two criteria (nature and politics). Human bliss is the result of creating a connection between these two criteria and two dimensions. All efforts are made to develop and ensure justice in society. In the case of Justice fulfilment, it will guarantee human rights and human dignity. Therefore, justice is everything foundation (Khamenei statements. Sermons of Friday prayers in Tehran, 23/08/1382).

Fourth, the relationship between the level of justice in society and the flourishing of the relationship between man and nature is direct. This term is the result of the monotheistic attitude of the Supreme Leader towards man and his movement. The Supreme Leader pays attention to justice as a political and public characteristic, an attribute of society directly related to its growth and development. In his view, humanity has two paths; one side is the true path on which all creation is based. God's design is based on truth, and God Almighty, Himself, is the manifest truth.

The divine way is the way based on fact and truth. One path is the false path, which is the path of hell and Satan. There is a difference between the two that emerged simultaneously as humanity's creation (Khamenei statements. Officials' meeting of the Judiciary, the families of the 7th of Tir martyrs, and a group of judges, 7/04/1380).

Accordingly, in his attitude towards cities and communities, he divides their direction and movement into "Positive Movement" and "Negative Movement" and offers two types of society. A society that is moving towards the peak, that is, the community is moving towards justice; get closer to religion, religious behaviour, and religious ethics. In the light of this justice, it grows in practical, scientific, and industrial dimensions, the freedom situation is established; in society, act to a commitment to the right and patience. The community feels more authority in front of God's enemies and the religion and independence of the country and stepping up its resistance to the international act of oppression and corruption. Imam Khamenei considers all these as signs of a positive movement in society. (Khamenei statements. Sermons of Friday prayers in Tehran, 20/06/1388).

We must pursue such a positive move because, dominant in that unity and agreement, all human beings have high value, dignity, and equal rights. Thus, talents flourish, opportunities and possibilities linked, and goodness comes from all sides, and it is impossible except in the light of social justice.

In contrast, in Pharaonic society, all the oppression, discrimination, wars and bloodshed, brutal murders, all the things that make life better for humanity and deprive man of happiness, result from the spirit of selfishness and pharaonic (ibid.). The opposite is true, where the opposite of a positive move is a move toward demotion. He considers the negative movement as a movement towards enormous economic and social gaps with various justifications and the use of freedom for corruption, prostitution, and the spread of sin and transgression. In the international arena, too, negative growth is passivity, feeling weak, retreating in front of the arrogant aggressors and international looters, renouncing rights instead of standing up for the inalienable rights of society. He considers all these signs of degeneration and disease for the Islamic system (ibid.).

3.2. The Role of Politics in the Fulfilment of Social Justice

According to the Supreme Leader attitude, social justice is also a straight path within society, a way whose primary characteristic is "Moderation" and "Lack of Deviation" means the lack of "Oppression and Infidelity." Therefore, truth and avoidance of deviation in the right way and perseverance in it, that proper proportion and moderation rule over the whole, is social justice. In other words, social justice is equality and balanced and logical equivalence based on the inherent justice within society. Proportional equality means equality based on individuals' requirements, facilities, abilities, talents, and characteristics (Khamenei statements. Meeting agents and different strata of the people, on the birthday of Amir al-Mo'menin 17/10/1371).

Because individuals are equal in the initial hypothesis, but in the second hypothesis and particular circumstances, they have differences in certain assets, abilities, and talents that proposed the necessity of observing differences about them. Therefore, social justice is not absolute equality or inequality, but balanced equality, as they have said: "The need for justice and fairness is not equality in all matters; for example, in the fair rates it does not mean equality, but it is an example of justice" (Langroudi, 1999 AD/1378 SH: 4, 254).

But considering social justice to absolute or balanced equality politically and socially is presenting its definition. At the same time, its fulfilment requires a just-oriented law that is the basis of social justice and its realization. It shows the profound relationship between justice and politics in the executive branch. Accordingly, here we consider the decisive roles of politics in achieving social justice.

3.2.1. Make Fair Laws

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One of politics's most critical functions and roles in fulfilling and implementing justice in society is legislation based on justice. According to the leadership, the law is the fate of human beings and culture and the country that should obey the law (Khamenei statements. Meeting professors and students of Qazvin, 26/09/1382). The legitimacy of the Islamic society is a principle (Khamenei statements, pilgrims' gathering of the holy shrine of Imam Khomeini, 14/03/1380). After writing the law, it becomes reasoning (Khamenei statements. A question-and-answer session with the director-in-charge and editor's student publications, 4/12/1377). Law compilation must first be based on general justice. Then, its orientation should be towards the fulfilment of social justice. Finally, it should have a complete and comprehensive scientific coverage of all dimensions and needs of human beings; know the true perfection and human position in the world and its relations well, and make no mistake. At last, its criteria be the human interests and should not be influenced by other factors, and insights, internal tendencies, and external factors such as environment, political orientations, pressure groups, etc., should not be involved in decision-making and communication of instructions. According to the political philosophy of the Supreme Leader, one of the pillars of social justice is the enactment of just laws, that is, divine and religious laws.

3.2.2. Execution of Fair Law

The law should execute after enactment. It is the responsibility of politics before any other person or entity. The implementation of the law is essential in the political system of the society and its administration. According to this foundation and religious belief derived from the original Islamic leadership principles, the criterion and index of justice are law practice. If the individual or group actions are under the law, it is justice; if it deviates from the law, it is injustice, and the law in the Islamic system is Islamic law. The indicator is acting per the law. Therefore, justice is fulfilled (Khamenei statements. Meeting the head and judiciary officials, 7/04/1388). Hence, the development and achievement of goals and ideals and the virtues and duties realization in society are administering justice. The implementation of justice is achieved per the establishment of law (Khamenei statements. Sermons of Friday prayers in Tehran, 23/02/1379).

3.2.3. Supervision of Law Enforcement and Judgment

The third authentic role of politics in fulfilling justice is overseeing the implementation of fair laws, judging their administration, and evaluating fairly and impartially their performance. The Supreme Leader says, "Legislation and the oversight are important, but the legislation issue is more fundamental" (Khamenei statements. Meeting Presidium and members of the Islamic Consultative Assembly, 7/03/1381). In the policy-making dimension, the law is a regulatory

tool whose supervisory aspect is related to the lack of violation or allocation or restricting or deleting the law (Cultural Research Institute of the Islamic Revolution, (n.d.), 7/04/1384). In the oversight, the criterion is the law and the standard (Khamenei statements. Meeting the Elections Supervisors Board of the Guardian Council, 14/11/1374).

3.2.4. Implementation of Social Balance Principles

The public welfares of society, i.e., power, wealth, facilities and fields of production, distribution, and consumption in the community in such a way that all people can use all the benefits, facilities, and charities of political, social, economic, cultural, health, etc., in proportion to the daily requirement and be equal on biological and subsistence levels. The opposite of this equality is the discriminatory view. In his opinion, ensuring justice by reducing class and geographical distances is desirable. According to him, the increasing distances from the country centre should not cause more deprivation, and decreasing spans caused more facilities. So, should eliminate geographical and class distance to create justice in the use of facilities (Khamenei statements. Nowruz message on the start of 1388, 1/01/1388).

3.3. Political Requirements of Justice

Some of the most critical political requirements of justice from the Supreme Leader's point of view are:

3.3.1. Foundation of Society Law and Political System on Justice

According to Supreme Leader's, justice and its social dimension are the basic principles that are the basis for passing laws, performance, and judging them.

3.3.2. Purification of Human Souls for Public Interest

Supreme Leader believes that justice is an obligatory interpretation of humanity's perfection (Khamenei statements. Meeting a group of commanders and law enforcement personnel, 25/04/1376). Justice is an introduction to be divine and human enlightenment (Khamenei statements. Meeting officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and ambassadors and officials of the Islamic Republic of Iran, 18/04/1370).

The fundamental and higher goal is the growth and excellence of human beings. Justice is the great goal and the introduction to the greater purpose of the transcendence of humanity: the cultivation of man (Khamenei statements. The 9th session of the interpretation of Surah al-Baqarah, 1/08/1370).

3.3.3. Establishing a Competent and Righteous Government and Political System

Another political requirement of social justice is forming a righteous and Islamic system and government. It can present the social justice considered by Islam only by establishing an Islamic government or Islamic system. The fulfilment of Islamic justice in the community is impossible without a non-Islamic system (Khamenei statements. Nowruz message, 1/01/1376).

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3.3.4. Fighting the Oppression and Justice Enemies

Social justice is one of the main foundations of the Islamic system and is an absolute value. So, for establishing social justice, we should fight oppression and corruption (Khamenei statements. Meeting the people of Qom, 19/11/1396). According to the Supreme Leader, a firm and decidedly deployment against any oppression and aggression and confronting the enemies of justice is another tool for the political fulfilment of justice. A just political policy and the system are responsible for its implementation (Khamenei statements. Meeting different strata of the people in Tehran Mosalla, 30/07/1381).

3.4. Politics and Obstacles to Justice

The function of compilation justice is to organize the socio-political life of human beings, and formative justice shows the operation of the systematic system of creation. Compilation and legislative justice, in contrast to productive justice that follows fixed and inviolable laws, is exposed to the threat of harm such as deviation and contraction and misunderstanding and disorder.

In Islam, legislative law is the ultimate goal and evaluation criterion for correcting many orientations, functions, and thoughts. So, it pays special attention to the sanctification of justice. Justice, like any other social concept and phenomenon in human society, faces harm and plagues.

The result is obstacles and difficulties in administering justice, which the Supreme Leader describes as the most challenging Jihad arena and the task. He believes the hall of expanding justice and eliminating discrimination is challenging as the field of war; to win and overcome it, it needs a lot of effort, and the Mujahideen must be free from any violations. What tangible or intangible violations are protected outside the legal boundary (Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance, 2006 AD/1385 SH: 261).

Some of the most critical obstacles to the realization of social justice are summarized:

3.4.1. Weak Political Vision from Justice-seeking

In some societies, due to the political deviation background of the people, a significant obstacle to justice is justice itself. For example, in the government of Alavi Justice, Supreme Leader has referred many times. In the socio-political life of Ali (AS), especially the events of the five-year rule, his focus and attention were on the issue of justice, which was the genuine concern of his government, and he spent their five-year rule fighting injustice. It shows that justice is complicated and covers all matters and aspects of life (Khamenei statements. Sermons of Friday prayers in Tehran, 23/08/1382).

3.4.2. Ignorant Treatment of Justice in the Political System

Understanding justice, identifying instances and decision-making, formulating and legislating, and administering justice are all defined in the realm of socio-political justice. So, suppose somebody has these

cases alien to these principles or does not have individual justice, the political system will face a fundamental challenge in principles and administration of justice.

Supreme Leader believes that no one has the authority to comment on supreme religious concepts that require understanding, knowledge, nobility, and mastery of spiritual principles and sources. One of the most prominent examples of these concepts is the concept of Islamic justice, which seeks interpretation and meaning of this concept with non-Islamic principles! According to him, these statements have two positions: Grudging or ignorant! (Khamenei statements. The beginning of the supplementary course in jurisprudence, 1379, 20/06/1379).

3.4.3. The Rule of Unjust People in the Islamic System

The realization of justice in the Islamic system is done only by just and moderate people. Therefore, government positions should not be given to unjust people in any way because unfair behaviour leads to a lack of justice. The person or device that manages the people's affairs must manifest the power of justice, mercy, and divine wisdom. Ignorance, lusts, and personal tastes based on individual or group interests do not have the right to subjugate people's lives and affairs. In Islamic society and system, justice, science, religion, and mercy should prevail, not selfishness, whims, and desires from anyone and in the behaviour and speech of every person and personality (Khamenei statements. Meeting officials and agents of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Eid Saeed Ghadir, 20/04/1369).

3.4.4. Political Intentions about Justice

Justice will be harmed if the justice concept, the recognition of cases and decision-making, the formulation and legislation, and the implementation of justice are subject to carnal desires, individual instincts, and ignorance. But if there are political motives, the damage to the justice arena is indeed doubled. The Supreme Leader says about people who have political and factional reasons in religious concepts such as justice: 'Do they mean all human ideas from the Islamic perspective?' 'Do they mean justice?' If it suspects political, partisan, profiteering, and treacherous intentions, it is worse; it is a gruesome phenomenon in our society (Khamenei statements. The beginning of the supplementary course in jurisprudence in Cultural Research, 20/06/1379).

3.4.5. The Rule of Liberal Thought

Criticizing the simplistic thinking of Westernized and liberal minds about Western democracy, the Supreme Leader says that there is no honesty in Western democracy. He means democracy is freedom in economic activity; whoever earns more economically earns more. The primary basis of liberal thought is such thinking. In such an environment where everything is at the disposal of money and wealth, 'is it possible to think of justice and eliminate discrimination?'

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(Khamenei statements. Large community of people of Isfahan, 8/08/1380).

4. Discussion, Conclusions, and Suggestions

4.1. Discussion

According to the leadership and political role in social justice, the present study's findings were the definition of politics and justice, the impact of justice in the Islam political system, and the obstacles to realizing justice. Comparing the results of this study with the results of previous researches shows that such an issue (relationship between justice and politics) has not been studied in the mind of the Supreme Leader. It is in line with case studies, i.e., justice or politics, in the thought of the leadership, and all of them are based on the foundations of their intellectual thought. The findings reflect the Supreme Leader's intellectual coherence on justice and politics, which stems from his divine and Islamic worldview. His views on these issues originate from divine verses and the narrations and manners of the Imams (AS). The collection of his words and writings evidence it.

Conclusion

The results indicated that the relationship between politics and justice in the thought of leadership has many different characteristics. Among the cognition axes of existence, human knowledge, epistemological cognition, value bases, teleology, and sociology, based on the action logic, is the general view of the Supreme Leader based on the principle of "Monotheism" as the basic foundation of existence. Justice is the foundation of monotheism and also the most important manifestation of absolute presence. Politics and political systems are based on justice, and without it, it has no meaning and no truth. In his view, only the divine-Islamic system can establish justice in the true sense of the word in society. It can bring the community and the human population to perfection, which is how to reach nearness to God. The responsibility of the religious system is to honour justice, implement it, and remove obstacles to the realization of justice. That is, the same duty that human nature has placed on him. The fulfilment of justice in society is done by denying these factors, fulfilling social justice requirements, and following its paths. The Islamic political system plays a key role.

Suggestions

It is suggested that researchers research the basics of the Supreme Leader's political jurisprudence on issues such as cultural, judicial, social, etc., justice in his thoughts.

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Analysis of the Colonialism Function in the Thought of Allameh Mughniyeh

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Abstract

The colonialists exploit the rights of the oppressed with ambition. To achieve their ideals, they take actions to better prevent its performance with awareness of its function. Allameh Mughniyeh is a contemporary religious thinker who is very concerned about anti-oppression. He refers to this subject in his many speeches and writings. To understand the function of colonialism, we should analyze and evaluate all of Mughniyeh's topics mentioned in this field to determine what function colonialism has in his mind. So can know better colonialists and ambitious. The present study aimed to, with the descriptive-analytical method, analyze all the content of colonialism and America, which is the symbol of modern colonialism, and Zionism, which is the stooge of America. The results indicated that there are three general functions for colonization. First is the transmutation of words that colonialism changes the nature of some words such as reformist, science, religion, and capitalism to achieve its interests. Then, colonialism uses psychological and physical tools of war to achieve its goals. Finally, is the existence of mercenaries and the polarization of society.

Keywords: Mughniyeh, Function, Colonialism, America, Zionism.

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Introduction

The natural logic of the evolution of life and history implies that in all ages, some oppressors and aggressors try to exploit the economic, political, and social systems of the oppressed by beheading. The deprived of society have also tried to get out of their yoke throughout history. Western colonialists are one of the problems of the Muslim community (Kasar, 1999 AD/1420 AH: 86).

Many religious thinkers tried to introduce hegemonists and colonialists through writings and speeches and explain how to fight against them in the contemporary century. Allameh Mohammad Javad Mughniyeh is one of the most famous current personalities and one of the great scholars. They devoted most of their effort and time to propagating Islam so that others could be guided (al-Muharraqi, 1956 AD/1376 AH: 214). The late Mughniyeh (1322 AH) is one of the Lebanese religious thinkers (Mughniyeh, 2004 AD/1425 AH: 17; Ahmadi, (n.d.): 9) who has written about 60 books. (Mughniyeh, 1378: 1/27). His concern in his writings was to correct the corrupt situation of the society (ibid., 1972: 1, 5).

So, Mughniyeh's aim in his writings is to introduce the enemy and the solution to fight it and get the rights of the oppressed. In addition to Mughniyeh's claim to righteousness, his life coincided with the Lebanese civil war and the Arab-Israeli war. As a result, the oppression of colonialism was very tangible to him; therefore, colonialism's function has many manifestations in his works.

The research done in Allameh Mughniyeh is mainly in the direction of jurisprudential issues and the introduction of the methodology of Mughniyeh books. Still, no thorough investigation has been done on the functions of colonialism; for example, the dissertation "Study of the Disputes between Ayatollah Khomeini and Mohammad Javad Mughniyeh in Family Law" written by Samira Sinaeian or entitled "Interpretive Response to Mohammad Javad Mughniyeh in the Al-Tafsir Al-Kashif" by Haidar Nouredin. The present study explains the colonialism concept in Mughniyeh's thought and analyzes its function.

1. Colonialism Concept in Allameh Mughniyeh Thought

Colonialism, Zionism, and big hoarding companies are among the causes of backwardness in Islamic societies. Their goal is to destroy the movements and prevent their progress (al-Atiyawi, (n.d.): 27). The word "Colonialism" literary means to seek prosperity and want to prosper (Qurashi, 1999 AD/1378 SH: 5, 43); in term means the domination of a strong country over a weak government to use its natural resources and human resources under the pretext of prosperity (Moein, 1988 AD/1367 SH: 254).

With its freedom of action, the new colonialism establishes a mercenary government in the colonized countries and directs the economies of those countries towards the protection of the

colonialists' interests, and leaves that country (Mughniyeh, 2008 AD/1387 SH: 5, 491). The colonial powers, led by the United States of America, recognize their system as the leader of the new colonialism in the present age; so, their lives, according to the verse " وَ لَوْ أَنَّ قُرْآنًا سَبَّرْتُ " (al-Ra'd: 31) " الْأَمْرُ جَمِيعًا بِهِ الْجِبَالُ أَوْ قُطِّعَتْ بِهِ الْأَرْضُ أَوْ كُلُّمَّ بِهِ الْمَوْتَى بَلْ لِلَّهِ" on the exploitation of the weak and imprisoned them based extraction. The United States, with all its might, is pressuring the members of the United Nations to ignore any current related to justice. Otherwise, it will openly take a hostile stance against any nation that wants to administer justice to the aggressors and help oppression wherever it is (Mughniyeh, 2003 AD/1424 AH: 4, 405).

Because one of the goals of the United States of America is that it must dominate the whole planet and everyone and everything in it (ibid., 1999 AD/1378 SH: 6, 683), as the Secretary of State said in 1966: "America must pay attention to the whole planet" (ibid., 2003 AD/1424 AH: 6, 422). To secure its interests in the Middle East and political power, American colonialism established a military base in the land of Palestine in 1948 and named it the State of Israel (ibid., 2008 AD/1387 SH: 4-221; ibid., 2003 AD/1424 AH: 6, 11). Israel is a colonial and aggressive military base for the United States (ibid., 2003 AD/1424 AH: 6, 190-191; ibid., 7, 25; ibid., 2, 301).

Colonialism created Israel to supply its secure (ibid., 1979 AD/1399 SH: 9; ibid., 2003 AD/1424 AH: 2, 345). The crime and danger of the colonial mercenaries and those who play the role of protecting the interests of the colonialism are far more than the colonizers themselves. At least like them; because these are the main pillars of their exploitation and aggression (ibid., 2003 AD/1424 AH: 3, 72). According to Mughniyeh, no sedition and calamity are more severe and more excellent than Zionism and colonialism (Mughniyeh, 1999 AD/1378 SH: 7, 370).

The cause of surviving Israel so far is the colonialism help, and if they leave Israel alone for even one day, Muslims will snatch it from all sides (ibid., 2, 218). He believes that the fate of Israel and the United States is the same as the fate of the oppressors of history (ibid., 2003 AD/1424 AH: 4, 353). He says that all the world's villains, such as Hitler and Mussolini, leave their achievements for their survivors (ibid., 1972: 4, 361).

One of the outstanding characteristics of colonialism is lying and deception. They support the Zionist government in Palestine to close mouths with money and pressure and then cry and pretend to be oppressed (ibid., 2003 AD/1424 AH: 5, 16).

Mughniyeh according to " أَلَمْ تَرَ إِلَى الَّذِينَ يَزْكُونَ أَنفُسَهُمْ " (al-Nisa: 49) refers to the lies, hypocrisy, and deception of colonialism and say: "In the recent past, Israel has rumored that the Arabs are ready to attack the Jews. While their supporters of colonial governments are plotting

and designing terror operations and attacks on Arabs, their cruelty and crime caused people to forget Hitler and Genghis Khan” (ibid., 2003 AD/1424 AH: 2, 346). Therefore, if colonialism and its stooge can, by conspiracy or kidnapping and seducing girls and women, they plunder people's properties; if they have a little power, they will plunder and bleed (ibid., 2, 350).

For example, Mughniyeh reminds British deception in World War I in the description of Wisdom:

"الوفاء لأهل الغدر غدر عند الله و الغدر بأهل الغدر وفاء عند الله" (Sayyed Razi, 2011 AD/1432 AH: Wisdom 258). He states: "They sign a treaty with Arabs to help them fight against the Ottoman Turks and get rid of them and at the same time, they surrendered Palestine to the Zionists. Undoubtedly, deceit with them and any other plotter aggressor is loyalty and a sign of hatred” (Mughniyeh, 1999 AD/1378 SH: 6, 346).

Or the United Nations, which represents all the countries of the East and the West, in 1967, approved the withdrawal of Jerusalem from Israel, and the only response of the Israeli representative to this resolution was: "The United Nations Is a Dustbin" as the press reported (ibid., 2003 AD/1424 AH: 6, 38). The solution means the need for dialogue with the Arabs. Therefore, the UN envoy, Gunnariaring, was not allowed to implement the resolution. They transform anything in line with their evil intentions (ibid., 2, 338).

To understand colonialism, we must become more familiar with its function. Therefore, we analyze the process of decolonization in Mughniyeh's thoughts in the next section.

2. Functions of Colonialism in the Thought of Allameh Mughniyeh

The colonizer commits various acts and deceptions to achieve his interests. Therefore, we should examine the function of colonialism in the thought of Allameh Mughniyeh. In this section, the performance of colonialism is analyzed and evaluated into three categories: vocabulary transformation, the use of war tools, and the use of mercenaries and polarization in society.

2.1. Vocabulary Transformation

Colonialism sometimes transforms some practical and valuable words to achieve its goals; that is, it changes its nature (Azarnoosh, 2014 AD/1393 SH: 235). Mughniyeh refers to the terms that were transformed by colonialism in the content of his works. This section is about domination with the slogan of reformism, changing scientific and religious values, and illegitimate capitalism.

2.1.1. Reformist

Every nation should determine its destiny through nature and intellectual necessity and not allow anyone to interfere in its affairs (Mughniyeh, 1999 AD/1378 SH: 1, 309). In the present age, Israel is the standard of evil and deception, and any state that seeks to dominate nations will seek refuge in the form of Israel to achieve its goals.

Every group of exploiters and insurgents in the East and the West gets help from this oppressive criminal gang to protect their interests (ibid., 2003 AD/1424 AH: 2, 338).

The colonialists seek domination of countries with the slogan of reformism. They play the role of publisher civilization while they do the opposite (ibid., 1979 AD/1399 SH: 44). The colonialists bother liberal and colored governments, while at the same time they think that is peaceable and justice supporters (ibid., 2003 AD/1424 AH: 2, 34). The leaders of Israel have clearly stated that the survival of their government depends on the existing differences between the Arab rulers (ibid., 1999 AD/1378 SH: 3, 150) to bring them under their domination and politics (ibid., 2, 301).

They despise the army and governments of the oppressed and treat them with violence and harshness (ibid., 4, 230). The Vietnamese, for example, are belligerent and bloodthirsty from the American point of view; because they do not accept the United States hegemony, and the Arabs are savages to them. They say Palestine is not for Zionists. Accordingly, the colonial countries, while chanting the slogan of peace and freedom and claiming the security of nations and the protection of the rights of the weak, target the oppressed nations such as the Vietnamese with napalm cannons and bombs (ibid., 2003 AD/1424 AH: 4, 304, 484).

According to Sheikh Mughniyeh, today, the force of the United States of America is somewhat similar to the point of Dhu al-Qarnayn, because each is unique in its time. Dhu al-Qarnayn used all his strength and power for the good of humanity and its happiness. At the same time, America uses its force to support evil and Zionism and dominate the people, markets, and ideas, in favor of colonialism and reaction in all its forms and forms (ibid., 5, 161).

To explain the badness of the colonialists' actions who dominates with the slogan of reformism, Mughniyeh compares them to the Zuleikha act, which accused the pure and holy man of evil and demanded his punishment. In Vietnam, the Middle East, the Congo, and other countries, the war; and arming executioners to battle with the oppressed and those who do not obey them. However, they claim that they killed the Vietnamese and armed Israel for the sake of peace, security of nations, and realization of the weak rights; and forced them to rape, kill, destroy and evict people from their homes. So, it is evident if a woman obeys her lust and lies to her husband to cover up her mistakes (ibid., 4, 304).

Therefore, Christians support Israel because the Jews are the best tool they can rely on to protect their interests and achieve their goals. Consequently, they endorsed and supported the Israeli government in Palestine, drawing up its plans for aggression and expansionism and pledging to stand by it at the United Nations and the Security Council. Israel also realized that it could not survive except in the shadow of

unquestioning obedience to the colonial orders and the execution of their plans. As a result, the colonialists want to achieve their dreams through the clutches of predatory Israel (ibid., 3, 72).

2.1.2. Religion

Colonialism constantly changes religious values for its benefit in different ways. From the time of Mazdak until today, they call on people to get rid of spiritual and moral constraints and to follow the sexual instinct unconditionally. They differ from each other only in the method according to different eras. In the twentieth century, in the name of freedom and progress, these people go their own way and go too far in inciting sexual instinct by writing stories and showing movies and naked members and ugly gestures and the like (ibid., 2, 302).

It is a commercial process and personal interests (ibid., 1, 140; Kasar, 1999 AD/1420 AH: 87). For this reason, they are arming Jews to invade Quds and destroy the sanctity of religious rites that Christians and Muslims consider sacred, especially churches and Christian graves (Mughniyeh, 1999 AD/1378 SH: 2, 756). According to Allama Mughniyeh, Western colonialism, to destroy religious values, first targeted the rules of the Qur'an and removed its effects from the courts, and replaced it with customary French and English civil law. And then, it eliminated the teaching of religious beliefs and ethics from the educational system and prepared the ground for the spread of sin and corruption in the ideas and morals of Muslims. Therefore, the new generation does not pay much attention to belief and ethics (ibid., 1, 79).

The colonialists and the Zionists found the justification for their rebellions and aggressions against humanity and its values in the synagogue, which considers sin and transgression as an instinct in the flower and nature of man. When people complained about their oppression and disobedience, they will say: These are the deeds of God and beyond our will. Whoever ruled was monopolized, and whoever did not seize and dominate was unable to do so. Therefore, the forces of evil always support the synagogue and all its belongings (ibid., 2008 AD/1387 SH: 1, 153).

The main goal of a Zionists group living in the United States is to spread chaos and provoke religious riots worldwide, especially in the Arab world, and predict that the world is collapsing. This group publishes many magazines and books in different languages and color volumes (ibid., 2008 AD/1387 SH: 1, 153). They even have a Zionist principle that says: "We must use the Qur'an as a winning weapon against Islam to eliminate it" (ibid., 2003 AD/1424 AH: 6, 497).

Therefore, the polytheists' goal is to eliminate Islam on the planet, so they are constantly fighting against Muslims. As God says:

”وَلَا يَزَالُونَ يَقَاتِلُونَكُمْ حَتَّى يَرُدُّوكُمْ عَنْ دِينِكُمْ إِنِ اسْتَطَاعُوا“ (al-Baqarah: 217).

Infidelity and hatred towards Islam and its belongings have always existed. They are still alive in the hearts of many Easterners and Westerners because the humanity and justice of Islam and the struggle against oppression and corruption have aroused the spirit of hostility in them. So, they are lying in wait to inflict any blow they can on the Muslims and fight them with various means according to their circumstances. Therefore, we must recognize these enemies and fight them with the same tools that fight us (Mughniyeh, 2003 AD/1424 AH: 1, 324).

2.1.3. Science

It is well known that Americans look at nothing but the dollar and evaluate the greatness of men with it, and even believe that the value of scientists and geniuses is not in their brains but their pockets (ibid., 1999 AD/1378 SH: 4, 628). The United States has a plan to buy scientists from everywhere, Mughniyeh says: "They have been able to sign immigration contracts with 700 scientists". Then American politicians employed many of these scientists to build war equipment and tools to fight the world and dominate their fate (ibid., 2, 696).

Mughniyeh refers to a kind of scientific transformation about verse "كَلَّا إِنَّ الْإِنْسَانَ لِرَبِّهِ لَكَنَّا" (Alaq: 8-9) interpretation. He says: Whenever a person finds himself needless using science and tools such as laboratories and factories, he goes beyond the bounds of the law and oppresses himself with complete cruelty. In addition to the context appearance, this interpretation confirms the reality in the current state of humanity. Suppose scientists are trying to conquer and exploit the whole world. Of course, they pursued this goal when they turned to produce weapons and military industries through knowledge, and they acquired weapons that could destroy the earth in a few hours (Mughniyeh, 2003 AD/1424 AH: 7, 588-589). Mughniyeh says about verse "وَلَا تَأْمُرُهُمْ فَلْيَتَّقُوا اللَّهَ" (al-Nisa: 119) interpretation: "Just as Satan in the age of ignorance ordered his followers to cut off the ears of cattle and change God's creation, today command to his followers to drop napalm bombs on women and children, and drop nuclear bombs on cities like Hiroshima and Nagasaki to kill people. It is the result of the domination of politicians over the ideas of geniuses and the power of science" (Mughniyeh, 2003 AD/1424 AH: 2, 443).

2.1.4. Capitalism

Capitalism is one of the words that colonialism has changed its value. They are trying to achieve their interests through illegitimate capitalism. Sometimes the differences between the capitalist countries turn into a destructive nuclear war, and sometimes they lead to aggressive policies against the oppressed nations. The exploitation of various African and Asian countries guarantees the victory of the colonialists (ibid., 1, 318).

Today, the great powers are competing in the armaments and depriving the hungry of the land blessings so that the land will be full of factories owned by the monopoly oppressors. According to statistics, what the world countries spend on peace is more than their budget on education and health (ibid., 7, 634). Mughniyeh knows this verse "أَنَا أَكْثَرُ مِنْكَ مَالًا وَ أَعَزُّ نَفْرًا" (al-Kahf: 34) as the of criminals and sinners logic; because this logic causes misery for humanity. From their viewpoint, human value is their property. According to this logic, the first motive of technology has been to make destructive weapons and spend millions of money from hungry food to make these weapons (Mughniyeh, 1999 AD/1378 SH: 5, 211).

History does not know the worst and greatest crime than the capitalists and the owners of the accumulated wealth of the present time because they incite sedition and suppress liberation movements worldwide. So, mercenary groups send ships, planes, and spies to different parts of the world to turn the whole world into a corporation and own it. These capitalists believe only in the stocks, and the world's nations must pay the dividends for the price of their bread, blood, and future. Capitalists exploit the governments of these [oppressed] nations to create economic and political pressure on the oppressed (ibid., 2, 35-37).

Mughniyeh according to this verse, "وَيْلٌ لِّلْمُطَفِّفِينَ" (al-Motafefin: 1) introduces the transformation of capitalism. They are forcing people to surrender to their oppression through hoarding and selling expensive goods, and they justify this indecent act in the name of freedom and free trade. Over time, with the knowledge development, the discovery of markets, and the emergence of oil and other mines, exploitation methods also evolved. In the recent period, the shortchangers have found the best means of accumulating wealth and keeping profits at the highest level in creating war and running politics in search of weapons (Mughniyeh, 2003 AD/1424 AH: 7, 534)

Accordingly, colonialism opens the way for the rich to influence the statesmen and use politics to their advantage; in the meantime, people and the oppressed are sacrificed (ibid., 1972: 4, 252).

Colonizers plan for all life dignities, including production, services, communications, and even babies in the womb. Above all, they carry out their political and false propaganda with a plan and study and even hide the result of their scientific success by hoarding and making more profit than others (ibid., 2008 AD/1387 SH: 6, 87).

2.2. Using Different War Tools

The exploiters use all kinds of wars to achieve their goals. In this section, the two psychological and physical wars mentioned by Mughniyeh in his writings are mentioned.

2.2.1. Psychological Warfare

Psychological warfare has deep roots in history and is not one of the initiatives of Zionism and colonialism. Still, it is an old act that no one

but the naive and short-sighted people will be deceived. For example, when the Holy Prophet (PBUH) and his companions dug a ditch, a group of hypocrites said: "The ditch cannot prevent war, and you cannot resist this huge army". It happens similar to Zionist mercenaries and colonialists who advertise the horror of the Israeli forces (ibid., 2003 AD/1424 AH: 6, 199).

The colonialists carry out misleading and hypocritical propaganda through mercenary newspapers and radios (ibid., 1979 AD/1399 SH: 44; 2003 AD/1424 AH: 1, 403). According to Mughniyeh, Israel has 890 publications worldwide to spread false news. In addition, the Zionists dominate many propaganda devices such as television, radio, and announcement, etc. (ibid., 6, 240-241). Even the Americans spied on the world countries and their nations by planes and satellites (ibid., 7, 121).

Accordingly, one of the most effective methods of media warfare is propaganda and persuasion of public opinion; because the psychological effect is one of the most effective methods in advancing goals (ibid., 2008 AD/1387 SH: 4, 372).

One of the enemy tools is "Psychological Warfare," which Mughniyeh believes the Qur'an has equated with the word "Morjifun" in the "وَالْمُرْجُفُونَ فِي الْمَدِينَةِ لَنُغْرِبَنَّكَ بِهِمْ ثُمَّ لَا يُجَاوِرُونَكَ فِيهَا إِلَّا قَلِيلًا" (al-Ahzab: 60). A group spread false propaganda against the Prophet (PBUH) and his companions and doubted the weak faithful believers. The previous verse warns the hypocrites and liars to kill and exile and those who listen to them and refrain from misguidance and crime. In this psychological warfare, the forces of evil have shown skill and spread lies by any means possible, including newspapers, radio, television, movies, lectures, publications, schools, universities, books. Stories, and so on. These enemies repeat a lie several times in a day to hide the truth in the eyes of pure people (Mughniyeh., 2003 AD/1424 AH: 6, 240-241).

Therefore, colonialism launches many study centers to study the situation of other nations, such as religion, customs, heritage, groups, and economy, etc. They want to plunder their wealth and sell their goods in their markets and create psychological warfare when necessary (ibid., 2008 AD/1387 SH: 4, 219). For example, after the war in the Middle East in 1967, false rumors and psychological warfare were made in the mercenary newspapers. The hypocrite's activity and courage against God and His Prophet reached its peak (ibid., 2003 AD/1424 AH: 6, 157).

2.2.2. Physical Warfare

Colonialism plunders the wealth of nations and turns them into bombs and missiles to drop these bombs and missiles on the same countries (ibid., 5, 128). Oppression is one of the greatest sins, and even like blasphemy against God. After the revelation of the verse "وَإِذَا بَطَشْتُمْ وَإِذَا بَطَشْتُمْ جَبَّارِينَ* فَاتَّقُوا اللَّهَ وَ أَطِيعُوا" (al-Shoara: 128), there were no hellish

weapons and millions of dollars that arsonists spend to kill all people. Therefore, the questioned verse describes the oppressors of the disabled with the worst characteristics and warns them of the worst punishments. So, what will punish those who rain missiles, napalm bombs, chemical weapons, and other deadly devices on the oppressed nations? Those who build many military bases on the ground to rule the people and control the destiny of countries (Mughniyeh, 2003 AD/1424 AH: 5, 509).

For example, one of the colonialism tools in physical warfare is to equip more than a thousand American military bases with all kinds of weapons of mass destruction in the East and West of the world. Americans armed Israel and force them to rape, kill, destroy and evict people from their homes, and drops bombs from phantom planes on Egyptian school children (ibid., 1999 AD/1378 SH: 4, 480; ibid., 7, 204). Israel, the puppet of the colonialists, invades with financial aid and weapons and is supported by the United Nations and the Security Council (ibid., 2003 AD/1424 AH: 2, 427; ibid., 3, 101).

Mughniyeh repeats his statements in the interpretation of " مَنْ يَكُنْ " "الشَّيْطَانُ لَهُ قَرِينًا فَسَاءَ قَرِينًا" (al-Nisa: 38) and believes that colonialism protects Israel because they are colonialism followers in political and economic dimensions (Mughniyeh, 2003 AD/1424 AH: 2, 325).

Mohammad Javad Mughniyeh considers Israel's work today as a continuation of the Jewish work of the past. Jews religiously believe in killing men, looting property, capturing women and children, destroying homes, and burning villages and towns of any nation, and practice them without that nation declaring war on the Jews, breaking a covenant, or even saying a word against them, as Israel now does with the Palestinian people (ibid., 6, 240). Mughniyeh believes that the Jews have a hatred of all human beings in their hearts and their ultimate goal is to destroy all human beings except the Jews (ibid., 1999 AD/1378 SH: 1, 279). So, the Jews who broke God's covenant and changed the Torah will far break the covenants they make with the Arabs and others, and they will change the resolutions of the United Nations and the Security Council (ibid., 3, 56).

The Holy Qur'an clearly states that whenever the children of Israel rule and dominate, they rebel and oppress, and corrupt and supremacy on the earth. Mughniyeh confirms it: "So no wonder that today the Zionist government in Palestine rips open the bellies of pregnant women, buries young people alive, and fires on prisoners" (ibid., 5, 16).

Mughniyeh compare the method of Israel with Pharaoh in verse

"حَتَّىٰ إِذَا أَدْرَكَهُ الْغَرَقُ قَالَ آمَنْتُ أَنَّهُ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا الَّذِي آمَنْتُ بِهِ بَنُو إِسْرَائِيلَ وَ أَنَا مِنَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ"

(Yunus: 90). He says: "Pharaoh killed the sons of Israel and kept their wives alive. Israel has killed far more young Palestinians than Pharaoh". 'Did Pharaoh say: Is not the land of Egypt and these

flowing streams mine?’ Israel also says: ‘Is not Palestine and its sources, and the Golan Heights and the western bank of the Jordan River, from me?’ (Mughniyeh, 2003 AD/1424 AH: 4, 188-189).

Another incitement to colonial warfare is that the United States and Britain have microbial weapons factories and are preparing them for the day. When the world's nations agreed to ban nuclear proliferation under the pressure of world opinion, the two countries used destruction as a substitute for nuclear and hydrogen bombs (Mughniyeh, 1999 AD/1378 SH: 4, 691).

In the first sermon of Nahj al-Balaghah description, Mughniyeh expresses the utter horror of the colonialists works by asking: Now, if Amir al-Mu'minin (AS) live in the contemporary era and watch the killings, desecration, destruction of houses and displacement of women and children in the East and West of the world, ‘what would he say?’ And ‘what was his reaction?!’ If Amir al-Mu'minin (AS) lived in modern times, ‘what words and phrases would he use to describe the crimes of the colonial governments in countries that want development and prosperity, security, and a comfortable life?!’ And ‘how did he condemn the permanent crimes of the Zionists and the killing and exile of the Palestinian people and the destruction and burning of their homes?!’ (ibid., 2008 AD/1387 SH: 1, 82-83).

2.3. Using Mercenaries in Society

In this era, the forces of evil and exploitation use traitors and mercenaries to advance their goals and consolidate their position. These evil devices cover the pious clothes to their mercenaries for attributing heresies to the religion and interpret it according to the aggressor's and the exploiters' wishes. Therefore, they can spread seditions and differences among sects and followers of divine religions (ibid., 2003 AD/1424 AH: 6, 157).

According to Mughniyeh, Muslims have never been united in friendship with infidels. Today, the colonial mercenaries, known as the fifth pillar and ration eaters and opportunists, do this because they sell their religion and homeland for money (ibid., 2, 145-146). We quote a sentence from mercenaries to know them more. Those who blame the United States for having war bases, repression, and liberation forces in the world and for plundering the assets of oppressed nations; have forgotten or are forgetting that the knowledge and wealth of the United States are more significant than that of any other nation. And who is superior to others both scientifically and in terms of wealth, must use force and oppression (ibid., 5, 195).

Accordingly, the responsibility for the mercenaries' behavior lies with the Western colonialists and the vile traitors who obey and cooperate with them and, after believing, disbelieving in their religion and homeland, share with them (ibid., 2, 121).

2.4. Bipolarization of Society

Colonialism strikes Islam by divisiveness between Muslims and making Islam look indecent (ibid., 1991 AD/1412 SH: 216). According to colonialism, sectarianism is the most potent weapon (ibid., 1961: 62). They try to achieve their goals by destroying the solidarity of the movements (al-Atiyawi, (n.d.): 27) so caused the religious nations' bipolarization (ibid., 65). Colonialism in any way divides the united country and disrupts its national unity to bow down to their exploitation and monopoly (Mughniyeh, 1999 AD/1378 SH: 2, 35-37).

Nothing angers the enemy, such as virtue and good morals, union and unity of the word. The Muslims' dispersal and disagreement have always been the cause of the domination of the enemies over them (ibid., 2, 241) if the leading cause of the defeat of the Six-Day War was disintegration and disintegration (ibid., 7, 112). The following examples accordance with the verse *يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا إِن تَطِيعُوا قَرِيبًا مِّنَ الَّذِينَ أُوتُوا* "يا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا إِن تَطِيعُوا قَرِيبًا مِّنَ الَّذِينَ أُوتُوا" (ale-Imran: 100): The efforts of Christian missionaries in the present age, the actions of some people of the Book and others who intend to destroy the Muslims unity of the word and the feeling of patriotism and liberalism and keep them away from their religion (Mughniyeh, 2003 AD/1424 AH: 2, 121). Muslims in the present age are suffering from the forces of evil. The most dangerous of these forces are some countries and worship places that carry the name of Islam and cooperate with its worst enemies, namely colonialism and Zionism. Today, it is time for the Muslims to put aside their differences and unite against a common enemy (ibid., 7, 134). Imam Ali (AS) says: "Separatists are misguided even if their number is large and those who want unity are right even if their number is small" (Hilali, 1984 AD/1405 AD: 2, 964).

Conclusion

The following results are achieved from colonialism function in the Mohammad Javad Mughniyeh:

1. New colonialism exploits the oppressed's political, economic, and social systems to achieve its interests under the United States' leadership and support Zionism;
2. Reformism is one of the words that colonialism has changed its nature. They dominate other countries with the slogan of reformism and bomb freedom-loving countries that oppose their utilitarianism in the name of creating peace and security;
3. Colonialism considers religion and morality as a business process and supplying personal interests. So, it does not maintain the sanctity of religious rites, and uses the Qur'an against Islam, and creates religious riots all over the world;
4. Exploitation in scientific transformation regards the value of scientists in their pockets. That's why it buys scientists from all over the world and employs them to make weapons;

5. Colonialism has transformed the word capitalism and gain illicit capital through economic and political pressure on the oppressed; then, they hoard and call it free trade;
6. Colonialism uses many media around the world for its false propaganda. They persuade public opinion by repeating and creating psychological warfare;
7. Arsonists use physical warfare to advance their goals. They do not shy away from rape, killing, destruction, exile, and even the use of microbial weapons to achieve their ideals. They rape, kill, destroy, deport and even use microbial weapons to achieve their goals;
8. One of the methods of colonialism is the use of mercenaries in society. In this way, they achieve their goals through their treacherous actions;
9. The last function of colonialism is the polarization of society; because society will disintegrate and fail and succumb to the exploitation and hoarding of the colonialists.

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Investigating the Interaction of Shia Political Jurisprudence and the Islamic Revolution of Iran

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Abstract

The Islamic Revolution of Iran is known as one of the superb phenomena of the twentieth century, the essential political-religious revolution globally, which has left various effects at the national and international levels. Shia ideology is a crucial element in the etymology of this revolution. One of the basic principles of this ideology is political jurisprudence that has a two-way relationship with the Islamic Revolution. With a qualitative method and documentary study, the present study aimed to analyze the interaction between Shia political jurisprudence and the Islamic Revolution. To this aim, we reviewed documents and library resources and extracted the required data in research files. The results indicated that, on the one hand, Imam Khomeini, as the founder of the Islamic Revolution, by using Shia political jurisprudence, has founded and promoted this revolution. On the other hand, the Islamic Revolution has significantly impacted the development and promotion of Shia political jurisprudence by creating innovative spaces and arenas. This interrelationship is also associated with obstacles, challenges, and harms that the present article has partly addressed.

Keywords: Shia Islam, Shia political jurisprudence, Islamic Revolution of Iran, interrelationship, pathology.

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Introduction

"Religion" is the oldest and simultaneously the most effective human social institution (Khorramshahi, 1995 AD/1374 SH: 7), which has been the motivator and guiding factor of different societies (Keshani, 2004 AD/1383 SH: 21). According to Zuckerman, religion is a determining and decisive factor in social phenomena that shape other institutions, affect values, and form various relationships (Zuckerman, 2005 AD/1384 SH: 175).

The prevailing thought of the middle ages and the events formed a very different atmosphere and approached in the modern era. According to this approach, many believed that must separate human interaction and government, ethics, education, etc., from religion and independence (Moshki and Sajedi, 2009 AD/1388 SH: 181). The victory of the Islamic Revolution (1979) created a new and different ambience, and because it was in the name of God, the view of many thinkers once again changed the severe and effective presence of religion in various areas of human life (Hozuri, 2001AD/1380 SH: 21). The first essential characteristic of the Islamic Revolution was its Islamic theme against Western and Eastern materialist views. This revolution presented a religious rationality theory against instrumental and materialist rationality (Mohammadi, 2008 AD/1387 SH: 59). The Supreme Leader of the Islamic Revolution says about the place of religion, the Islamic nature of the revolution, and as a result of the unprecedented efforts of people various segments to rule Islamic jurisprudence during the Islamic Revolution:

“Without a religious factor, a short-term movement occurs, and unique people and specific groups do something and then get tired. Some reach their world; some come government and position; some compromise with the powerful; some are afraid; some get used to a comfortable life, some get frustrated, and the matter ends and disappears. In many worldwide movements, was not the name and remembrance of God, the worship and sincerity spirit, and divine leader of that great man, the Imam? Therefore, ordinary talents did not flourish in the struggle against corruption, tyranny, and other misfortunes of a nation. Here all the people, men, women, older men, people who had never been involved in social affairs and had not taken any risky steps for their worldly life, stood up and brought to the streets ruthlessly. Finally, Movement and Revolution took shape. A revolution that never has a sample in the history of Islam - after the early Islam up to now. A movement based on the rule of the Qur'an, Islamic jurisprudence, and religious commands, and the laws and administration of his country were based on Islam; this issue had no precedent anywhere” (Khamenei statements. Meeting people of Qom, 19/10/1375).

Doubtfully the Islamic Revolution of Iran is the product of Islamic (Shia) ideology. A view that claims its components such as

comprehensiveness and finality of religion can bring religion and its teachings into various dimensions of human life and manage them according to Islamic jurisprudence.

The revolutionary spirit and action of the Iranians derived from Islamic principles and ideas of the Shia school. We should seek components such as the leadership of the Imam, popular mobilization, and other factors influencing the victory of the revolution in this vital element. Shia schools and teachings have a great potential to change the status quo and build other societies with innovative structures. Shia Islam's capacities are clear past to model, popular representation of jurists in the absence era, dynamic Ijtihad, and significant capacity to produce socio-political theories and Islamic systematization (Alemi and Nowruzi, 2017 AD/1396 SH: 32).

Accordingly, discussing jurisprudence, examining the various Shia jurisprudence sources, and extracting jurisprudential rules according to human beings' different needs are vital necessities. Without previous discussion, the Islamic Revolution cannot do its missions and achieve its ideals.

In addition to the full view of jurisprudence, there are three other views:

1) Pessimistic View. Believers in this view deny the relationship between jurisprudence and society and have faith that community and social issues have not related to jurisprudence. With the confidence in the dualism of happiness and livelihood, they believe that jurisprudence is responsible for human well-being and should seek other social issues and livelihood elsewhere;

2) Minimum View. In this view, there is a general relationship between jurisprudence and society. Believers accept the principle of the relationship between jurisprudence and livelihood and community but consider the role of jurisprudence in social planning and guiding the evolution of social life ineffective. In these cases, jurisprudence is a pure supervisor and has no place in the planning and management, and should use here reason, sense, experience, etc.;

3) Full View. The other group claims the connection between jurisprudence and society and considers this connection to be maximum. These people think the role of jurisprudence in the management of community and the guidance and development of social life as a broad and positive role and believe that jurisprudence is a kind of constitution and the main foundation of social management (cf: Meshkati Sabzevari et al., 2013 AD/1392 SH: 53-55).

In the religion realm issue and, consequently, the extent of jurisprudence influence, from another perspective is classified:

- The full view is religion and jurisprudence answer to human needs in the world, the hereafter, the individual and social aspects;
- The minimum idea is denying the worldly and social dimensions of religion and jurisprudence;

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- The moderate view is religion's response to the social field and non-acceptance of ministerial accountability in all empirical and descriptive needs of human beings (cf: Qarabaghi and Elahi Rad, 2020 AD/1399 SH: 46).

The Islamic Revolution is one of the most significant revolutions globally, especially in contemporary history, and its transnational dimensions should understand its theme and principles. According to many domestic and foreign thinkers, Shia ideology has formed this revolution to influence other process components.¹ Regarding the revolution's nature and goals, naturally, the kind of view about religion is the full view that claims the return of faith to the realms of human social interaction. Following the management of different areas of life, based on religious and Islamic principles, attention to the position and jurisprudence role in the emergence of the Islamic Revolution and, subsequently, the revolution's impact is undeniable. Political jurisprudence is one of the essential tools for producing and arranging various programs of human life based on Islamic thought and principles. Therefore, we should study the relationship between Shia political jurisprudence and the Islamic Revolution. On the one hand, it closes the way to false claims seeking to reduce the religious and Shia dimension of the Islamic Revolution.

On the other hand, referring to the role of political jurisprudence in the victory of the revolution and the claim of managing society based on Islamic ideas, it provides the right path for the future of the Islamic Revolution. It shows the basis of the Islamic Revolution in the past, the current direction space of its movement, and its future roadmap. Or, if necessary, be revised and redesigned. All this will depend on evaluating the relationship between Shia political jurisprudence and the Islamic Revolution.

With a qualitative method and documentary study (library), the present study aimed to analyze the interaction of Shia political jurisprudence and the Islamic Revolution of Iran. To this aim, we study scientifically various related documents and sources with usable content, including prose, poetry, printed, electronic, etc. (Azkia and Darban Astaneh 2010 AD/1389 SH: 378).

So, the central question of this article is:

- What effects have Shia political jurisprudence and the Islamic Revolution of Iran had on each other?

Also, based on the main question, the following sub-questions can be asked:

1. For more information, cf: Zolfaghari, A; Mirzaei, H. (2014 AD/1393 SH), "Foucault and the Islamic Revolution of Iran (1979 AD/1358 SH); modeling the effective factors on the formation of the Islamic Revolution of Iran based on the views of Michel Foucault." Quarterly Journal of Islamic Revolution Studies. Vol. 11, no. 37, pp. 63-82.

- What is the meaning of Shia political jurisprudence?
- What are the meaning and dimensions of the Islamic Revolution?
- What effect has Shia political jurisprudence had on the formation and victory of the Islamic Revolution?
- What has been the interaction of the Islamic Revolution on Shia political jurisprudence?
- What are the obstacles, challenges, and harms of the relationship between Shia political jurisprudence and the Islamic Revolution?

1. Definitions and Conceptual Framework

In the following, we will explain the two main concepts of "Shia Political Jurisprudence" and "Islamic Revolution."

1.1. Shia Political Jurisprudence

Among the various chapters of jurisprudence, "Political Jurisprudence" is the most critical chapter of Shia jurisprudence, which is responsible for regulating the duties and mutual rights of the people with each other, the people and the government, and governments with each other (Lakzaei, 2010 AD/1389 SH: 129). Political jurisprudence with the victory of the Islamic Revolution and the formation of the Islamic Republic, which was the basis for the entry of jurisprudence into the field of management and political issues in domestic and foreign dimensions, was seriously considered by scholars and jurists (Izdehi, 2010 AD/1389 SH: 78-79). Although political jurisprudence has grown significantly with the victory of the Islamic Revolution, this jurisprudential issue, despite its ups and downs throughout history, has a long history in Shia jurisprudence. According to Supreme Leader: The history of political jurisprudence in Shia is from the beginning of the compilation of jurisprudence. Even before rational jurisprudence formulation in the third and fourth centuries - in the era of narrations - political jurisprudence has an apparent presence in the collection of Shia jurisprudence, an example of which you can see in the narrations. The "Tohaf Al-Uqul" narrative divides the types of transactions into four classes, which in the policies section expresses related matters. In these and many other narrations, the indicators are mentioned.

The famous narration of Safwan Jammal: "All your work is good except that you rent the camels to this man and many other narrations are like this. Later in the era of rational jurisprudence, Sheikh Mufid, and after him, we can again see the political jurisprudence. In different chapters, there are rules of politics and the administration of society" (Khamenei statements. Meeting members of the Experts Assembly, 17/06/1390). Therefore, political jurisprudence is not a new issue created by the victory of the Islamic Revolution. Rather, regarding the nature of the Islamic Revolution, this jurisprudential issue, which in the past was often abandoned, was given more serious attention by Islamic scholars and thinkers, mainly Shia.

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Some believe that the initial abandonment of political jurisprudence is influenced by factors such as the protest nature of Shia political jurisprudence against existing political powers. Its realism and logical direction in describing the desired situation have caused Shia political jurisprudence not to be compiled in a written book. Therefore, political jurisprudence has been discussed in most courses along with other chapters of jurisprudence. With the beginning of the Safavid rule, this part of jurisprudence was revived. With the deepening of Shia concepts and teachings, the ground for projecting political ideals becomes more and more. After the Qajar period, some jurisprudential chapters, unlike the past, discussed in the margins of other branches, are proposed with unique titles (Darabi, 2011 AD/1390 SH: 30). Naeini, Modarres, and Imam Khomeini played an essential role in jurisprudence towards political and social issues (Lakzaei, 2010 AD/1389: 129). Political jurisprudence with a sensitive nature in many historical periods has not had a favourable context for design and expansion; unless contemporary governments acted strongly against it or even helped develop it as in the Safavid era.

The field of political jurisprudence has an essential connection with spatial and temporal elements; because it is the place to raise new issues and events. Therefore, using firm and reasoned principles has great importance (Motalebi et al., 2012 AD/1391 SH: 125). The necessity of paying attention to the elements of "Time" and "Place" and changes in the subject to achieve the desired Ijtihad was a critical issue that Imam defended in the last years of his life (Shirkhani and Ebrahimi Varkiani, 2017 AD/ 1396 SH: 126).

Therefore, we can describe the mechanism of asking a new question in the political jurisprudence as follows:

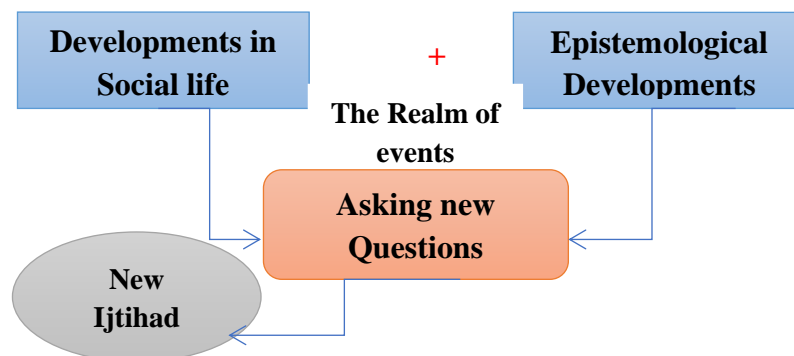


Figure 1: Mechanism of Asking New Question in Modern Ijtihad (Lakzaei (a), 2003 AD/1382 SH: 58)

Undoubtedly, the political jurisprudence can answer the Islamic society needs arising from the Islamic Revolution that it is based on a correct and accurate methodical transformation:

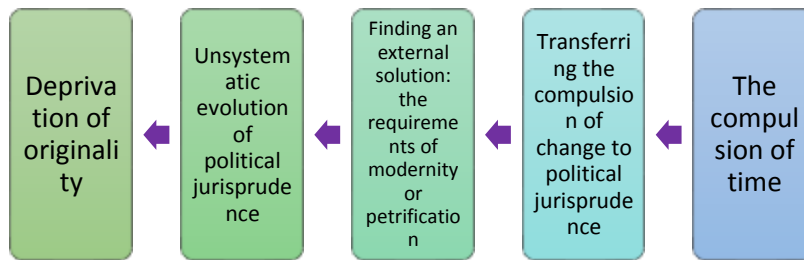


Figure 2: Unsystematic Evaluation of Political Jurisprudence (Sayyed Baqeri, 2007 AD/1386 SH: 79)

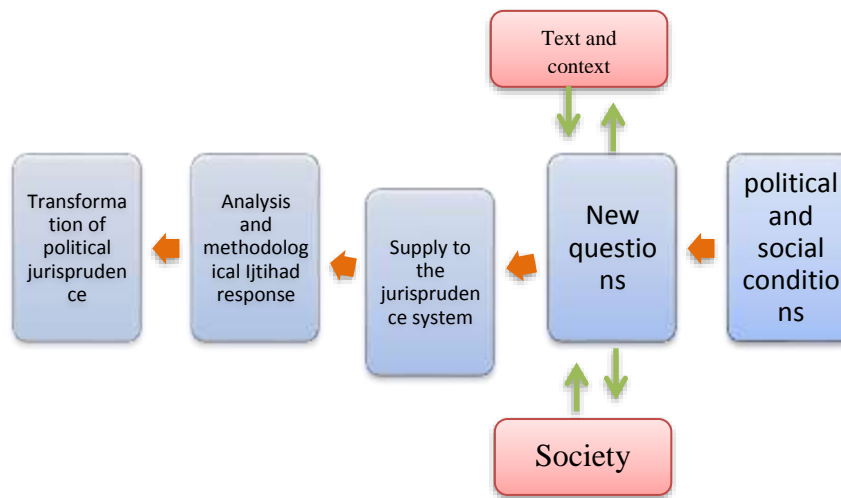


Figure 3: Methodical Development in Political Jurisprudence (Sayyed Baqeri, 2007 AD/1386 SH: 78)

1.2. Islamic Revolution

Revolution is synonymous with turning, transforming, and changing (Dehkhoda, 1993 AD/1372 SH: 3074). In political terms, it means the revolt of some people to overthrow the current government and form a new government (Farhang-e Farsi Moin; quoted by Dehkhoda, 1993 AD/1382 SH: 3074). social and political scientists present various interpretations and definitions of revolution, such as Samuel Huntington. According to him, revolution is a rapid, fundamental, and violent change in political and social structures, institutions, activities, values, leadership, and government policies (Huntington, 2007 AD/1386 SH: 385). Kalim Siddiqui, the contemporary Muslim thinker, has various researches on the Islamic Revolution. He considers revolution the rise and movement of the Muslim Ummah to change the existing system and replace it with a non-Islamic system. They want a system that seeks to implement Islamic rules and teachings in all areas of human life (Seddiqi, 1996 AD/1375 SH: 49). Considering the Islamic characteristic of revolution, the Islamic Revolution is based on the righteous ruling, the knowledge and faith of the people, and their general and forced uprising. The revolution has caused a fundamental change in the structures of society and the formation of a political system under the Islamic and Shia worldviews

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(Amid Zanjani, 1995 AD/1374 SH: 14). According to Motahhari, the Islamic Revolution is a complete revolution that Islam has influenced all its aspects (Motahhari, 2008 AD/1387 SH: 129). Therefore, this revolution was the first "Islamic" political revolution globally (Esposito, 2003 AD/1382 SH: 49).

The conceptual framework of this article, which is based on the two-way relationship between Shia political jurisprudence and the phenomenon of the Islamic Revolution, is expressed as follows:

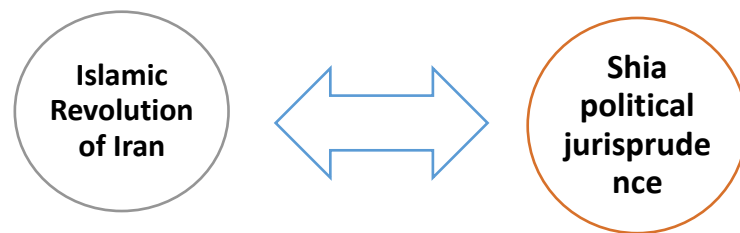


Figure 4: Conceptual Framework of Research

2. The Impact of Shia Political Jurisprudence on the Islamic Revolution

Shia has always sought truth, and one of its existential philosophies is resistance against distortions (Eshghi, 1980 AD/1359 SH: 45). According to Shia political philosophy, the ideal type of government belongs to the Imams. In cases where access to the Imam is impossible, the absolute jurist is his successor; because it has the most similarity to him in different ways (Mesbah Yazdi, 2007 AD/1386 SH: 95-96). Therefore, the "Best System" is at the centre of attention (Qaderi, 2009 AD/1388 SH: 42-43).

According to Esposito, Shia Islam has been involved in politics from the beginning, and these Shia beliefs were the foundation of the Islamic Revolution (Esposito, 2003 AD/1382 SH: 33). In other words, Shiism is a political religion (Alemi and Nowruzi, 2017 AD/1396 SH: 33). According to Islam, religion is not separate from politics, and in Shia jurisprudence, the nature of government and political system is based on this foundation. According to the jurisprudence and scientific tradition of the Imams, the religion of Islam is government-oriented, and the existence of an Islamic political system is necessary for the implementation of divine commands (Shirkhani and Ebrahimi Varkiani, 2017 AD/1396 SH: 124). With the perception of political rulings, Shia political jurisprudence gives a special place to implementing these rulings and the fulfilment of the Islamic government and the administration of society based on Islamic teachings (Izdehi and Ahmadi, 2019 AD/1398 SH: 8).

According to these propositions, the Islamic Revolution is beyond a political and social phenomenon and an Islamic movement (based on Shia teachings). A revolution originated from Islam and claims its

views in the government and administration of the country in the national dimension and seeks another world system in the transnational size (Mohammadi, 2008 AD/1387 SH: 59).

Many thinkers (Muslim and non-Muslim) in evaluating the Islamic Revolution, while accepting the religious basis of the revolution, have focused on the Shia intellectual foundations and political jurisprudence issues. As a Muslim thinker, Kalim Siddiqui defines the Islamic Revolution as replacing the existing system with a comprehensive and complete Islamic system that prepares Islamic laws and programs in all life aspects (Siddiqui, 1996 AD/1375 SH: 49).

The contemporary French thinker Christian Bromberge believes Islam is beyond the beliefs and customs. Islam has layers of civilization that represent a society with specific rights and duties (Bromberge, 1980 AD/1359 SH: 64-65). With an upright view of Shiism, he states that the geography of Islam is wide-ranging and includes different ideas and attitudes.

The study of the Islamic Revolution evaluated the teachings and components of Shia Islam and considered it a solid organizational tool with a set of social and educational institutions that can emerge and manifest in different situations (Bromberge, 1980 AD/1359 SH: 69-70). By fundamentals the role of religion (Shia Islam) in the Islamic Revolution, Michel Foucault believes that the existing system of Shia Iranians is not the same as their truth system (Foucault, 2010 AD/1389 SH: 66).

According to him, Islam has regulated many issues, including social and family relations, over the past centuries. The presence of Islam in the social and individual life of Iranians is regarding its dynamism (Foucault, 1998 AD/1377 SH: 27). Olivier Roy states that Iran is the only country in which the Islamic Revolution has taken place. He considers this revolution associated with Shiism (as a history) (Roy, 1992 AD.1371 SH: 129).

The Islamic Revolution is based on the intellectual foundations of Shia Islam; in other words, it is the period of fulfilment of Shia political jurisprudence. In this period, the most fundamental change in political jurisprudence occurred with the "Fulfillment the Theory of Vilayat-e Faqih" and the rule of Shia political jurisprudence (Sayed Bagheri, 2017 AD/1396 SH: 80).

A transformation in which the structures of the Islamic Republic were based on the theory of Velayat-e Faqih Imam Khomeini (Izdehi and Ahmadi, 2019 AD/1398 SH: 8). This period is the course of political systematization that manifested political principles and approached in an Islamic system (Motalebi et al., 2012 AD/1391 SH: 127).

The political system was based on the model of Velayat-e-Faqih, and the "School," the "Imam," and the "Ummah" are the fundamental

pillars of this Shia revolution and the political system. By explaining and expanding such a model, Imam Khomeini established a Shia Velayat over the society (Taheri and Hokmi Shalamzari, 2016 AD/1395 SH: 75). In a government, a jurist can issue a ruling when systematization has taken place. This systematization requires the design of added jurisprudence in various fields to be safe from the scourge of apparent legitimization (Saadi, 2015 AD/1394 SH: 33).

The questioned systematization here is a gradual one that is modified and completed over time. Therefore, the systematization originated by the Imam is not a sudden and finished affair. Supreme Leader emphasizes that: “Systematization is not a one-time affair. It does not mean that we discovered and argued a system based on jurisprudence and put it forward, and it was over. No, it is not. Systematization is a current issue; we must complete it day by day. We may have a mistake somewhere, but we should reform ourselves based on this mistake. It is a complement to systematization, not to ruin the past. The purpose of the systematization is not to destroy the structures, the constitution, the governmental system, but to preserve them, eliminate and complete the shortcomings, which is a necessity” (Khamenei statements. Meeting members of the Assembly of Experts, 17/06/1390).

In addition to the influence of Shia ideology and political jurisprudence in the formation of the Islamic Revolution, political jurisprudence has had essential effects after the victory of the Islamic Revolution and its establishment. These impacts are as follow:

2.1. The Effect of Political Jurisprudence on the Legitimacy of the System

- The effect of jurisprudence on the principle of establishing a political system;
- The impact of jurisprudence on the principles of religious legitimacy of the Islamic Republic;
- The effect of jurisprudence on the tenets of Velayat-e-Faqih in the Islamic Republic.

2.2. The Effect of Political Jurisprudence on the Type of Political System

- Republic; the form of government;
- Being Islamic; new Republic Content.

2.3. The Effect of Political Jurisprudence on the Laws and Structures of the System

- On the constitution (including important axes: leadership and Velayat-e-Faqih, declaration of the official Shia religion in the form, writing a figure based on religious sources, jurisprudential view in examining most principles);
- On the policies and guidelines of the system;
- On the value-based and enlightened faith (Akbari, 2012 AD/1391 SH: 149-176).

3. The Impact of the Islamic Revolution on Shia Political Jurisprudence

There are various approaches to the evolution of political jurisprudence, one of which is the classification of jurisprudence from the perspective of the Islamic Revolution. So, we can divide jurisprudence into two periods before the revolution and after the revolution. Imam Khomeini originated Jurisprudence after the Islamic Revolution that is the beginning of a new chapter of political jurisprudence (Taheri and Hokmi Shalamzari, 2016 AD/1395 SH: 57-59).

Regarding the history and periods of political jurisprudence, there are various divisions, in most of which the Islamic Revolution (1979) has a unique and pivotal role. Darabi, for example, divides it into six periods:

- 1) The period of legislating the rules (from the mission of the Prophet (PBUH) to the Imams (AS));
- 2) The period of Ijtihad (beginning of divine rules inference by jurists);
- 3) The period of exaltation and stability (from the time of absence to the Safavid period);
- 4) The period of lethargy and recession (middle decades of the eleventh and twelfth centuries and at the same time with the beginning of Akhbarigari);
- 5) The period of revival, reconstruction, and re-identification (after several decades of intellectual stagnation of Akhbarioun);
- 6) The period of political jurisprudence flourishing (from the beginning of the struggles of the Islamic Revolution under the leadership of Imam Khomeini) (Darabi, 2011 AD/1390 AH: 37-40).

But in a more popular division, these periods are divided into four periods:

- 1) **Creation Period:** Related to the era of the Prophet and the Imams (AS);
- 2) **Compilation Period:** With the beginning of the absence of Hazrat Mahdi (AS);
- 3) **Stabilization Period:** From the beginning of the tenth century with the quorum of the Shia religion in Iran;
- 4) **Fulfilment Period:** With the victory of the Islamic Revolution and the realization of absolute Velayat-e Faqih (Taheri and Hokmi Shalamzari, 2016 AD/1395 SH: 61-75).

The Islamic Revolution's victory has made the most critical change in the Shia political jurisprudence (Motalebi et al., 2012 AD/1391 SH: 117). While emphasizing the strength of Shia jurisprudence, the Supreme Leader says: "Our jurisprudence has a solid foundation. Shia has one of the strongest jurisprudences, which relies on extreme rules, principles, and foundations. Our dear Imam considered this substantial jurisprudence on a wide scale and with a global and governmental

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attitude and clarified aspects of jurisprudence that were not clear before that” (Khamenei statements. Friday prayer sermons, 23/04/1368).

In line with the Imam, Ayatollah Khamenei emphasizes political jurisprudence as one of the necessary and comprehensive chapters to solve the political system's problems and issues. He believed in re-reading the political jurisprudence tenets. The limitation of the scope previously was not due to its principles and requirements but the political and social conditions and provisions of that time. And he believes that this part of jurisprudence can be the foundation of a new Islamic civilization as a desirable software for governing society (Izdehi, 2017 AD/1396 SH: 7-8).

With the victory of the Islamic Revolution, political jurisprudence practically enters society's management and administration, which is naturally accompanied by new issues. Issues that were not important to our jurists before, but now the subject of answering them is necessary that led to the dynamism of Shia political jurisprudence (Motalebi et al., 2012 AD/1391 SH: 117).

With the victory of the Islamic Revolution and the formation of the Islamic system, the knowledge of jurisprudence underwent extensive and fundamental changes. It has some reasons, such as proposing many issues and questions in jurisprudence, increasing the level of expectations from jurists and accessing jurisprudence into various political and social fields (Izdehi, 2010 AD/1389 SH: 70).

After the revolution's victory, Shia jurisprudence, previous individual-centred and task-oriented, became community-oriented and government-based. While providing individual needs of human beings, it was also responsible for solving society's issues and social problems (Izdehi, 2015 AD/1394 SH: 119). After the victory of the Islamic Revolution, Shia jurists faced new problems and needs in four areas: political, economic, and cultural-social, which led to the growth and dynamism of political jurisprudence. Some of these issues are:

- 1) **Political:** Fundamentals of legitimacy in Islamic government, limits and powers of the people and the Islamic ruler, conditions and management of the Supreme Leader, limits of individual and social freedoms, freedom of political parties and groups, press law, etc.;
- 2) **Economic:** Direct and indirect taxes, money matters, banks and, etc.;
- 3) **Cultural-social:** The need for women hijab, mixed schools, women place, and religious minorities, etc. (Motalebi et al., 2012 AD/1391 SH: 129-133).

The role of the Islamic Revolution in the development and promotion of Shia political jurisprudence, considering the above mentioned and other needs in the new era, can be seen in the following cases:

- 1) Increasing attention to political jurisprudence and removing it from the margins and abandonment;

- 2) Mobilizing political jurisprudence after a long period of inactivity and freezing;
- 3) Introducing new areas with a political nature and increasing the dimensions of political jurisprudence;
- 4) Creating an intelligent and coherent view and deepening political knowledge in jurisprudence;
- 5) Theoretical and practical highlighting of the position of Velayat-e-Faqih and the Islamic government as the focal point of political jurisprudence;
- 6) Recognition of political jurisprudence as a scientific discipline;
- 7) Increasing philosophical views and accuracy towards political jurisprudence;
- 8) Strengthening rational-based readings of the Sharia rules by increasing new issues;
- 9) Increasing the role of the Islamic government in determining the instances of Sharia by emphasizing the absolute authority of the jurist;
- 10) Revival and highlighting the position of social expediency in political jurisprudence as a particular presupposition and principle;
- 11) making a background for a comparative comparison of Shia political jurisprudence with Sunni political jurisprudence;
- 12) Establishment Institutions of educational research and jurisprudence publications (Motalebi et al., 2012 AD/1391 SH: 134-144).

Sayyed Bagheri has studied some socio-political contexts and checked the evolution of political jurisprudence during the Islamic Revolution.

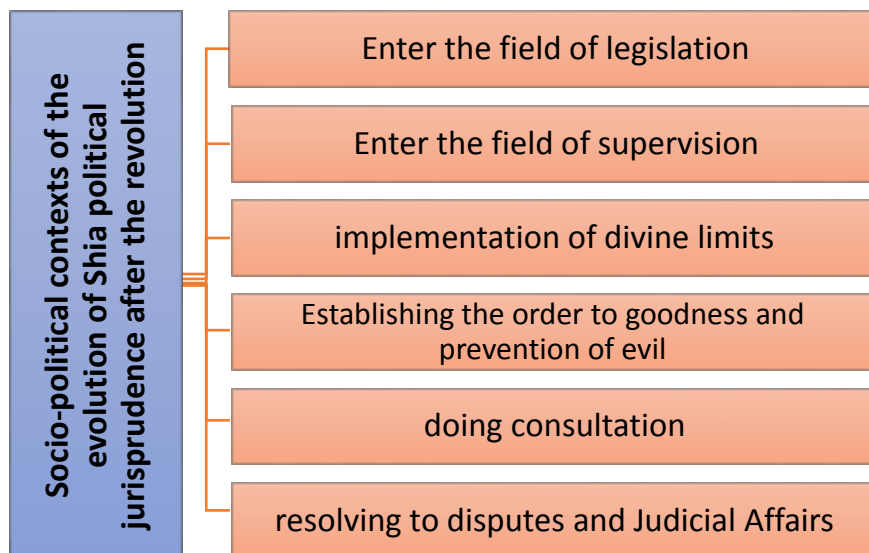


Figure 5: Socio-political Contexts of the Evolution of Shia Political Jurisprudence (Sayyed Bagheri, 2017 AD/1396 SH: 84)

He also enumerates the areas of evolution Shia jurisprudence as follows:

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- 1) Trying to reach the knowledge of political jurisprudence and remove it from the margins of general jurisprudence issues;
- 2) Efforts for the growth and dynamism of political jurisprudence based on the elements of time and place;
- 3) Highlighting the principle of collective interest and the Islamic system;
- 4) Presenting an alternative option of power and creating the outline of the Islamic Republic;
- 5) Acceptance of customary laws within the framework of sharia laws and besides maintaining the general principles of religion;
- 6) The transition from individual perspective to collective perspective and socio-political areas (Sayyed Bagheri, 2017 AD/1396 SH: 84-97).

Finally, based on the opinion of Meshkati and their colleagues, the mutual services of jurisprudence and the Islamic Revolution can be considered in the following cases:

- 1) The fundamental influence of traditional jurisprudence on the formation and victory of the Islamic Revolution;
- 2) The influence of traditional jurisprudence from the Islamic Revolution and the transition from conventional jurisprudence to the dynamic jurisprudence in the period of establishment;
- 3) The secondary influence of jurisprudence from the Islamic Revolution and the transition from the dynamic jurisprudence to the government jurisprudence in the development period;
- 4) The effect of governmental jurisprudence on the revolution and explaining the necessity of issuing and creating a world revolution and governing the world based on Shia governmental jurisprudence;
- 5) The Impact of the Islamic Revolution on governmental jurisprudence and the creation of the Islamic world revolution in the ideal view (after the creation of a new Islamic civilization) (Meshkati Sabzevari et al., 2013 AD/1392 SH: 56-57).

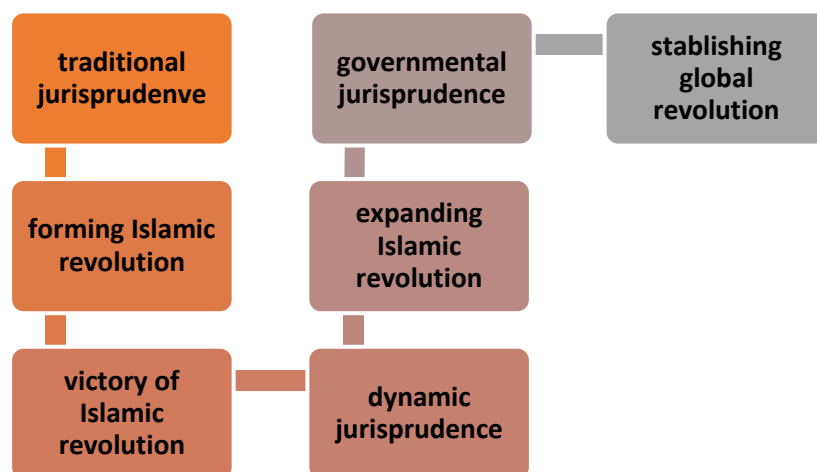


Figure 6: Mutual Services of Shia Jurisprudence and the Islamic Revolution
(Meshkati Sabzevari et al., 2013 AD/1392 SH: 56-57)

Here, traditional jurisprudence does not mean individual and minimal jurisprudence. This jurisprudence is the maximum jurisprudence whose problems and problem-solving system have developed over time, especially after the victory of the Islamic Revolution. Therefore, it is better to say that this jurisprudence is more traditional than the jurisprudence of today that is natural, just as today's jurisprudence will be more convenient than the jurisprudence of the future.

3. Obstacles, Challenges, and Harms of Political Jurisprudence in the Context of the Islamic Revolution

Shia political jurisprudence and the Islamic Revolution have a close and inseparable relationship accompanied by obstacles, challenges, and harms that need to analyze.

First, it is better to briefly review the obstacles to notice the political jurisprudence in the past. Izdehi, believes that jurisprudence in the past (especially before the Islamic Revolution) due to its many changes has been somewhat confined within the framework of individual jurisprudence and has less entered the political and social jurisprudence. With their understanding of Ayatollah Khamenei's views, he enumerates some of the causes and conditions that prevented the past jurists' proposed social and political issues: **1.** Lack of access to power and government; **2.** shia minority; **3.** alienation of governments with Shia jurists; **4.** dominance and rule of various rulers; **5.** lack of proposing governmental and political issues by jurists; **6.** disappointment of jurists from the formation of Shia government; **7.** prevalence of separation thinking religion from politics; **8.** isolation of the approach of Islamic rule (Izdehi, 2008 AD/1387 SH: 69-79). In one category, Lakzaei has enumerated the obstacles of developing political jurisprudence, which more than ever observes the changes of contemporary times, in the following four cases:

1) Historical Obstacles

External is the actions of the Islam opponents, including the Jews and the colonialists, mainly by inducing the incompleteness of the Islam religion.

Eternal is a lack of serious attention to Islam's political and social dimensions in the educational and research centres of the Islamic world; separation of Muslim political leadership from religious and jurisprudential leadership (Lakzaei (b), 2003 AD/1382 SH: 60-61).

2) Intellectual and Epistemological Obstacles (Internal)

- The emergence of Akhbarigari among Shia and Ash'ari among Sunnis;
- Ignoring the rule of justice and isolating the fare.

3) The Emergence of Socialist and Atheistic (Foreign) Thoughts

- Liberalism and liberal intellectuals;

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- Nationalism and nationalist intellectuals;
- Marxism and Marxist intellectuals.

4) Lack of Establishing the Political Jurisprudence Field to Study "Incident Events" (Any incident that may occur in the Islamic society, including war, disruption of the banking system, etc.) (Internal)

Evaluating the challenges of the political jurisprudence, according to the Islamic Revolution proposed in the political jurisprudence. On the one hand, the challenges of this subject are offered under the three discussions of "Possibility or Refusal of Islamic Government," "Scope and Form of Islamic Government," and "Source of Islamic Government Legitimacy." These three issues are the main challenges of political jurisprudence and political philosophy, especially in the period of fulfilment (Islamic Revolution) (Kamali Ardakani, 2004 AD/1383 SH: 124-128).

Some Shia challenges in the political jurisprudence are the fallibility of Ijtihad, highlighting the political role of scholars, scholar-oriented, the primacy of justice over security, confrontation to power and evaluating the political behavior with the previous theory, the continuation of infallibility, etc. (Lakzai (b), 2003 AD/1382 SH: 60-61: 53). There are some fundamental challenges between the Usuli and Akhbari: **1.** disagreement in perception tools of religious rulings; **2.** disagreement on the sources and evidence of Shari'a rulings; **3.** disagreement on the scope and inclusion of Shari'a rulings; **4.** disagreement about Ijtihad and Taqlid; **5.** perspectives on human intellect and knowledge (Lakzaei (a), 2003 AD/1382 SH: 60-61: 55-62).

acumen and changes (based on the views of the Supreme Leader) caused changes, dynamism, and expansion of Shia jurisprudence (especially in the political jurisprudence):

- 1) An Attitude Changing** that the jurists should change their views on different issues;
- 2) Transformation in the Method.** Despite the efficiency of Ijtihad and perception of rulings in various issues, this method must develop and reach its highest level to answer the needs and different individual and social issues;
- 3) Knowledge of Conditions and Social Issues.** Rulings should be perceived in a realistic environment and away from hypothetical cases, so jurists should be thoroughly familiar with the command's problems and aware of its various aspects;
- 4) Evolution in Expectations.** Rising expectations from Shia jurisprudence, especially after the victory of the Islamic Revolution and in the confrontation of public questions and needs, can cause a change in Shia jurisprudence;
- 5) Interaction of Jurisprudence and Politics.** The Islamic Revolution victory caused jurists' entry to governance and prepared the ground for

the evolution of Shia jurisprudence (especially in the socio-political jurisprudence);

6) Evolution in Thematics. In the past, jurists faced relatively simple issues in subject knowledge and were researched by individuals. The problems have become more complex with the change in social conditions and the transition from individual jurisprudence to social and political;

7) Specialization of Jurisprudence. The specialization of jurisprudence in various fields can increase the opportunity of jurists to deal with each of the chapters of jurisprudence and, consequently, caused deepening the perception and make it more efficient (Izdehi, 2008 AD/1387 SH: 80-95).

More than other jurisprudential chapters, political jurisprudence requires dynamism and consideration of human beings' social and political needs. After the victory of the Islamic Revolution, this jurisprudential chapter has paid more attention to current issues. One of the crucial effects of the revolution on political jurisprudence is this growing dynamism and Ijtihad on emerging political and social issues. But, like many phenomena and topics, Ijtihad in new and emerging issues (including political jurisprudence) is associated with harms, the most important of which are:

1) Wrong in Recognizing Topics. Since new issues are emerging, specialized and scientific, and have no special effect in religious texts, jurists mostly make mistakes in recognizing the nature and scope of the subject;

2) Wrong in Generalities and Applications Adoption to the Issue. Sometimes jurists are astonished at new problems that cannot be documented to generalities and applications from various and contradictory aspects and can not appropriately adapt to contemporary issues;

3) Wrong in Identifying the Expediencies and Corruptions of the Issue. One of the crucial arguments in Ijtihad about emerging issues is the discussion of expediency and separating it from possible sin in these issues. Sometimes, there are different interests and breakdowns in a problem, which is challenging to choose;

4) Falling into the Mire of Eclecticism. In discussing Ijtihad on emerging issues, it is imperative to pay attention to the authentic sources and extract the rulings. They should not be confused with non-original references;

5) Imposition on Islamic law. One of the fundamental problems regarding issues for which there is no specific text on their rulings is disagreement, mistakes in Ijtihad, and the imposition of personal opinions on the Shari'a;

6) Contradiction in Ijtihad. Ijtihad in emerging issues, regarding the lack of specific reasons and topics, requires more precision and comprehensiveness. Failure to observe caused disrupts the general

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spirit of jurisprudence to some parts of jurisprudence conflict with others;

7) Falling into the Trap of Modernity. One of the actual harms of Ijtihad in emerging issues is the preference to the unrealistic desires of others over the general principles governing Islamic teachings. Usually, false traditions and passions are preferred in the conflicts between religion and custom (Mahmoudi, 2020 AD/1399 SH: 86-89).

Conclusion

Political jurisprudence is one of the essential areas of Shia political jurisprudence that observe the treatment of people with each other, people with government, and governments with each other. This part of jurisprudence, despite its undeniable importance, has had many ups and downs throughout the history of Shia that different periods of its evolution divided into four general periods. The period of "Emergence" coincided with the Holy Prophet's time and the Imams (AS). The period of "Compilation" started from the time of the absence. The period of "Stabilization" began with the Safavid rule and the officialization of the Shia religion. The period of "Fulfillment" that starts with the Islamic Revolution is the crucial period of the evolution of Shia political jurisprudence.

As an Islamic revolution that originated from Shia philosophical and political teachings, the Iranian Revolution is one of the essential socio-political developments of recent centuries, which has had significant effects on domestic and foreign arenas. According to the claim of the Islamic Revolution to return religion to the hall of human social interactions, the issue of jurisprudence and the extraction of divine commandments to respond correctly and comprehensively to the original needs of human beings is a vital issue. Without considering jurisprudence, the continuation of the Islamic Revolution and the formation and victory of the revolution is impossible. Political jurisprudence has a pivotal role in the construction, success, and continuation of the Islamic Revolution, that this relationship is a two-way issue.

On the one hand, the primary and introductory topics of Shia political jurisprudence, which resulted from the jurists' effort in recent centuries, by relying on principles and educating the leaders and members of society, made way for a revolution with Shia characteristics. Accordingly, the Islamic Revolution entered the phase of Islamic systematization in essential areas such as legitimacy, the type of system, and the laws and structures governing it. On the other hand, the Islamic Revolution paved the way for the realization and irreplaceable growth and dynamism of Shia political jurisprudence. According to various political, economic, and socio-cultural contexts that arose from new conditions and issues and were formed in the

revolutionary society, Shia political jurisprudence developed in multiple fields. As a result, the most critical area of Shia jurisprudence is political jurisprudence.

Shia jurists in the past had less attention to political jurisprudence. It has different reasons, such as the Shia minority, lack of access to power, the jurists' frustration in forming a government, their alienation with governments, and the idea of separating religion from politics. "Obstacles" to the dynamics of political jurisprudence in the atmosphere of the Islamic Revolution include historical and epistemological obstacles, the design of atheistic ideas, and the failure to establish a specialized field of political jurisprudence. We should consider "Challenges" in the development and use of political jurisprudence.

The fundamental challenges are the possibility/refusal of the Islamic government, scope and form of Islamic government, and source of legitimacy. The "Pathology" of Ijtihad in new issues is related more to social and political issues. These damages include: Wrong in recognizing issues, wrong in adapting generalities and applications of problem, wrong in identifying the interests and corruptions of the problem, falling into the eclecticism abyss, imposing on Islamic law, contradicting Ijtihad, and falling into the trap of modernity.

The Islamic Revolution and Shia political jurisprudence have a fundamental, close and two-way relationship. The future of the Islamic Revolution and its success depends on multilateral dynamic Ijtihad. This Ijtihad can answer its audience's needs in the best and fastest possible way.

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The Bahrain Crisis and the Religious and Geopolitical Conflicts between Iran and Saudi Arabia

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Abstract

The Bahraini crisis has particular geopolitical importance for regional and trans-regional powers regarding the limited ability of domestic actors and the interests of foreign actors in it. The present study aimed to examine the crisis in Bahrain and the religious and geopolitical conflicts between Iran and Saudi Arabia. To this aim, investigated the causes and roots of the conflicting approaches of the Islamic Republic of Iran and Saudi Arabia to the Bahrain crisis using the theoretical framework of constructivism and descriptive-analytical research methods. The results indicated that these conflicts began before the Islamic Revolution of Iran and culminated in the recent uprising of the Bahraini people. Iran and Saudi Arabia are two prominent regional actors in the Bahraini crisis that pursue active but conflicting approaches. This contradictory approach has caused severe tensions in Saudi Arabia's relations with the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Keywords: Bahrain Crisis, Geostrategic Situation, Religious and Geopolitical Conflicts, Islamic Republic of Iran, Saudi Arabia.

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Introduction

The first security challenge for countries is the tension that nations face between internal and external pressures. With the increasing influence of multinational, transnational, and supranational forces, governments find themselves in a dilemma between globalism and pursuing their interests, supporting society and the individual, and the need for international cooperation and limited local pressures (Mandel, 2008 AD/1387 SH: 147).

Recent developments in the political geography of the Middle East region that are organized in the face of profound transformation and profound political change have changed regional and supra-regional relations and interactions. Indeed, the popular uprising in the Middle East and North Africa has posed an intellectual and geographical challenge to the powers that be, the most important outcome of which is to transform the foreign policy audience of countries from regional governments to regional nations. There are three different analyzes of the revolutionary and reformist movements of the Middle East peoples. The first considers the Middle East movements as a result of the Islamic Awakening. The second considers these movements as democratic movements, and the third considers the movements formed in the Arab world as a total of subversive, sectarianism and pseudo-Talabani movements.

The most crucial herald of the first analysis is the Islamic Republic of Iran. Perhaps Turkey can be considered the most vital herald of the second analysis. The central pillar of the third analysis is the political regimes of the Arab countries. Arab officials, in the face of these movements, presented an unfavourable picture of the movements formed in their country to make them a threat to their sovereignty and the Middle East and a threat to the whole world. As one of the six members of the Gulf Cooperation Council, Bahrain has been in a deep crisis regarding its particular historical and structural context in the regional process of popular uprisings in the Arab world, which has continued since February.

However, this crisis and its dimensions, consequences, and related reactions are not limited to the borders of this country and have gained high regional dimensions and importance. Iran and Saudi Arabia, as regional powers influential in regional developments, could not be indifferent to the created opportunities and threats. From the beginning, they have tried to fulfil their desires by relying on their ideals and goals. The present study aimed to examine and explain the main regional two-player approaches to the Bahraini crisis. We believe that the two countries have adopted different and conflicting procedures to the situation in

Bahrain regarding the differences in goals and interests towards Bahrain and the levels of religious, political, security, and geopolitical ties with this country.

1. Theoretical Framework: Structuralism

Theories study foreign policy from three perspectives. The first category considers material and environmental factors (internal and external) as the main reason for forming the governments' foreign policy. These categories, known to rationalists in the history of international relations theories, fall into two categories. First, some ideas deal with the macro-level and consider the structure of the global system as the primary determinant of the behavior of states. The second are theories that explain governments' foreign policy at the micro-level and prioritize internal factors in determining governments' foreign policy (Martin, 1999: 49).

The second category is semantic theories that emphasize the role of immaterial and cultural factors in foreign policy. The third category is theories that defend the integrated approach. While paying attention to material factors in these theories, semantic components' role and importance are also emphasized. One of the most important of these theories is the constructivist approach. This approach, which has been the subject of international relations since the early 1990s, is rooted in the sociological problem posed by Peter Berger and Thomas Lockman in the 1970s. Friedrich Kratochwil, Nicolas oned, and Alexander Wendt lead international relations (Billy and Smith, 2003 AD/1382 SH: 564).

From the structural point of view of identity, norms and culture play an important role in countries' foreign policy. Decision-makers make decisions based on norms and rules with a background of the mental factors of historical experience, identity, culture, and presence in institutions. Among the immaterial factors that constructivists have most considered for influencing foreign policy is the issue of identity. Constructivism is based on three main assumptions: The interrelationships between the agent and the structure, the role of identity in shaping interests and the construction of identity, and the importance of semantic and intellectual networks in it (Mushirzadeh, 2004 AD/1383 SH: 135).

Based on constructivism, the actors interact according to their mental meanings, language, and perceptions, and this interaction creates reality, and then they are made in interaction with reality. The natural consequence of this view in explaining the behavior of a country's foreign policy is that governments build the world for themselves based on their underlying

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identity and then, in interaction with reality, are constructed and acted. In this interaction, they create the existence of the international system. The constructivist theory has great potential to explain the foreign policy of Saudi Arabia and the Islamic Republic of Iran towards Bahrain. The United States has not opposed the actions of Saudi Arabia and the Bahraini government to avoid further discontent with its Arab allies (Fazli, 2011 AD/1390 SH: 222).

Its interests were maintained, especially about the supply of energy in the capitalist system's current crisis, and ensured stability in Bahrain with the establishment of the Al-Khalifa system. According to US military alliances, the strength in Bahrain is in the direction of US military interests in the region (Hafezian, 2011 AD/1390 SH: 21).

Saudi Arabia praised the Al Khalifa regime for talking to protesters after protests erupted in Bahrain. The Bahraini government used violence against protesters who had staged peaceful demonstrations (Choi, 2003: 142). The ruling regime in Bahrain is one of Saudi Arabia's main allies in the region, and no doubt any change in this region could ultimately affect the interests of Saudi Arabia and its Western allies. Therefore, with the direct green light, the Al-Khalifa government has widely suppressed the defenseless people of Bahrain, and when the government's weakness was seen in the face of this massive wave of people. Saudi military forces entered the country in coordination with the White House to counter the Bahraini uprising. Saudi Arabia in Bahrain worries that the fall of Al-Khalifa and the rise to power of a Shia-led government could increase Iran's influence in the region and affect Bahrain's military relationship with that country in the area.

But Iran's foreign policy toward Bahrain seems to be more understandable in a constructivist context. For constructivists, chaos is meaningless in itself and is nothing but what governments build. They believe that the study of international politics under the influence of the realism approach has caused a lack of attention to the cultural and normative dimensions of the pattern of behavior of actors (Jackson, 1385 AH/ 2006 AD: 135).

Constructivism is a new approach to the role of rationality in human beings' collective situations and phenomena. Just as it emphasizes material-social structures, it also considers normative and spiritual systems necessary. Constructivism is one of the study approaches of international politics consisting of a combination of different approaches. It tries to somehow eliminate the shortcomings of various theories by using some of

their propositions and providing a more realistic picture of the pattern of international political behavior (Mottaqi, 2007 AD/1386 SH: 79).

The determining factor of Iran's behavior towards Bahrain is not objective and material factors but norms that directly impact the interests and identity of Islamic Iran (Qawam, 2005 AD/1384 SH: 84).

The foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran towards this country has joined a chain of numerous influential elements. Regarding the diversity and entanglement of these elements, determination of the weight of each of them is difficult. According to the constructivist approach, the importance and position of norms with such characteristics and coordinates, by understanding how norms affect identity, one can understand how to define national interests, which are the basis of a country's foreign policy. With this approach, it seems that after the Islamic Revolution, "Our religious and traditional norms before Islam and we after it" has a particular weight and credibility among the various identity and cultural layers of foreign policy (Qawam, 2005 AD/1384 SH: 118).

The constructivist view of the status and influence of religious norms today, in particular, explains Iran's ideological status in the external dimension, especially at the level of regional public opinion, is a model for Islamist movements (Azghandi, 2007 AD/1386 SH: 20). With its constructivist approach, Islamic Iran is the most severe blow to US interests in Bahrain, and this revolution has primarily triggered many social protests in the country (Valipour, 2004 AD/1383 SH: 226).

2. Bahrain's Position and Importance in the International Arena

2.1. Bahrain's Geostrategic Position

Access to the sea has always been one of the most critical factors for the development of countries. The complete form of maritime position is the island position (Ezzati, 2007 AD/1386 SH: 80-81).

All the world islands have a military role, and the geostrategic part of these countries affects their geopolitical goals. Time has shown that if the people of an island do not understand their geopolitical position and do not react appropriately in international politics, they will soon lose the benefits of independence and freedom of action (Ezzati, 2009 AD/1388 SH: 84).

Bahrain has always been considered regional and supra-regional powers and organizations with its geostrategic position as an island in the Persian Gulf. After Iraq invaded Kuwait and jeopardized US interests in the Middle East, Bahrain suddenly came to the attention of the Americans to be used as a base to support American fighters to repel Iraqi forces from

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Kuwait to the region (<https://www.aftabir.com>: 01/16/2012). Noam Chomsky knows Bahrain's importance for two factors:

1) Bahrain has long been of particular importance regarding its geostrategic and geopolitical position. Bahrain's lack of a robust defense system and sense of weakness in this regard have made Bahrain lean towards other powers, especially the United States and Saudi Arabia. The presence of the US Fifth Fleet in Bahrain, Bahrain's geographical proximity to Iran, and its Sunni rulers' obedience have led to very close US relations with Bahrain. The ruling regime in Bahrain has always been one of the leading US allies in the region. In this area, it can ultimately affect the United States and its allies (Chomsky, 2011 AD/1390 SH);

2) Regarding the importance and security situation in Bahrain, from the 1970s to the recent developments in Bahrain, the political and social movements in this country, in addition to trying to eliminate domestic tyranny and gain political and social freedoms, gained a prominent image, which was: The wave of Islamism and the movement towards Islamic values, the influence of Islamic reformist ideas from Egypt, Iraq, and Iran to this country and especially the victory of the Islamic Revolution allowed Muslim fighters to seriously and actively seek the implementation of Islamic principles and values in their society. It was inherently in conflict with the principles and goals of the Bahraini government on the one hand, and on the other hand against the interests of Western countries, especially the United States, led to critical Islamic movements that doubled the importance of this country.

2.2. The Bahrain Crisis

For thousands of years, the geography of the Middle East has been a significant factor in determining the military and economic presence in the region and access to its resources (Camp and Harkawy 2004 AD/1383 SH: 353).

The emergence of Bahrain has provided the country with a lack of political maturity and a kind of dependence on regional and supra-regional powers. So, short critical waves cause internal tension and instability (Akhbari and Nami, 2009 AD/1388 SH: 195).

Anti-government demonstrations in several Middle Eastern countries also engulfed Bahrain in early 2011, leading to violent clashes between protesters and government forces, and police. Protesters, inspired by recent events in Egypt and Tunisia, began their demonstrations on February 14. For a long time, there have been tensions between the Shia-majority masses and the Sunni ruling class.

The presence of neighbouring Sunni forces in a Shia-majority country has fueled sectarian strife. Mass detentions and torture were on the agenda. The declaration of a state of emergency, the growing divide between the government and society, and the discriminatory policies of the Al Khalifa dynasty were the leading causes of the current political developments and protests in Bahrain. Some of the most critical components in the emergence and intensification of recent protests in Bahrain are:

1) Existence of authoritarian and undemocratic government. According to the constitution adopted in 1973, the king can elect the prime minister and supervise his activities. The prime minister delegates much power to the king, quickly implementing his desired menus and policies. On the other hand, Bahrain has a hereditary government in the constitution, and the people have no role in electing a king;

2) The Bahraini government's dependence on supra-regional powers and the adoption of policies in line with them, and the disregard for public opinion in the formulation and implementation of foreign policy. Looking at Bahrain's policies in the face of regional developments, Bahrain, instead of adopting independent decision-making and taking an active role in regional products, has always followed and supported the United States and other trans-regional powers (<https://www.bahrainembassy.org/1/20/2008>);

3) Existence of ethnic, racial, and religious discrimination. From Bahrain's population of about 1.3 million, about 46% are Bahraini citizens, making up about 600,000 of Bahrain's population. Seventy percent of Bahrainis are Shias, and 30 percent are Sunnis. The other fifty-four percent of Bahrain's population are predominantly immigrants who have been relocated from other Arab and Sunni countries to upset the Al-Khalifa government's balance of people and political goals by granting concessions or jobs. Despite this combination, political and economic power is in the hands of the minority. In the distribution of political and economic power, many abuse waves have been committed against the Shia of Bahrain. This majority group in their country has constantly been subjected to various discrimination, especially religious discrimination (ibid., 2011: 41);

4) Parliamentary elections (background to the formation of the Bahraini protests). The critical reason for the emergence of the Bahraini people against the country's government dates back to before and after the parliamentary elections on October 23, 2010. This election showed that the people mainly voted for pragmatic and independent candidates who promised to pursue economic, political, and social problems. Therefore,

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the parliament of this period witnessed the presence of representatives who mainly reflected the wishes and interests of the people, so that the Bahraini government and it is natural that this is very worrying for the Bahraini government (Bahrami and Khodadadi, 2010 AD/1389 SH: 55).

3. Iran's and Saudi Arabia's Approaches to the Bahrain Crisis

One of the compelling reasons for Saudi Arabia's response to the popular Bahraini uprising is that it knows Bahrain as its sphere of influence. Therefore, it wants to maintain the rule of Al-Khalifa in this country and does not accept any fundamental changes. Consequently, it has taken a radical and military approach to the popular uprising in Bahrain. The second factor is its authoritarian and traditional political structure and a Shia minority in the eastern part of the country, making it vulnerable to popular uprisings in the Arab world, especially the Bahraini protests. The third factor is the Saudis' view of the issue from the regional power balance in the Middle East.

According to Saudi, regional developments in the Middle East over the past decade after 9/11 have upset the balance of regional influence to the country's detriment. Accordingly, the Saudis see any regime change in Bahrain as a red line to further weaken their regional position. Saudi officials believe that any Shia participation in the power structure in Bahrain will increase Iran's influence in the country, and the consequence will be at the regional level. The fourth factor is Al Saud's growing distrust of US leaders as a strategy over the past decades. Some reforms began, and during the US invasion of Iraq, Saudi criticism of US action became apparent. This distrust of the Saudis increased significantly after the recent developments in the region, especially the lack of US support for the Mubarak regime.

On the other hand, among the crises of the Arab world in 2012, the problem of Bahrain is of great importance for the Islamic Republic of Iran for various reasons. Second, Bahrain has been part of Iran for centuries under the rule of Iranian rulers, part of its population are Iranians, and there are strong historical ties between Bahrain and Iran. Third, the most crucial issue regarding the Islamic Republic of Iran's approach to the Bahrain crisis is Bahrainis' religious affiliation, who make up most of the country's population. Fourth, Iran's interests and regional policies in the Persian Gulf and its rivalries with Saudi Arabia are essential factors in Iran's approach. In particular, Tehran sees the democratic transformation in Manama as forming a kind of political system in Bahrain, improving relations. The

factors mentioned above have caused Iran to have a more sensitive view of Bahrain's developments and take an active approach in this regard.

4. Religious and Geopolitical Conflicts between Iran and Saudi Arabia in Bahrain

Conflicting interests and goals are cases in which countries and governments have opposite and inconsistent attitudes and perceptions. Therefore, they try to overcome the interests and resources by eliminating others (Hafeznia, 2006 AD/1385 SH: 313).

The infrastructure's distinctive geographical features create divergence and segregation among governments (Hafeznia and Kaviani Rad, 2009 AD/1388 SH: 73). Factors of conflict and conflict cause political units to move away from each other and provide the ground for crisis (Taheri Mousavi, 2008 AD/1387 SH: 106).

Conflicting goals and interests are also the source of competition, conflict, and engagement between the actor claimants and the governments and countries involved. The competition process is formed and developed in bilateral or multilateral interactions and coalitions of neighbouring or rival governments. It may eventually lead to a military confrontation (Hafeznia, 2007 AD/1386 SH: 130).

As an international waterway, the Persian Gulf region has a unique geostrategic and geopolitical position and importance in the Middle East and the world. The Persian Gulf has long witnessed the challenge of power and the constant competition of regional and supra-regional powers (Ezzati, 2010 AD/1389 SH: 27).

In recent years, Saudi Arabia's regional concerns and rivalries with the Islamic Republic of Iran have made relations between the two countries colder than in the past, and diplomatic relations and ties between the two countries have become weaker. Saudi Arabia has taken many measures to counter the influence of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the region. It tries to improve its position in Iran by resolving the existing problems and crises in the area. In the framework of regional and trans-regional alliances and coalitions against Iran to reduce Iran's regional power and influence (Naderi Nasab, 2010 AD/1389 SH: 334).

The foreign policy of Iran and Saudi Arabia is based on significant goals that determine and explain the scope and manner of action of the two countries in the region and abroad (Aghaei and Ahmadian, 2010 AD/1389 SH: 2). The intense conflicts between Iran and Saudi Arabia must be attributed in part to the policies of the major powers, especially the United

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States, in the region. Also, Iran's political-ideological influence in Bahrain, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, and Kuwait after the Islamic Revolution shows this fact (Hafeznia and Romina, 2005 AD/1384 SH: 71).

Of the total population of this country, 81% are Muslims, and 18.8% are non-Muslims. The majority of the Muslim population in Bahrain is Shia. Shias make up 61 percent of the country's population. A significant number of Bahraini Shias who have lived in Bahrain for hundreds of years are initially from the southern regions of Iran and have maintained contact with Iran. It is a situation that existed even before Islam. The Sunni population makes up 20% of the people of Bahrain. Although the Shia have a majority in Bahrain, they do not participate in political, economic, and cultural affairs. It is one of their most critical challenges with the ruling government of Bahrain (Geographical Organization of the Armed Forces, 2007: 59). Today, the majority of Bahrain's Shias have a very chaotic social and religious situation. The Bahraini government relies on its Saudi neighbour (Ezzati, 2009 AD/1388 SH: 164-165).

The Saudis fear the Shia uprising in the Persian Gulf in the religious tensions of Bahrain. According to Brzezinski, almost all countries with a predominantly Muslim population face spiritual problems (Brzezinski, 2007: 76). Religious conflict between Shias and Sunnis in Bahrain is one of the reasons for the recent protests against the Sunni Al-Khalifa government to seek their rights. The most important causes of the conflicts between Iran and Saudi Arabia regarding Bahrain can be mentioned as follows.

4.1. Iran's Territorial Claim to Bahrain

The role of Iran and Saudi Arabia in the last years of the sixties and the whole seventies of the twentieth century, as two mainstays of Western influence in the region, required them to always be cautious in their foreign relations with each other. It has different causes, such as maintaining the security of the Persian Gulf oil pipeline, maintaining political stability in the region and pro-Western countries, preventing infiltration of communism, and the cleansing of the area from leftist movements (Soleimani, 2009 AD/1388 SH: 76).

When British troops withdrew from the Persian Gulf in 1971, the United States tried hard to make Iran and Saudi Arabia their local allies, but with the fall of the Shah, America's friendly policy collapsed (Drissdell and Blake, 2005 AD/1374 SH: 48).

More than any other place in the Persian Gulf, Bahrain shows the dilemma of Iran's involvement in the region. Iran's territorial claim to

Bahrain dates back to the seventh century AD when one of the Sassanid kings sent Iranian troops to the island and controlled the island until the fall of the Iranian government to the Arab Muslim armies in the same century.

After World War II, Iran repeatedly claimed the island, declaring it the 14th province of the country, citing several historical periods in which Bahrain was under Iranian control. Iran's attention to the island changed from a fundamentally territorial and nationalist claim to a geopolitical, strategic, and security issue. In the late 1960s, Iran agreed to compromise on Bahrain for concessions on the Tunb and Abu Musa Islands. With the agreement of Iran and Britain, it was decided that the United Nations would hold a referendum among the Bahraini people to determine the political destiny of Bahrain. Bahrain's political independence was recognized in a 1971 referendum (Hafeznia, 2002 AD/1381 SH: 345).

Iranian lawmakers also accepted the UN investigation group's vote, and Bahrain formally seceded from Iran (Bahrami and Khodadadi, 2010 AD/1389 SH: 31). Then, Bahrain has come under Saudi influence with the support of the ruling Sunni minority.

4.2. The Islamic Revolution of Iran and the Emergence of Religious Conflicts

The 1979 revolution in Iran added a vital ideological element to its rivalry with Saudi Arabia, and both countries competed for leadership of the Islamic world (Bozan and Weaver, 2009 AD: 105). From the beginning of its existence, the Islamic State of Iran engaged in a serious confrontation with the United States and has always called the United States the greatest enemy of Iran (Young, 2005: 401). This revolution is the most severe blow to US interests in the Middle East (Cohen, 2008 AD/1387 SH: 666).

The Islamic Revolution of Iran also affected the small countries of the Persian Gulf. This revolution, first and foremost, triggered many social protests in the region. In 1981, the Shias of Bahrain carried out an unsuccessful coup to overthrow the country's ruling regime (Valipour Zarumi, 2004 AD/1383 SH: 226).

By proving the possibility of change to Muslim nations, the Islamic Revolution of Iran, caused them to distance themselves from the atmosphere of sluggishness and stagnation. By following the example of the methods and values of the Iranian Revolution, they became active and pursued their demands more seriously.

4.3. Conflicts based on Shia Influence in the Region

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According to the Persian Gulf Arab states, a change has increased Iran's power and the Shia's role in the Middle East. From their point of view, a Shia crescent has been created from Lebanon to Pakistan. In their opinion, Iran is trying to increase its power by creating a Shia bloc in the region and using it against the interests of Sunni countries and the regional interests of the United States and Israel (Ahmadi and Jamali, 2009: 7). Most of the Shias of the minority of Saudi Arabia live in the eastern regions of the country (Resalat newspaper, 10/29/2011). One-third of the population of 1.5 million people in the province's east are Shia, whose dissatisfaction with the ruling regime has increased since the Islamic Revolution in Iran (Cohen, 2008 AD/1387 SH, 682).

Saudi Arabia tries to introduce the Shias of that country as an essential factor of its internal threat (Ezzati, 2011 AD/1390 SH: 23). Geopolitical divisions in Saudi Arabia can be the basis for political divisions in times of internal pressure. So far, Saudi Arabia has maintained the military and political power needed to strengthen unity in the kingdom through oil wealth, repression, US military support, and alliance with a religious fundamentalist leadership in this country (Cohen, 2008 AD/1387 SH: 682). Regarding the developments in Bahrain, Saudi Arabia claims that Iran supports the Bahraini Shias to overthrow the government.

4.4. Conflicts based on the US Military Presence in the Region

Iran is the only self-reliant military power in the Persian Gulf (Ezzati, 2005 AD/1384 SH: 133), the most severe change in the region's strategic environment. It has changed the balance to the detriment of Iran (Khademi, 2005 AD/1384 SH: 203). The United States seeks to prevent Iran from a central role in regional convergence in the Persian Gulf and dominate the political will of the countries in the region. US strategists believe that the United States has a broad interest in preventing the emergence of any regional power.

As a trans-regional factor, the United States has always sought to instill a dangerous Iranian nuclear mindset to jeopardize countries' interests in the region and the world. Strong opposition to Iran's nuclear program and threats and aligning public opinion with expansionist and one-sided policies are the problems facing convergence and conflict in the region (Ezzati, 2009 AD/1388 SH: 16). Putting Iran in a tight spot by limiting Iran's sphere of influence in the region and playing Iran's role as an influential regional power is one of the essential goals of the US military presence. The United States has repeatedly called the Islamic Republic of Iran to declare significant threats to its national interests (Chubin, 1995: 109). The United States, with its presence in the Persian Gulf and its

peripheral countries, reduces Iran's regional competition and creates an atmosphere for the development of Iran's sphere of influence while increasing the power of Iran's rivals (Akhbari and Nami, 2009 AD/1388 SH: 194).

US dependence on Saudi oil quickly turned into an important military and economic alliance between the two countries. From the US point of view, this commitment arises from strategic necessity (Cohen, 2008 AD/1387 SH: 706). Saudi Arabia has sought to achieve an exogenous hegemonic order through an alliance with the United States, which has led to divergence and conflicts between Iran and Saudi Arabia (Rezaei, 2005 AD/1384 SH: 158). Iran opposes the US presence in the region and the deployment of its fifth navy in Bahrain, which is an obstacle to Iran's role in the region. On the other hand, Saudi Arabia wants the US presence in the Persian Gulf and Bahrain, reduce Iran's influence and take control of the region.

4.5. Establishment of the Persian Gulf Cooperation Council and the Emergence of Conflicts

The Persian Gulf Cooperation Council was established in 1981 with Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates, Oman, Qatar, supporting the United States of America (Mojtahedzadeh, 2000 AD/1379 SH: 134-133). Most of the council's regional strategies are in the form of existing conflicts. It makes sense with Iran (Majidi et al., 2008 AD/1387 SH: 69). It is also, in practice, an organization that only serves the goals of Saudi Arabia in the Persian Gulf and the Peninsula (Pishgahifard, 2007 AD/1388 SH: 493).

On the other hand, Bahrain's presence in this council, with a Shia majority population, cannot be acceptable to Iran, so that the council's goal is to limit Iran's influence. On the other hand, Bahraini Shias, who have political-religious affiliations with Iran, oppose a pact with the leadership of Saudi Arabia, which supports the ruling Sunni minority.

4.6. Conflict based on Saudi Military Intervention in Bahrain

By building a road from Saudi Arabia to Bahrain, which makes it very easy for troops to enter Bahrain in times of turmoil, Saudi Arabia has put Bahrain on the path to becoming dependent on Saudi Arabia. Saudi Arabia is reluctant to support the irregularities created by the Shia majority in the country, mainly since it could spread to its Shia-populated areas in Saudi Arabia's eastern province. Following the widespread protests in Bahrain, Saudi Arabia, in cooperation with the forces of the United Arab Emirates, sent its military forces to suppress the protesters.

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4.7. Iran-Saudi Arabia Arms Rivalry

Saudi Arabia's core strategy is increasing military power, purchasing new weapons, and supplying state-of-the-art weapons from various sources. This country is always one of the first to import weapons (Sadeghi and Ahmadian, 2010 AD/1389 SH: 152).

Iran is also emphasizing its military role and presence in the region by conducting military manoeuvres in the Persian Gulf and the Strait of Hormuz, especially after the whispers of the Iranian oil embargo by Western countries and Saudi support for this plan. This arms race adds to the tensions and conflicts between the two countries in the region.

Conclusion

After the Arab world developments, a new field is being formed regarding the geopolitical changes in the form and construction of power. On the one hand, Saudi Arabia, Israel, and the United States want to maintain the traditional balance with complete control over the political-security currents in the region. On the other hand, Iran does not necessarily want to upset the situation. But by increasing its power base and role in the light of regional developments, it wants to play a more significant role with a regional approach and protect its national interests. Widespread protests in Bahrain have caught the eye of two rival Shia and Sunni rival countries in the region, the Islamic Republic of Iran and Saudi Arabia. Saudi Arabia sees Bahrain as a strategic complement and has resorted to military intervention to quell the protests.

On the other hand, Iran, which has ruled this island throughout history and has religious similarities with most Bahrainis, cannot just watch these developments and not play its role in the region. The products in Bahrain have caused geopolitical conflicts for Iran and Saudi Arabia as two powers in the Persian Gulf, each of which seeks to oust the other actor with various and sometimes hostile strategies.

Iran by strengthening the revolutionary sense of the Islamic Revolution and supporting the more significant role of Shias in regional developments, opposing any interference and presence of inter-regional interventionist power in Bahrain, holding military manoeuvres in the Persian Gulf and the Strait of Hormuz to play its role in the region and the arrival of the Bahraini Shias to a more favourable situation and the participation of the Shias in the administration of the Bahraini state is emphasized. On the other hand,

Saudi Arabia seeks to isolate further and make Iran look dangerous. It follows its aims with the following actions:

- Support of Bahrain's Sunni ruling minority;
- Allied with the United States to participate in the region and Bahrain;
- Factionalized and countered Iran's revolutionary influence by forming the Gulf Cooperation Council;
- Purchased advanced military weapons to compete with Iran;
- Military intervention to deal with protests by Bahraini Shias and even Saudi Shias.

Saudi Arabia wants to help maintain the power of Sunni religions in Bahrain to advance its goals and those of its Western allies and make Bahrain a desirable and influential state. Therefore, this country has a long history of hostility to Iran and the most hostile positions against this country. Given the circumstances and evidence of domestic, regional, and international will, there are no peaceful ways to end the Bahrain crisis. Accordingly, a possible scenario for Bahrain, and perhaps even its escalation, will inevitably lead to the continuation of tensions and problems in Iran-Saudi Arabia relations. The win-win approach is to abandon the existing game and the win-lose policy. Ensuring the political and social rights of the Bahraini people caused different results:

- Changing Saudi Arabia's approach from a win-lose game to a win-win game;
- Accepting the power of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the security of the region;
- Changing the view of the countries of the Persian Gulf region from resorting to supra-regional powers to intra-regional powers to maintain their existence and regional security.

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The Impact of the Principles of Islamic Thought on the View of International Relations: From Dominant Paradigm Critique to Alternative Presentation Capacities

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Abstract

With the help of Islamic principles, it is possible to critique the mainstream and the dominant paradigm in International Relations. Still, the capability of the Islamic tenets is higher and does not remain at the level of rejection and criticism. Instead, it can provide alternatives by having specific ontological, anthropological, and epistemological foundations. The present study enumerates theoretical foundations and assumptions of the dominant paradigm in international relations. It describes four critical perspectives and then refers to a distinct view in the Islamic approach. After that, address this fundamental question: 'where is the turning-point of this approach for alternative presentation and construction of an alternative order in International Relation?' The results indicated that according to the Meta-theoretical foundations of the dominant paradigm, they had created contradictory concepts. They are including material/meaning, nature/metaphysics, and reality/truth but by prioritizing truth (over material objectivity), those dualities become invalid and new dualities are drawn, such as the weak / the arrogant, which can design an alternative to the current dominant system. According to these principles, the effects of originality on the necessity and the priority of creature on nature is emphasized, and truth-seeking generally replaces materialism.

Keywords: International Relation, Mainstream, Paradigm, Realism, Critical Approach, Islamic Approach.

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Introduction

Examining the scientific-research works of academic centers and even government-affiliated research centers that provide strategic products for decision makers and politicians, it is clear that the orientation of most of them is influenced by the ontology and epistemology of realist thought. This theoretical point of view causes the behavior of actors in the international system to be thought of and analyzed based on realist propositions. Although the failure of many mainstream theories and dominant paradigms in the face of international issues - especially in the last 4 decades - to explain and predict international events in various thematic areas is obvious and undeniable, but still domination of this attitude in the field of policy has created a lot of deviations in the analysis of events.

Most of the presented theories in the third rising of international relations, which Yusuf Lapid (1989) classifies them in the post-positivism process, contrast positivism, seek to challenge the realist approach that dominates the field (Lapid, 1989: 235-254).

The present study aimed to investigate ontological assumptions and the epistemological foundations of the realism paradigm by Steve Smith. Then refer to his four divisions of theories, despite fundamental differences, have standard views in their commitment to providing an approach separate from the assumptions of positivism and realism (cf: Smith, 1995: 1-37); criticize the challenge principal pillars of these four approaches on the ontology and epistemology of the dominant paradigm. Finally, turn to a new approach that, apart from Smith's four categories, has specific ontological and epistemological foundations - called the Islamic approach; and after a brief reference to the foundations of this approach, we will focus on one of its aspects, and from this perspective, we will have comparison examination between some foundations of the paradigm of realism - with an emphasis on the theory of neorealism - and the Islamic approach.

We will focus on Waltz's theory of neorealism to address the ontological aspect and provide a context for discussing the Islamic approach and identifying its differences and similarities with what is emphasized in the realism paradigm. Because his theory in the ontology dimension is based on typical assumptions with traditional realism¹, it can present them in the form of a paradigm from Cohn's

1. There is no doubt that there are differences in perceptions of some principles and concepts between Waltz's neorealism and Morgenthau's political realism. As Kenneth Waltz in his article entitled Realist thought and theory of neo-realism to the most important of these differences in the form of 1- The type of view of the relationship between units and the international system, 2- The type of perception of cause and effect, 3- The type of interpretation of the concept power and 4- Different treatment with the level of units; Points out. But in this article, I do not

perspective (Kuhn, 1970: 169). Based on Waltz's views on theorizing, he shows his distance from many simplistic positivism assumptions, so some consider him a falsifier or Lakatosian in epistemological and methodological point of view (Moshirzadeh, 2006 AD/1385 SH: 111).

His theory, generally, like other mainstream theories that emerged after the second debate in international relations in the 1950s and 1960s, was influenced by the age of empiricism, scientism, the separation of subject and object, and the possibility of material cognition. Ashley has critically reviewed the realism approach and, by criticizing it, has been able to evaluate and critique the internal contradictions of the dominant paradigm in international relations (cf: Ashley, 1984: 350-355).

Based on the criteria presented by Lakatos, Vasquez has also been a severe critic of the progressive current in the theoretical discussions of the paradigm of realism (cf: Vasquez, 1997: 899-912), but my method is neither. The premise is that realism and neorealism have some standard fundamental ontological foundations. In comparing the epistemological dimension of the Islamic approach with the paradigm of realism, we will focus on Waltz's theory and ignore the epistemological distinction between neorealism and traditional realism². Hence, the main questions are: 'what are the main criticisms of the mainstream and the dominant paradigm of international relations?' According to Islamic principles, 'how can an alternative plan be launched to replace the current order in international relations?'

According to the multiplicity of religious discourses, conflicting and different intra-religious ones, the spiritual approach means the Islamic Revolution addresses the hidden and specified ideas in this text.

1. Ontological Foundations and Assumptions of the Realism Paradigm

Schweller equates different realists for emphasizing fundamental assumptions such as central government, the anarchic nature of the international system, the conflicting nature of the global system, and

seek to identify the differences within the paradigm, and so my emphasis is on the generality of the paradigm foundations of realism.

2. Waltz himself does not believe that the theory of neorealism belongs to the realism paradigm; as in his article *Evaluating Theories*, which he wrote about 7 months after Vazquez, he criticizes Vazquez for not paying attention to the distinct assumptions of neorealism with realism and explaining the two in the form of a single paradigm. For more information see:

Waltz, K. (1997). *Evaluating Theories*. American Political Science Association, University of California, Berkeley. Vol. 91, no. 4, pp. 913-917.

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the prominent role of power in international politics (Schweller and Priess, 1997: 6).

These assumptions are the study issue and the ontological foundations of realist theories and have significantly impacted the resulting propositions; they can help us to explain the Islamic approach. I will provide a brief explanation of these principles.

The first assumption of realists derives from meta theoretical foundations focused on man and his description. Humans do not initially meet each other as separate individuals but interact as loyal group members. According to realists, different groups in the contemporary world are governments.

The realists' emphasis on the state's central role as the primary player in the international system is more understandable when comparing this view with the liberal theory of international relations and their emphasis on the fundamental part of individuals and private groups. In his approach, Mavarochnik, in presenting a new formulation of the liberal theory of international relations in the form of non-ideological and non-ideal, in describing the relations between the state and society, states:

The choices that governments make in their foreign relations are the choices that certain social groups make within that country. In other words, depending on which social group the government represents, the interests of that particular group emerge in determining the foreign policy priorities of that government (Moravcsik, 1997: 518).

Hobbes, who realists thought is rooted in his philosophical foundations, believes that: A government is a person whom many people give it credit and accept its actions based on a contract between them to (the government) can use their facilities and forces following what it needs to maintain public peace and security (Ghavam and Fatemijad, 2008 AD/1387 SH: 14).

According to Hobbes, the state is the product of a social contract in which human beings escape from the natural situation, that one of its indicators was War with Everyone, set rules based on wisdom to bring peace and security (Adopted from Alam, 2005 AD/1384 SH: 183-186).

According to Hobbes, the theory of social contract is the origin of the government definition in the eyes of realists. This process in the evolution of state-nation is the primary basis for analysis, determination, and practical decisions of realist theorists and decision-makers. Therefore, as defined by Hobbes, social contract theory - as the origin of the state has undergone many changes in its historical course. Instead of noticing governments' process, especially the propositions of realist theories, can find undeniable similarities between Hobbes's views and Hobbes-inspired realist theories in international relations. Articles 24 and 25 of the UN

Charter confirm the claim that the structure of the current global system is based on Hobbes's ideas, and by comparing Hobbes' views on the various components of his view, it is clear that realist views influenced him.

Hobbes's definition of the social contract proves that what Hobbes used internally to defend the powerful empowerment of the Stuart Dynasty King is generalized in realist theories of international relations and the practices of large, modern governments in establishing and maintaining the structure of the global system.

Thus, one of the ontological foundations of the realism paradigm in international relations is the state, which refers to a unit with characteristics of population, government, territory, and sovereignty according to its legal definition. Describing the international system's nature and its structural status is the second issue shaping realist assumptions. Like Martin White, who acknowledges the dichotomy between international theory and political theory (Wight, 1966: 18), realists believe in a fundamental distinction between the domestic and international levels; the main reason, in their opinion, is the lack of a centrally dominant government at the international level, which is interpreted as anarchy. Realists believe that anarchy, like the concept of the state, is derived from Hobbes' ideas; he refers to anarchy, the natural state, which is interpreted as a war state because, in the wild state, there is no authority.

For Hobbes, authority means the right to do anything, and others' acceptance is not essential. In other words, the meaning of authority in Hobbes's thought is different from what is referred to in the English school as a kind of relationship. It has two elements: the use of force and the acceptance of power by others (Onuf and Frank, 1998: 151-152).

Therefore, Realist theorists, especially neorealists such as Waltz, consider the essence of the international system as anarchic. In their view, governments in such a situation think about their survival, and the guiding star of any state in such a system is its national interests.

The conflicting nature of the international system is another assumption of realists in international relations. In general, realists attribute the conflict of the global strategy to rare material resources and greedy human nature, the anarchic spirit of the system, and the lack of trust in each other. They use allegories such as stag hunt theory and dilemmas prisoner to explain the conflict and the lack of collaborative practices.

Given the prior assumptions, the emphasis on power as the primary and fundamental feature of international politics is other realists' supposed. Power-based politics and the balance of power are the basic concepts of the realist paradigm theory in international relations. Morgenthau, quoting Hobbes, emphasizes human thirst for

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power and believes that earning capacity is not satisfied even in the face of great power. He states:

Because the desire for maximum power is general and pervasive, all countries should be afraid that their false accounts and the rise of other countries' ability may lead to their inferiority; hence, they should avoid at all costs (Waltz, 2007 AD/1386 SH: 26).

According to Morgenthau, power is inherent and independent; therefore, behaviors without the considerations of violence have no political nature. He considers the attainment of maximum power as pervasive among all nations and this desire as one of the objective laws rooted in human nature. Based on Waltz's view, the primary concern of governments is security, not the rise of power; this concept³ is an effective tool that wise governments strive to have at their disposal.

Among the various dimensions and aspects of power, realists emphasize military power; because they believe that regarding the lack of international authority failing all methods, war and consequently military force determine the difference.

A summary of the above assumptions can say one of the mentioned principles of looking at humans and their inherent. Realists consider human nature evil, militant, greedy, and overbearing. Then, by generalizing these attributes to the state, they act to objectification and subsequently extract the following statements for the survival of the government:

The essential task of governments is to maintain survival. Everyone should think about self-help regarding the distrust and importance of relative achievements and its role in determining the positional picture in distribution capabilities. Cooperation is fragile; collaboration requires coordination and coordination related to the use of force (Asgarkhani, 2004 AD/1383 SH: 42).

Therefore, variable international institutions and regimes depend on power and continue in line with the powerful interests. War occurs not before the threat, but the anticipation of danger is going to the war front. It becomes clear that preventive defense and preemptive attack are necessary and legitimate (Asgarkhani, 2004 AD/1383 SH: 29).

The question is, 'what is the reason for such a view of man, government, power, and the international system?' The answer finds in the epistemological and worldview type of this paradigm.

2. Assumptions and Epistemological Foundations of the Realism Paradigm

3. In the Neo-Realist View, Power Refers to the Sum of a State's Capabilities.

After the Protestant movement and during the Renaissance, phenomenology spread and became the dominant approach to epistemology, especially in the Western world. As a result, a new philosophy was established called the Philosophy of Science, which aimed to study a new birth called empiricism (Eftekhari, 2008 AD/1387 SH: 45). Since philosophers sought to investigate induction and scientific approach with their tools, Meta theoretical discussions in ontology and epistemology enter the social sciences and international relations. As Moshirzadeh has pointed out: currently, debates in the field of international relations are not limited to content debates and also include Meta theoretical debates, because found that many disagreements in the field of content are due to the ontological and epistemological approach of that theory (Moshirzadeh, 2006 AD/1385 SH: 7).

I believe that what has given direction and meaning to the ontology of neorealism⁴ stems from its kind of worldview and epistemology, that is, empiricism. It has principles such every knowledge of reality is based on experience, and basically, the meaning of any sentence is that it can be confirmed or rejected by experience. Therefore, based on both the Cartesian inductive principles (The principle of verifiability) and Karl Popper's falsifiability principles, any command that cannot experience (proven or disproven) is meaningless or, according to Popper, unscientific.⁵ By referring to both the inductive and analogical dimensions, we refer to the views and criticisms presented about the epistemology and methodology of neorealism. So, whether we call Waltz positivist or falsificationist, we should accept the foundations of empiricism such as separation of facts from values, rejection of value judgments and prescriptive rules, rejection of metaphysical and moral decisions and concepts, lack of distinction between human and natural sciences, and difference of subject from object. Hence, Waltz states in rejecting the criticisms of his methodology: Theory cannot explain random events or the cause of unexpected events. Theories deal with regularities and repetitive matters, and theorizing is possible only if can identify such regularities and repetitive matters (Waltz, 2007 AD/1386 SH: 12-13).

4. We Point out that this partial orientation is not limited to the theory of neorealism and can be generalized to almost all theories based on the empiricist approach in international relations.

5. It Should be Noted that, unlike positivists, Popper does not consider empirical falsity to be a significant criterion, but falsity is merely the criterion for distinguishing between scientific and non-scientific propositions. For Popper, metaphysical theories may not only be meaningful, they may be true, but because there is no way to test them empirically, we call them unscientific.

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With more attention to the principles of empiricism and the epistemological foundations of the theory of neo-realism, we find instrumental rationalism, which is an essential and fundamental factor in these currents, and George Lassen refers to it as a sub-foundation; especially when we look at Waltz's methodology and apply it to his ontology. George Lassen says:

The starting point of any approach foundations that seeks to transcend the binary opposition divisions but controversial in contemporary theory of international relations must be the shred foundations of social action: the assumption of instrumental rationality (cf: Lawson, 2006: 410-415).

Hence, in neorealist thinking, by objectification the state, consider it a rational and calculating reaction in strategies and self-interest attention to cost and benefit. The theory is based on instrumental rationality and a materialistic view that eliminates rules, intra-governmental dynamics, the complexity of decisions, ethical issues, and ideology and emphasizes the importance of the structural factor in determining the actors' behavior.

In answer to the question, Waltz 'why does he simply consider the power distribution of units as a factor shaping the structure and ignoring other variables?' focuses on the principle of self-help and anarchic structure and ignores other variables as ideology and characteristics of units. He names his view parsimonical because he weighs few variables in explaining phenomena (cf: Dessler, 1989, 441-473).

According to Adler, neo-realists prefer to use their positivist epistemology to describe international relations merely as behavioral responses to physical forces that affect material objects from the outside.

3. Critical Approaches to the Ontology Foundations and Epistemology of the Dominant Paradigm

The first category represents the critical theory that has emerged in the works of researchers such as Robert Cox (1981 and 1987), Mark Hoffman (1987), and Andrew Link Liter (1982, 1990, 1992).

Influenced by the Frankfurt School and the works of Habermas, these theorists emphasize the importance of contextual knowledge, the denial of knowledge neutrality, and the commitment to liberation. Thomas Diez and Jill Steins believe that Habermas, like many social science theorists, focuses on criticism of positivism, especially neorealism. They consider the central issue of critical theory since the Fourth Debate focuses on presenting a critical theory in international relations, strengthening the institutional structure of global and transnational politics against the consensus of power-based views (Diez and Steans, 2005: 127).

Critical theorists reject the epistemological and methodological foundations of mainstream theories, emphasizing that, contrary to the positivist view, value is inseparable from reality. Any knowledge that reflects social goals and interests already exists. Therefore, Habermas considers the dominance of positivism over the social sciences and believes that this attitude knows all technical human problems and their solutions solve in technical mechanisms. In comparison, knowledge of the human world requires more freedom rather than control. Therefore, while believing in pluralism in methodology, critical theorists believe that the fourth debate reflects the debates express without restrictions and complete freedom (Diez and Steans, 2005: 130).

The second category includes Michael Mann (1986, 1993) and Charles Tilly (1975, 1990), referred to as historical sociology. Historical sociologists believe that the state is the product of interaction between internal and external forces. Thus, this approach has fundamental contrast to the method of realism, especially neorealism, which, regardless of the position of governments at different times and places, believes in the influence of external structural force in determining the governments' behavior. George Lassen proposes a theory based on intermediate foundations, at the level of micro-foundations, specifically on the subject of instrumental rationality as the root of the difficulties of practical approaches. He considers instrumental rationality as the basis of mainstream theories such as neorealism with the following limitations (Lawson, 2006: 410-420):

- 1) We expect this rationality to have good signs and consequences, but it is not because it cannot explain some behaviors;
- 2) Recognizing the instrumental utility in political life is not always possible because politicians are faced with possibilities, not objective reality. They also do not predict to distinguish the optimal path, and merely choose or deduce one of the available choices, and cant infer the truth;
- 3) The law of unwanted consequences: it means that may imagine a rational action, but its repercussions lead to difficulties;
- 4) The role of perceptual bias in decision-making. Because politicians and decision-makers usually see what they want to see and manipulate information to match their pre-defined images of the world situation.

Based on Went, rational choice regards humans as slaves of reason, slaves whose inner mechanical needs guide them and whom individuals can do nothing.

The third category that has challenged the realist approach in international relations can be divided into feminism despite its diversity. The main concerns of feminist scholars such as Jane Alstein (1987) and Christine Sylvester (1994) are the construction of

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gender. Therefore, these researchers challenge the gender-oriented attitude in international relations, and their primary efforts are gender-based assumptions construction. According to feminists, national interests depend on the action framework and context and do not define power only (Tinkner, 2007 AD/1386 SH: 319-320).

Sison Ranian and Peterson consider some of the feminist critiques from realist attitude in international relations as the following (Sison and Peterson, 2007 AD/1386 SH: 329-334):

- 1) Imposing masculine roles on women prevent women from finding their actual feminine parts in society;
- 2) Women have no place in the macro-narrative and high politics of relations between governments;
- 3) Realism seeks to suppress and control difference;
- 4) The supposed dualities of authenticity, such as weak and strong, rich and poor, peace and war, men and women, etc., are patriarchal;
- 5) The realm of international relations, dominated by realism, is based more on prosperous, white, and Western men than anything else;
- 6) Governance is the property of men;
- 7) In the patriarchal construction of realism, the woman represents the disorder that the populist government must tame;
- 8) In the realist discourse, the woman is forever alien.

The fourth category includes postmodern writers who, affected by thinkers such as Michel Foucault, Derrida, and Heidegger, attack images based on reality, truth, structure, or identity. Waltz's materialistic view of international relations has also been criticized by constructivists such as Went. According to these thinkers and material structures, we should pay attention to the role of social and immaterial structures and the importance of the role of norms and rules in shaping the behavior of an actor. The government behavior in the international system is a construct and depends on the historical interactions and the meaning that they give to each other (cf: Wendt, 1987, 335-370).

Thus, as Guzzini emphasizes the importance of the identity role of the realism paradigm in international relations; the emergence and expansion of Meta theoretical debates in international relations in the 1980s and 1990s and the methodological and theoretical pluralism that has developed as a result of these debates weaken the position of theories supporting purely scientific and empirical methods (such as realism) in international relations (Guzzini, 2004, 533).

Nevertheless, despite all these meta-theoretical criticisms, the supremacy and influence of the realist approach in international relations continue. There are few theories that in their theorizing have not started from the process of realism and especially Waltz's neorealism theory, or have not referred to Waltz in significant parts of their ideas. In conclusion, the main reasons for the continued

effectiveness of this paradigm, despite its fundamental weaknesses, can be summarized in the following two paragraphs:

- 1) The lack of an alternative theory or paradigm that, while criticizing neorealism and the prevailing trend in international relations, has a coherent ontological and epistemological basis to provide propositions for explanation and action;
- 2) The support of the powerful for special interests promotes such a vision. According to Robert Cox, every theory is for someone and a purpose.

4. The Islamic Approach to International Relations

According to the above mentioned, despite forming the currents critical of the dominant paradigm, no vision can lead to a paradigm shift and become a gathering of thinkers and researchers in international relations to explanation and politicians in action. In the following, we refer to the view derived from the Islamic worldview. While criticizing the mainstream in politics and international relations, we will argue that this worldview can become a model for theorizing global concerns regarding its special ontological, anthropological, and epistemological foundations.

4.1. Ontology Fundamentals and Assumptions of the Islamic Approach to International Relations

4.1.1. The Divine Man Versus the Evil and Wicked Man

According to Mulla Sadra's philosophy, no matter how extraordinary human beings are, their origin depends on their body, and their survival depends on spiritual issues. Man is a moving caravan from the power of nature to the world and from the world of example to reason and finally complete abstraction (Research Institute of Islamic Sciences and Culture, 2008 AD/1387 SH: 26).

Therefore, man is a divine living being, God-knowing, and different from man, merely a talking animal. The man goes through his complementary journey from the lowest stage of existence to the highest levels (Alaqeband, 2008 AD/1387 SH: 167).

Therefore, in the epistemology of modernity and cognition based on empirical knowledge and the originality of pleasure and benefit, man is a controlled creature whose peak is the maximum pleasure and grace of this world and can use any means to achieve this goal. According to Islam and in the transcendent wisdom of Sadr al-Muta'allehin, man, like other beings, has the property of transcendence. In other words, because he can not answer all his needs, man cannot draw the correct path and destination and therefore needs the Shari'a (Fathi, 2008 AD/1387 SH: 169).

Man is a passenger who has come from God and is moving towards him. The world is one of the houses and stages of human travel (Lakzaei, 2008 AD/1387 SH: 191); therefore, the world is like an inn to which man should not fond, and the end of man's journey is

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the Hereafter, and the life of this world is a prelude to reaching the Hereafter. Therefore, the world is the Hereafter farm, and preserving e and paying attention to the world is one of the secondary and transcendent goals of human beings and is a means to reach nearness to God and study the Hereafter happiness (Soleimani, 2008 AD/1387 SH: 87-88).

According to this thinking, which is accepted in the philosophy of Mulla Sadra and Imam Khomeini, man is not inherently evil or good but can be good or bad (cf: Khosravi, 2012 AD/1391 SH, 91-95). The computational system of man, which, based on enclosed rationality, captures the soul and desires it; or, influenced by the cultivation and intellect liberation from the soul attachments, brings him to the origin of existence and the inclinations of the rational and God-pleasing aspects of creation (Khosravi, 2012 AD/1391 SH: 91).

4.2. The Ummah Originality of Against the Nation Necessity

This concept is a replacement for the national idea, which is one of the existential dimensions of the modern state born of Westphalia. The Holy Qur'an introduces Muslims and non-Muslims as a single Ummah; this concept becomes one of the primary and ontological foundations of the Islamic attitude in explaining foreign relations. Therefore, neither geography nor race, language, color, or anything is a basis for a particular nation's definition. The criterion is purity, monotheistic, and being oppressed. Therefore, contrary to the nation concept, which has made explanations such as foreign man against national man (Sabouri, 2008 AD/1387 SH: 4). Islam defines the foreigner as independent of geographical boundaries and according to the criteria of Islam. However, this level of analysis in Imam Khomeini's security school is generalized to a very thoughtful output regarding the oppressed-arrogant dichotomy. A Muslim considers himself committed to the Ummah at a higher level, and the goal of the Ummah is to create prosperity and salvation (Seifzadeh, 2002 AD/1381 SH: 27).

Thus, contrary to mainstream theories, especially the prevailing paradigm in international relations, the state is the main actor in the global system. In Islam, the political system is the primary unit that represents the oppressed against the arrogant. This actor with the Islamic Revolution and the formation of a religious-based political system is objective and natural and opposed to the accurate concept of blasphemy-house and arrogant.

4.3. The Originality of the Oppressed Interests Against the Necessity of National Interests

Pursuing Islam's and oppressed interests is a religious obligation and regards as a spiritual necessity (Jafari, 2008 AD/1378 SH: 31). Therefore, protecting the interests of Islam and the oppressed is an important principle and the basis of action and extraction of operational propositions. This level of analysis and based on activism as a level of study evident that it has both a universal

character and is free from the Islam-Kufr dual criticisms. The criterion of submissiveness is not Islam, but preference is the readiness to front tyranny and arrogance. Any group, current or even government, should help these oppressed. Therefore, create a global network that does not belong to one nation and one faith and one religion, but includes every religion, and every religion and every nation and identity that has the characteristics of the oppressed and is not on the arrogant front. The idea of Basij-e Mostaz'afin, which the Imam posed, is rooted in the same universal, trans-religious, and transnational thinking.

4.4. Operational Statements Resulting from the Ontology Foundations

4.4.1. The Principle of a Just and Peaceful Relationship

In the Holy Qur'an, verse 9 of Surah al-Mumtahanah has been mentioned the relationship with the world and stipulating the principle of just and peaceful communication with the foreign:

But Allah forbids you only from having Friendship with those who fought You on account of Religion and Drove you out of your homeland, and Helped one another in driving you out; You are forbidden to have friendly Relation with them.

Or in verse 8 states: Allah does not forbid you are having a relationship with those who have not Fought you on account of Religion And have not driven you out of your Homeland, and He does not forbid you from doing good and regarding justice to them.

According to above mentioned and different verses and Prophet tradition, there are different kinds of relationship in the international domain from Islam perspective: the relationship between Muslims and non-Muslims, including Jews, Christians, etc, the relationship between Muslims and atheists, the relationship between groups of Muslims with each other and between Muslims and the arrogant. Although Islam prioritizes the relationship between the third group, it does not limit the relationship between the first two groups. It legitimizes the principle of just and peaceful relations even with infidels. Only the relationship between Muslims or the oppressed with the arrogant who seek conspiracy and overthrow is illegitimate from the perspective of Islam, and this can be true of the types of relationships mentioned above.

Examining various verses and narrations, find a significant and robust connection between the foundations and the resulting statements that often have a completely realistic rather than a practical aspect. These statements include the following:

4.4.1.1. Denial of the Guardianship of Non-Muslims

In several verses, the Holy Qur'an forbids believers from accepting the guardianship of others. For example, in verse 1 of Surah al-Mumtahanah, God explicitly prohibits believers from accepting friendship with enemies. Motahari, in the book of *Vela'ha va Velayat-ha*, citing Quranic verses, talks about positive and negative

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Vela'. Muslims' mission is not accepting and leaving the negative Velayat, which is the friendship and guardianship of non-Muslims (Mohammadi, 2001 AD/1380 SH: 41).

Of course, it should be noted that this rule does not contradict the principle of peaceful relations and only emphasizes the denial of accepting the other's friendship and guardianship. This rule is quite realistic because the guide is based on distrust of others. Therefore, Islam knows the preservation of internal cohesion and the oppressed interests conditional on maintaining the scope of communication. In Islamic principle 82 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran, the employment of foreign experts by the government is prohibited except in necessity and with the approval of the Islamic Consultative Assembly, or the establishment of an alien military base in the country even for peaceful uses. It can also be generalized to dual nationals.

4.4.1.2. Fragility of Cooperation

In general, the cooperation lasts as long as one of its essential conditions, i.e., the parties' commitment to the provisions of the contract is continued and guaranteed. Realists consider cooperation fragile regarding the lack of a central government; because, in principle, trusting the other party is unrealistic. In other words, maintaining one's survival and security is preferred on obligations. In Islam, protection of Islam and the oppressed interests, and in exceptional circumstances where the contracting party seeks to dominate the Muslims; the basic principle of fulfilling the obligations (al- Ma'idah: 1), which is obligatory, is overshadowed by the rule of Nafy-e Sabil (al-Nisa': 141).

It means that if a contract is concluded between Muslims and non-Muslims, as soon as determined, this contract is to the detriment of the Islamic community, and the rule of Nafy-e Sabil automatically invalidates it.

4.4.1.3. To Attach Importance to Military Capability, Weapons and Propaganda

The Holy Quran commands Muslims in Surah Anfal: 60: And to fight the enemy [prepare against them to the utmost, such as Armed forces and strong horses and provisions for fighting, to frighten the enemy of Allah as well as your enemy and others besides them, whom you do not know them, but Allah knows them.

This verse confirms a realistic view because the constant readiness to defend and fight shows the lack of trust in the enemies, which is also one of the main foundations of the realists' vision. Despite the stipulation of constant readiness and the increase and updating of military equipment, Islam in no way legitimizes preventive defense or pre-emptive attack. The following examples can illustrate this point:

1) While we were in Friday prayers and Ali was on the pulpit, a man stood up and said: there is no rule except God. Then they stood up from the corners of the mosque. Ali (AS) pointed to them to sit down and said: ... Know that you have three characteristics by me: as long as you are with us, we will not keep you away from the mosques in which you say the name of God, and as long as your hands are with ours, we will not deprive you of public wealth and we will not fight you unless you fight (Mohammadi Reyshahri, 2000 AD/1379 SH: 561).

2) Whenever we faced the enemy with Ali (AS), he would command us: do not fight them until they start, because you have justification, thank God, and leaving them until the beginning of the battle is another argument on your part⁶ (Mohammadi Reyshahri, 2000 AD/1379 SH: 84).

The necessity of being vigilant against the enemy and maintaining readiness against them is a significant point. Any disturbance in the continuation and strengthening of military capability disturbs the deterrence and negation of the mentioned verse. One must undoubtedly distrust the enemy, and even in situations where one wants peace and peace recognized good, you should not neglect to strengthen capabilities and build internal power. Although stability is good, it becomes significant only when it be preparation for jihad, and the enemy does not wage war with consideration of deterrence power. Otherwise, peace will be manifested as a compromise in which there is no good.

4.4.1.4. The Importance of Geographical Boundaries and Their Protection

Islam emphasizes the Ummah and the public of the oppressed and the oppressed attention across geographical borders puts legal validity for geographical boundaries⁷ and highlights its preservation (attributed to Amid Zanjani, 1994 AD/1373 SH: 13-17). Geographical borders necessarily play a role in maintaining the interests of Islam and maintaining the rule and unity of Muslims.

6. Ibid., 84, quoting the wisdom 511 of Nahj al-Balaghah.

7. Among the jurists, there are in-depth discussions in the field of international Islamic law and political jurisprudence about the definition and characteristics of Dar al-Kufr and Dar al-Islam, as well as Islam's view of conventional geographical boundaries and borders of authenticity. For more studies refer to:

A) Mesbah, M. (1996 AD/1375 SH). Velayat-e-Faqih Beyond the Borders. *Islamic Government Quarterly*. Vol. 1, no.1, pp. 81-95.

B) Kalantari, A. (1996 AD/1375 SH). Dar al-Islam and Dar al-Kufr and their special works. *Journal of Jurisprudence*. Vol. 3, no. 10, pp. 32-117.

C) Amid Zanjani, A. (1994 AD/1373 SH). *Political Jurisprudence*. Vol. 2. Tehran: Amirkabir.

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Hence, in the Holy Prophet's tradition (PBUH), the digging of a ditch for the preservation of Dar al-Salam has been emphasized.

Imam Sajjad (AS) prays for the border guards: and I swear to your honor, guard the borders of the Muslims and confirm the frontier guard with your strength; increase border guards and sharp their weapons and protect their guard and make sensitive points of their faces impenetrable (al-Sahifa al-Sajjadiyyah, 2002 AD/1381 SH: 129).

Referring to the necessity of the geographical boundary and maintaining the center of power is realizing Islamic goals. Without government and its strengthening does not accomplish many purposes. In the Imam Security School, the preservation of the government is the most obligatory work. Therefore, in any task-based activism, one must think of the government's survival requirements. It does not mean justification, but it means that without the government and its maintenance, it is impossible to realize the achievement of divine assignments. Islam explicitly emphasizes the absolute necessity of protecting geographic boundaries in identifying identity, and the Imam school is very decisive. In the renewed essence in this school, although the doctrinal edges are initially, never negate the importance and necessity of geographical boundary.

The ontological priority of the ideological limitations and cultural foundations on the national components of identity is essential and not its negation. It's manifestation is an 8-year war in Iran and Iraq that Imam emphasizes our war is not the war of two countries but is a doctrinal war between two thinking and approaches. Still, with the militants' attempt of this school, a cluster of homelands not be assigned to the stranger. At the same time, all claimants of nationalism in the history of one hundred years before the revolution bestow part of the homeland to a stranger.

4.5. The Epistemological Foundations of Islam in International Relations

In philosophy, it is proved that if cognition of the world is in a secular way, the result is worldly people, and if understanding is based on God, the result is the transcendent human being (Research Institute of Islamic Sciences and Culture, 2008 AD/1387 SH: 21-22).

Hence, according to practical ethics, which results from philosophy, if cognition of the world is secular, the result is secular politics. If the understanding has a divine basis, the result is transcendent politics (Research Institute of Islamic Sciences and Culture, 2008 AD/1387 SH: 22).

The critical point is that cognition based on the divine, that cognition itself, arises from the rationality that is part of the standard set of religious understanding. Based on such an epistemology, the concept of power, contrary to the scientific and sensory expertise of

the dominant paradigm and the theory of neorealism, is power and material power. It is originally spiritual and from the absolute and pure existence (Seifzadeh, 2002 AD/1381 SH: 25).

Therefore, power and perfection of originality are necessary for the religious aspiration man in Islam. From this dimension will be placed against the secular man who gives identity the power.

This suspicion can propose that the claim of transcendental recognition presentation and the transcendental policy resulting from the Islamic Shari'a, which can solve the theoretical impulses in international relations and social sciences, is an impression and unrealistic. Because human once in a few centuries before the Renaissance has experienced the church's rule on people's social and political life. After interrupting the influence and power of the church in politics, Europe developed in the shadow of the material worldview and formed to modern world life (Eftekhari, 1387: 54).

Firstly, when Europe was under church domination during brutality and barbarism, it was the peak of flourishing and growth of different sciences in the east of the Muslim government. Then, suppose modernity and modern recognition achieved massive growth in various areas of human life, along with enormous crises and awful results, such as two world wars, injustice, oppression, and discrimination. Its results are the emergence of numerous critical and practical works such as terrorism and insecurity.

The main argument in emphasizing the need for the distinction between Islam-based recognition with the historical experience of the church domination on the people's lives derived from the difference from the Islam and Christianity view to the wisdom and reason status and relationship between reason and tradition.

Among the Islamic scholars, there are views such as Imam Muhammad Ghazali, the mystical attitude of Mowlana, Akhbaris, and followers of the separation school, including the opposition of philosophical wisdom in the Islamic world⁸. But the famous views such as Mu'tazilites and Ibn Roshd in the rationalists' group and insight of those such as Sadr al-Mutaallehin Shirazi and Sheikh Ansari are among the balance group between wisdom and tradition, which, according to religious and revelation texts, make a very high credit for a reason (Mansurnejad, 2004 AD/1383 SH: 178).

While, in Christianity and the four Matthew, Mars, Luke and John, contrary to Islamic hadiths and the numerous verses of the Qur'an, are rarely spoken about the reason, and the mentioned cases are also a further inadequate reason. Therefore, the gospel's message is mainly spiritual, inseparable, and moral, and the philosophy of

8. It is worth noting that among the four groups, just akhbaris believe that reason is contrast with religion, and three other categories belong to the independence of reason and not its negation.

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how to act is less remarkable (Mansurnejad, 2004 AD/1383 SH: 135).

The view emphasized that can achieve a new cognition for the theorizing in social sciences and liberation is the follower belief to the relationship between wisdom and tradition especially Sadra wisdom and ink movement. According to Sadra, the divine-human is in the perfection path, and this world is a stage of his way to perfection. Hence, the world and the life of the world, and achieve perfection of originality are necessary. In such an insight, exact reason and tradition (book and tradition) are not conflicting but complementary and, in the same way, impact each other and benefit each other's privileges (Javadi Amoli, 2007 AD/1386 SH: 9).

Therefore, intellect in its various meanings, such as the immaterial reason (philosophy), instrumental reason (experimental sciences), the semi-immaterial wisdom (mathematics), and pure reason (theoretical mysticism) in the field of religious knowledge, does not contradict religion. Because natural scientists who study the world of creation and development empirically, and the scholars of the divine sciences who consider a world with the immaterial method are familiar in achieving to holy will and privacy but are different in other dimensions (Javadi Amoli, 2007 AD/1386 SH: 8).

This kind of insight is based on the perfection-based that knows the world necessary, the world that leads him to another world. Therefore, because he sees himself on the journey, he is secular and considers the natural world in the ontology of monotheism as a creation⁹ that has the origin and end. Therefore, wisdom and tradition are in the same way consider as a source of religious knowledge. It is the main difference between Christianity and the experience of church mastering with the spiritual understanding of Islam.¹⁰

The differences in the dominant paradigm of the mainstream process that is an assertive policy with politics based on religious knowledge that is a moral-oriented policy are in the form of a realistic, idealistic approach (Abedi, 2008 AD/1387 SH: 132) includes: Human-based in front of God-based, pure rationalism and tools against conditional rationalism in the range of religious knowledge geometry, the authenticity of power in front of virtue originality, the true prosperity of man and ultimately the identity of

9. The Concept of creation, in contrast with the nature in its existence and its meaning, has the origin and creator. See more about: Javadi Amoli, the dignity of reason in the geometry of religious knowledge, Qom, Isra' Publications, 1386.

10. That is why Islam is stipulated that whatever wisdom accepts law accepts. Therefore, contrary to the medieval church, which by denying reason, provided the field of reason for the expansion of scriptures and fake religions, such as the regulation of the forgiveness. in traditional Islam a command is accepted that has no contradiction with wisdom.

the world against the authenticity of the Hereafter along with the necessity of the world.

Conclusion

From the point of view of transcendental wisdom, which its supernatural policy can extract, provided a path that political man must try to work for their survival, be robust, and achieve the various sciences necessary for his life improvement. At the same time, he knows that it is moving vertically and therefore, all his actions during this path are affected and based on his law and beliefs. Such a human being is responsive, and so in no way cannot use any means to achieve material goals, thinking about them and not to others, want for himself and not for others, but what choose for himself for others too and vice versa. He is obliged to the divine assignment. His action result and consequence determine the act and action in the mainstream and dominant paradigms of international relations; in Islamic knowledge merely as important as the necessity. Here, the ruler's logic is Being from God and to God, and for this reason, he has to do spiritual and instrumental reasoning together in behavior before doing it.

In such an episteme, power does not merely have a material dimension, but because human beings believe in God, he knows God most powerfully. He can do anything. So, the point of weakness of the dominant paradigm and especially neorealism theory is his kind of worldview and angle of look. Therefore, regardless of acceptance or rejection of Waltz's definition from a theory and inevitability of removing some factors in determining behavior and international politics, the main argument is 'which factors are primary?' and 'what is our benchmark for removing so-called secondary elements?' Unfortunately, the dominant paradigm and given people like Waltz are affected by instrumental rationality, and materialistic calculation should remove other factors such as the norm, ideology, and spirituality. If we accept this Waltz discusses, Obviously, a theory cannot explain random matters or tell the cause of unexpected events (ibid., 12); the main question is: 'events that repeatedly occur from the past three decades and some are becoming practical; is it accidental?'¹¹

Undoubtedly, what has been seen in recent years in Islamic thought and is transforming into the procedure and change from the margin to the text, are successive acts. It cannot easily pass with the

11. For example, the Iran behavior has been explicitly opposed to the structure of the international system with its formation with the no east no west slogan. Or the resistance of the Lebanese Hezbollah or the spirit of group resistance, such as Hamas, which is not justified by the principles of material power and rationality.

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address of unexpected and random events and legitimize the conservative paradigm's assumptions of the dominant conservative.

According to the Waltz perspective in neorealism and the question 'why all governments, despite their many differences, have the same behavior?' (Burchill et al., 2001: 85) and are looking for power and security?' He has chosen a topic that it's an apparent and visible result in the behavior of different actors with every identity that is inevitable. As mentioned in the Islamic approach emphasized and stipulated in the preservation of the interests of Islam or the oppressed on the attention of these affairs (protection of its government and survival).

But the mistake of realist thinkers is that society considers a strategic realm that various brokers seek their interests and therefore ignores the mechanism of formation and realization. The result of the behavior of the actors is assumed, and therefore does not matter to the difference in the means of realistic behavior related to the distinctive identification of actors. Focusing on the exact behavior of governments to gain power and maintain security has led to the introduction to the principles of Aristotel's logic, and refusal to review it. For this reason, in the framework of an analysis of realism and neorealism, it has neglected any thinking and contemplation of other actors' separate entries and epistemologies and analyzed the specific ontology with the ontology of overcoming theory. I pointed it in the introduction as a deviation in analyzing the behavior of actors by the theorists and researchers of the field of international relations and some politicians.

Therefore, in response to the proposal of Vasax The field of international relations requires more accuracy in the debate between paradigm and is only a great look and high precision that can pay to the dominant paradigm or in building a new paradigm that has more comprehensive theoretical achievements (Vasquez, 1997: 911).

I believe that achieving such a paradigm can only be excluded from the foundations of knowledge purely empirical and material, along with material and world agents, looking at the human and endless. Undoubtedly, in such an attitude, there will be material factors as well. The main problem formed since the time of epistemic Renaissance and was the origin of growth and modernity; its result was the formation of insight that bring into vogue contradictory pairs such as material / spiritual; the mortal world / the permanent world; reality/truth; and imagine that they have achieved certainty that guarantees the bliss of humanity. As Jenny Edkins and Maja Zhoffz, with the adaptation of Jacques Derrida, have proposed internationalization of the domestic matter (Edkins and Zehfuss, 2005: 451), I also believe, in accordance them and adopting on Sadra wisdom and Islamic thought, generalize originality on the necessity

and permanent world on the mortal world. The Islamic approach has such an attitude and, therefore, can answer more questions.

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