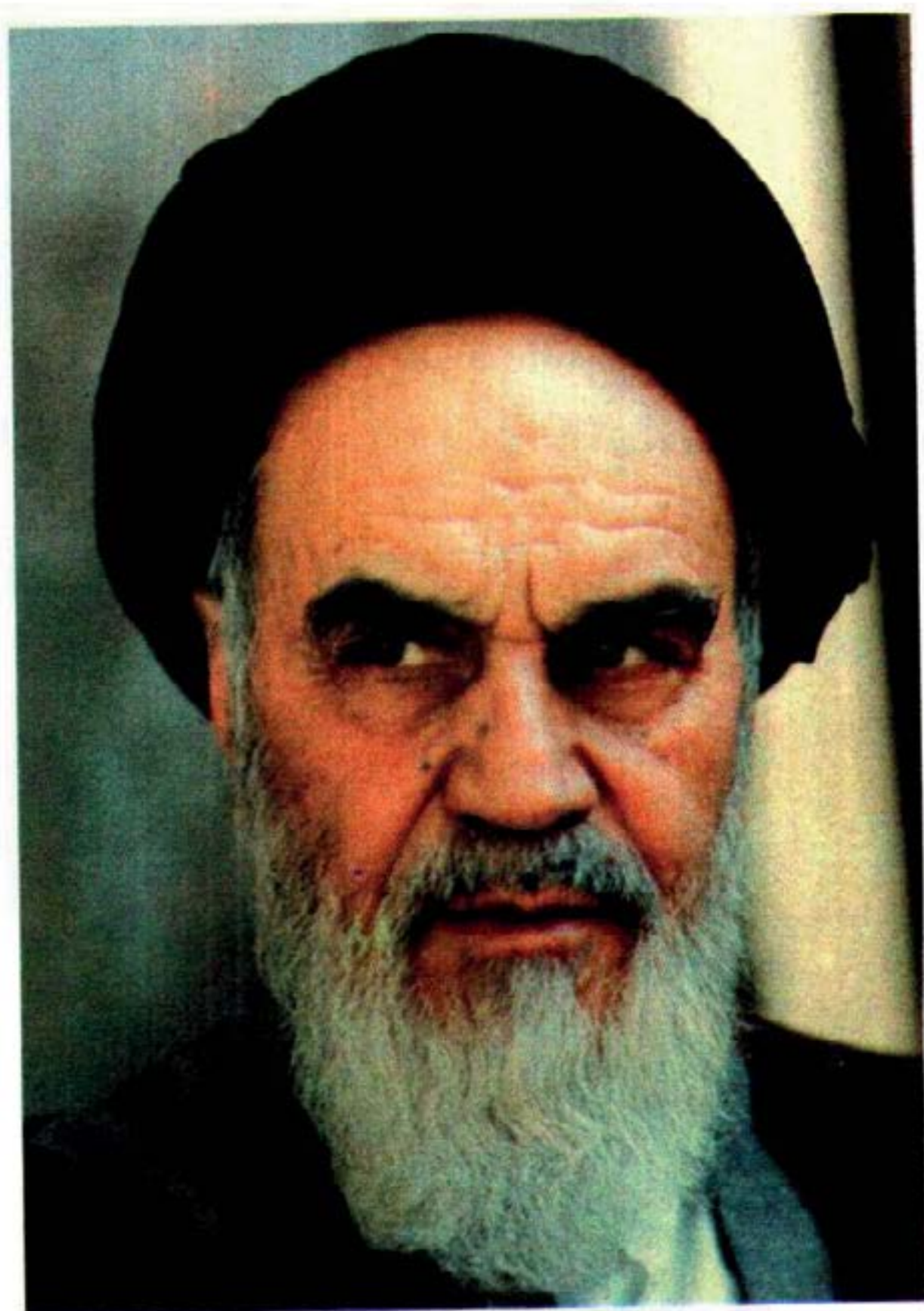In the Name of Allah,
the Compassionate, the Merciful

Imām Khomeinī
AND
THE
International System

A Collection of Articles

Translator
Mansoor Limba

Table of Contents

Transliteration Symbols

Symbol	Transliteration
ء ، ا	a, 'a, (')
ب	b
ت	t
ث	th
ج	j
ح	ḥ
خ	kh
د	d
ذ	dh
ر	r
ز	z
س	s
ش	sh
ص	ṣ
ض	ḍ
ط	ṭ
ظ	ẓ
ع	ʿ
غ	gh
ف	f
ق	q
ك	k
ل	l
م	m
ن	n
و	w
ه	h
ي	y
ة	ah

Long Vowels

Symbol	Transliteration
ا ، ا	ā, Ā
اى	ī, Ī
او	ū, Ū

Short Vowels

Symbol	Transliteration
ا	a
اِ	i
اُ	u

Persian Letters

Symbol	Transliteration
پ	p
چ	ch
ژ	zh
گ	g

Preface

"Our government is an independent government. So long as the countries do not interfere in our internal affairs, we have friendly relations with them."

Imām Khomeinī
Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām, vol. 5, p. 420

The victory of the Islamic Revolution in Iran under the leadership of His Eminence Imām Khomeinī (r)[1]—at the time of the unchallenged dominance of the two superpowers of the East and West, and the antiquation and isolation of religion in the world—was the shining radiance of the light of guidance and hope from the east for the world full of cruelty and oppression and sunk in the darkness of self-worship and worldliness.

Undoubtedly, the revolutionary uprising of His Eminence Imām Khomeinī has brought to the fore the luminary countenance of authentic religiosity and life-giving teachings of the monotheistic school of Islam after gloomy centuries of complacency and seclusion and has paved the way for its effective presence in the fundamental transformations and political events of the world. The Islamic Revolution project, in its global dimension and unpredictable victory at the last decades of the twentieth century led to fundamental transformations and metamorphoses in the structure of the world system and international relations, as well as to the change of political equations prevalent in the world. A comprehensive assessment of all the transformations and metamorphoses that have emerged in the world system and the reaction of the superpowers with respect to the new laudable role of the Islamic country of Iran as an independent player without depending on the Eastern and Western blocs necessitates a comprehensive and extensive

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[1] The abbreviation "*r*" in bracket stands for *rahmatullāh 'alayh/'alayha/'alayhim* [may God have mercy on him/her/them] throughout the book. [Trans.]

research and analysis, which is beyond the scope of this paper. However, a brief sketch and study of these transformations and assessment of international systems at the time of the occurrence of the Revolution and thereafter, and the description of the prevailing relations therein as well as the analysis of the Imām's opinions and views particularly on the international system and the prevalent relations therein and his theoretical and practical approaches in dealing with international events and happenings is the main objective behind the collection of these articles, including this introduction. In this introduction we will embark on the study of international system, description of international systems, international relations and the rules governing them, and elucidation of the viewpoint and intellectual bases of Imām Khomeinī concerning his understanding of, and approach to, the international system.

System and the international system

Political science theorists and experts have presented numerous definitions of the term, 'system'. Some have labeled 'system' as "a colonial term for the government or form of government of a state"[1] while others, in defining it, have thus expressed: "[System is] the totality of elements which are united with each other in a particular way and brought into existence a single unit"[2] or "the combination of principles and rules pertaining to a certain subject and related to one another in such a way that they form a theory or school of thought."[3] Considering the existence of divergent and innumerable definitions of the word, 'system' and in a bid to avoid confused discussion of the controversy, it seems necessary to distinguish between the theoretical and practical domains in describing the concept of system.

In this manner, theoretically the concept of system can be considered as "a theoretical framework for the collection, compilation, arrangement, and study of phenomena."[4] In this perspective the concept of system is approximately equivalent to outlook and insight. This conception of system is completely dependent on and related to a kind of human outlook on the universe. Then system can be applied to "any combination consisting of

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[1] 'Alī Āqā-Bakhshī, *Farhang-e 'Ulūm-e Siyāsī* [Political Science Dictionary] (Tehran: Scientific Information and Documents Center of Iran, 1376 AHS/1997).

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] Qurbān-'Alī Qurbānzādeh Savār, Rawābiṭ-e bayn al-Milal az Dīdgāh-e Imām Khomeinī [International Relations from Imām Khomeinī's Viewpoint] (Master's degree thesis, Tehran University), p. 31.

living members, things, issues, and beings."[1] In this context, main attention will be focused on the external and substantial existence of things and affairs, and their quality of relations with one another.

"International system is applied to the totality of political units (such as countries, nations, international organizations, etc.) having relations with one another on the basis of particular principles and rules."[2] In the conventional sciences of politics, international system is discussed and studied with numerous indicators such as the classification of international systems, characteristics and variables of the international system, international system borders, and others.

Definition and description of the international systems

From the beginning of formation and establishment of the first tribal and national governments and the intensification of transnational relations of countries with one another (particularly in the recent centuries), the world has been a witness to the rule of divergent political systems in the realms of international relations. On the basis of its particular principles and rules, each of these systems has been the indicator and introducer of the quality and manner of relations of the member political units with the rest of units as well as the relations of these units with the existing powerful countries in decline.

With the end of the Second World War (1945), a model in the power division of the world developed based on, and governed by, the two principal poles the leadership of each of which was under the two superpowers, America and the former Soviet Union. Subsequent to this event, the world was divided into the Eastern and Western blocs under the dominance of two ideologies of the day—Marxism and liberalism. Each of the present countries in the two blocs was under the protection of one of the two superpowers then.

Power superiority and high economic-military capabilities of the two superpowers, monopoly of production and manufacture of nuclear weapons of mass destruction by the United States and the (former) Soviet Union provoked the other countries to take up dependency position for the preservation of their national security. As such, as subservient political units they can play a role in the international scene. In this system, the relations and dealings of the two superpowers with each other were also based on a state of two-pronged political tension, intense ideological rivalries, political

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 32.
[2] *Ibid.*

maneuvers, and arms race, which is known as the Cold War.[1] This bipolar system was prevalent in the scene of global politics and international relations in approximately 40 years.

After the Persian Gulf War (1991), the then US president announced the establishment of the 'New World Order' under the leadership of the United States. In proposing the new order, the American government was ostensibly claiming for the establishment of world peace and prosperity, and all-dimensional progress and advancement of countries under the unipolar system. (Unipolar system under the American authority and values is actually the ideal global system for the American statesmen after the collapse of the ex-Soviet Union.) Yet, in reality the order claimed by the West is nothing but the stabilization of the foundations of global governance and consolidating the liberal-democratic norms and standards in the entire world. According to many experts, the new order is the liars' model for the perpetuation of injustice and a new name for resorting to the use of force for the world without hindrance (rival) for America.[2]

Concerning the unipolar system proposed by the West, the concordances and discordances of the other countries have been expressed. The presence of new economic and military powers in the international scene (such as Western Europe, China, Japan, etc.), oppositionist forces of the developing countries and the world public opinion are among the serious hurdles for the new world order project.

International relations and the rules governing them

International relations are generally applied to "the mutual behavior of the human units with one another beyond the internal borders. In other words, international relations comprise all the actions, contacts, communicational trends, and reactions to them among the formed societies separate from one another (countries) in all political, economic and cultural aspects."[3] International relations are usually discussed and taken into account

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[1] See Manūchehr Muḥammadī, "The Islamic Revolution and the Global System," *Collection of Articles of the Second International Congress on Imām Khomeinī and the Revival of Religious Thought*, vol. 3, p. 426. This article is also included in the present collection, p. 100.
  See also Martin Griffiths and Terry O'Callaghan, *International Relations: The Key Concepts* (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), under the entry 'Cold War', pp. 35-38.

[2] Qurbān-'Alī Qurbānzādeh Savār, *Rawābiṭ-e bayn al-Milal az Dīdgāh-e Imām Khomeinī* [International Relations from Imām Khomeinī's Viewpoint] (Master's Degree Thesis, Tehran University, 1369-70 AHS), pp. 21-22.

[3] 'Alī Āqā Bakhshī, *Farhang-e 'Ulūm-e Siyāsī* [Political Science Dictionary] (Tehran: Scientific Information and Documents Center of Iran, 1376 AHS/1997), pp. 21-22.

by the experts on political issues from different dimensions such as the actors in the international scene (countries, governments, leaders, people, etc.); objectives of the actors (security, welfare, power, etc.); and means to be used to attain the said objectives (diplomacy, power applications, etc.).

The mutual action, reaction and behavior of the human units with one another are mostly in accordance with certain rules and regulations, which can be described as the rules governing the international relations. These laws are governing and ruling over the totality of the international system and their relations with one another. Concerning the international system and relations, different views and perspectives have been advanced by the political scientists. These views, on one hand, emanate from schools of thought, worldviews and perspectives of men on the realities and phenomena of the world, and on the other hand, are indicative of the various approaches and methods of the decision-makers in the process of foreign policy making and international relations. Each of the empiricist, pluralist, realist, Marxist, idealist, and other approaches is distinguishable from one another through the type of perspective on human being, the world, society, and politics. In consonance with their ontological and epistemological bases, these approaches lay down particular principles and rules for the organization and implementation of the over-all policies of their political systems in the realms of foreign and domestic relations.

Keeping in view the common aspects among these viewpoints in their epistemological bases, some scholars believe that all existing political approaches can be referred to two viewpoints: realism and idealism. The realist approach on politics and power is essentially empirical and pragmatic. According to this school, the key factor prevalent in all international relationships is power. In other words, power and acquisition and preservation of which are the main pivot and goal of political activities. Thus, the wise and efficient use of power by a state in pursuit of its national interests is the main ingredient of a successful foreign policy. The second fundamental element in the realist political thinking is 'interests'. According to this school, the rational actor is he who is continuously striving to maximize his interests. In the opinion of this group, compliance with moral, legal and even ideological rules in politics is contrary to the laws of nature (which are the true laws for this group).[1]

On the contrary, the idealist approach to policy making is based on the traditional principles of foreign policy and separate from the existing

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[1] Jack C. Plano and Roy Olton, *The International Relations Dictionary*, 4th ed. (Santa Barbara, California: ABC-Clio, Inc., 1988), p. 7.

realities; that is, it is based on the accepted international norms, legal and legitimate codes (based on customary and general principles), and moral-ethical values. Based on the idealist assumptions, moral power is more effective and fulfilling than physical power. This approach is a proponent of policy, which caught the public attention. It urges the people to support the principles that ought to govern state conduct. The idealists regard politics as the art of good governance and they are always in pursuit of changing the status quo. According to the realists, however, politics is the art of possible. Nowadays, in practice most of the policies is composed and a fusion of the teachings of the two schools of realism and idealism in such a way that the realist approach upholds to determine the means in achieving the goals whereas the idealist approach regulates and legitimizes these means and instruments while also pursuing to gain the support of the people on the adopted policies.[1]

Definition of the view and sources of Imām Khomeinī's thought on his conception and approach to the international system

Undoubtedly, Imām Khomeinī is considered one of the most outstanding students of the life-giving school of Islam and among the most influential forerunners and revivalists of the religious thought in the contemporary time. The radiance of Imām Khomeinī's personality has permeated in its utmost extent and scope and in all theoretical and practical dimensions, radiating from the ideas and teachings of the pristine Islam. As such, precise elucidation and explication of the views, ideas, conditions, and activities of such a multidimensional personality (amidst the difficulty of methodically presenting them) is attributed to an accurate understanding of the principles and precepts of the Islamic thought. Because of this, the Imām's viewpoint on political issues and matters, and the way to deal with global and international issues is also exactly a religious and Islamic viewpoint. Therefore, a study and elucidation of his political viewpoint and methodology will necessitate a review of the Islamic worldview and elucidation of the fundamental precepts and principles of politics in the Islamic thought. In this section, we will embark on an overview of the pivotal principles and fundamental precepts in the Islamic thought according to the perspective of Imām Khomeinī so that through this survey we will be acquainted and familiarized with the foundations of his thought.

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[1] *Ibid.*

One of the most fundamental and pivotal issues in the Imām's thought is the distinction between the authentic Islam and the pseudo-Islam. According to him, the global powers' sought-after and propagated Islam that promotes seclusion and non-interference of religion in the various socio-political realms is a vivid example of pseudo-Islam.

According to Imām Khomeinī, the authentic Islam is ordained by God, the Glorious, for the prosperity and deliverance of the caravan of humanity from this material world. By providing a complete code of life in all aspects and dimensions of human beings, it leads man to the way of prosperity in another realm. The basic features of the authentic Islam according to Imām Khomeinī are as follows:

1. Comprehensiveness and universality

In the view of Imām Khomeinī, Islam is a universal school and has a global mission. This religion has provided a complete and comprehensive code for the guidance and management of all the mundane and spiritual affairs of mankind regardless of tribal, racial and other distinctions.[1]

2. Capability in managing all the affairs of the society

The authentic Islam has the answer to all human needs and is capable of ensuring the welfare and prosperity of the human beings in this material world and in the hereafter.[2]

3. Fusion of religion and politics

Politics, according to Imām Khomeinī, is an aspect on God's sovereignty on the universe and the way of guiding and leading the individuals and society toward their true bliss in all dimensions. Under this perspective, politics is exactly religion and without the latter the former will loss legitimacy and rightfulness. This form of guidance and politics only belong to the prophets and saints and the rest will not be able to present and implement such a politics.[3]

4. Struggle against the oppressors and defense of the oppressed

The logic of Islam, according to Imām Khomeinī, is the logic of negating dominance and the struggle against oppression and aggression in the world,

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[1] *Sahīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 3, p. 219; vol. 4, p. 184.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. 5, p. 188.

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. 18, p. 422.

and the defense of the downtrodden and oppressed of the world. Islam neither allows somebody to oppress nor to be oppressed.[1]

The principles proposed by the Imām—known as the basic features of distinguishing authentic Islam from pseudo-Islam—is itself springing from the pivotal principle of *tawḥīd* [monotheism] in the Islamic thought. This principle—which encompasses all the mundane and celestial aspects of the society, as well as the entire relations and contacts of individuals with one another and the Islamic society with the other members of humanity—is considered the most basic and essential principle of faith of the Islamic laws. Regarding the importance of this principle and its pivotal role in the various religious, political and ethical domains, the Imām says:

> This principle (of monotheism [*tawḥīd*]) teaches us that man should surrender only to the sacred essence of the Absolute Truth and must not obey any human being unless his obedience is tantamount to obedience to God. Therefore, no man has ever any right to force other human beings to surrender to him. And we learn the principle of freedom of man from this principle, that is, no one has any right to deprive a society or a human being of any right, or legislate laws for him, or regulate his behavior or his relations on the basis of his own reasoning and cognition which is very incomplete or on the basis of his own will and whim. On the basis of this principle, we also believe that legislation for man is solely within the power of the Almighty God, as He has also ordained the laws of existence and creation. The salvation and perfection of man and human societies is subject to the obedience to the divine laws that have been imparted to man by the prophets.[2]

Now, after stating these introductions on the foundations of the Imām's thought, it is necessary to discuss and deal with his political style and mode of comprehending the existing realities and way of analyzing political issues. As indicated earlier, the Imām's approach to all issues, subjects, events, and phenomena is a religious and Islamic one. Considering the principle that the laws of Islam have the answers to all the needs and demands of human society in various cultural, social, political, and other domains, in this approach the most important duty of an Islamic ruler is the proper understanding, deduction of the rulings and ordinances of God from the pertinent original sources, applying the same to the objective and external subjects, and finding the practical obligation in the framework of the events

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[1] *Ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 431.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. 5, p. 388.

and happenings relevant to human life. Therefore, keeping in view the principles of the universality of Islam and the fusion of religion and politics, the political approach in Islam is also based on such an affair that is generally called deduction of laws [*tafaqquh*] in religion.

For this reason, the method of understanding and analyzing political issues in Islam is anchored on two basic pillars. This method is essentially an investigative one in all domains of religion in search of answers for various social, economic, political, and other issues. The first pillar is the complete familiarity, comprehension and insight of the Islamic ruler with all aspects of the Islamic teachings in both material and spiritual dimensions and in various social, economic, political, and other domains. The second pillar is the deep understanding of the human subjects and phenomena as well as correct knowledge of the political, cultural and other events, happenings and developments in the world while keeping in view their time and spatial exigencies and requirements along with the deduction of divine laws and rulings on them.

The religious sources (the Qur'an, Sunnah, reason ['*aql*], and consensus ['*ijmā*']), which the fully-qualified jurist refer in arriving at the correct divine rulings and laws, in the perspective of Imām Khomeinī, are concerned with all the devotional, religious, political and other affairs, and all aspects needed by the different societies throughout the world at any era and time in such a way that they have dealt with all forms and substances of the material and spiritual needs of humanity up to the Day of Resurrection.[1]

On account of this, Imām Khomeinī, as a jurist and truly learned in Islam, used to deduce the laws, principles and mottos of Islam through the method of *ijtihād* and Islamic jurisprudence from the original religions sources. Moreover, by applying the Islamic worldview and rational methods (the use of empirical-historical methods and consultation with the specialists and experts on social, military and other affairs), he used to embark on understanding the existing political realities, events, and phenomena, as well as the matters needed by human beings while taking into account their time and spatial exigencies, and take a stance on them.[2]

Based on these preliminary remarks, it is clear that the Imām's political insight and method in the analysis and study of political phenomena and trends, in finding out their cause and effect relationship, the conditions prevailing on the political phenomena, and in discovering their essence, are knowledge that are totally religious and emanating from the teachings of

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[1] *Ibid.*, vol. 20, p. 409.
[2] Qurbānzādeh Savār, p. 121.

Islam. The point worthy of attention in this context is that the presence of the element of reason (deduction, reasoning, rational analogies, rational analysis of affairs, etc.) as one of the pillars of human understanding and discernment in the four sources of deducing divine laws guarantees a realistic look and concordant to reality at the human phenomena and subjects. Thus, applying this method in the political affairs does not entail separation from the realities and lack of proper understanding of the human affairs and needs.

In this section, after studying the intellectual foundations and political method of Imām Khomeinī by dealing with the relevant pieces of evidence, we will conduct a survey of his views and ideas on the international system and international relations and the laws governing them.

In the view of the Imām, the social and political systems established by the materialist and human schools—owing to their lack of true belief in God, incompatibility with the natural disposition of man, dearth of responsiveness to the real needs and requirements of human beings as well as the adoption of unreasonable standards and values and the existence of ample essential weaknesses and shortcomings in the internal structure of such schools—are corrupt and in the verge of decline and collapse. They have impelled human society to the abyss of deviation and downfall from the station of humanity and its true status. Anchored on this perspective, the Imām believes in all political polarities and international systems as contrary to the right path of God and condemned to downfall and defeat. During his lifetime (period of prevalence of the bipolar system in the world) he considered the Islamic Revolution (due to its Islamic nature, objectives, ideals, orientations, adopted methods, etc.) as in confrontation with the prevailing world system and the two superpowers of the East and West.[1]

Owing to his intellectual foundations, Imām Khomeinī's approach to the international system and relations—contrary to the current viewpoints in foreign policy and international relations—is a divine-monotheistic approach. Thus, this frame of mind (the Imām's viewpoint) in relation to political issues is not only incompatible with various political approaches (such as empirical, scientific, Marxist, realist and other approaches) on international issues. Rather, considering the intellectual foundations, objectives, methodologies, and application of means to attain the objectives, it is structurally contrary to all secular and un-Godly approaches. According to him, taking into account their human and materialist origin and the influence of un-Godly and atheistic schools, the common political viewpoints

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[1] *Saḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 16, p. 389.

can never be capable of completely understanding the existing realities and of correct analysis of political events and happenings. Thus, they are incapable of determining the real welfare of human society, providing the material and spiritual needs of man, and of truly guiding the individuals and society toward the real happiness.

In the opinion of the Imām, it is only at the threshold of divine viewpoint that one can have a complete and comprehensive look at the realities and phenomena of the world. In this approach, the religious and divine values are neither sidetracked nor the explicit realities being ignored.

The nature of the relations and rules prevalent in the international relations, in the Imām's perspective, has human and non-human feature. The nature of the present laws prevalent in international relations, according to him (based on the description of the present condition), is oppressive and inhumane based on the resort-to-the use-of-force and colonial relations of the superpowers with the oppressed countries and nations of the world.[1] Using force in international relations, these countries have imposed oppressive laws and the logic of superiority worse than the logic of the jungle in international relations.[2]

In the Imām's perspective, the existence of the two groups of the arrogant and downtrodden, oppressors and oppressed in the world bespeaks of the oppressive laws prevalent in international relations and the pillage of the human and natural resources of nations by the colonial states and powers. Thus, due to the prevailing oppressive structure, our present world is a witness to wars, disputes, widespread bloodlettings, and lack of real and permanent peace.

In explaining and describing the ideal future condition, Imām Khomeinī believes that the ideal future system will only be realized under the aegis of acceptance of the religious and divine system by the nations and then the replacement of the oppressive structure of the world (lord-servant, wolf-sheep relationship, etc.) with the divine system and the preeminence of the divine laws on all human relations and dealings. It is through the realization of such a divine order that mutual humane conduct of all members with one another, establishment of order and peace in the world, and stability and prosperity in international relations will be observed.

In his view, the Islamic Revolution of Iran (based on the Islamic laws), is an example of the realization of such a system within the confinement of Iran's borders as well as a model for the establishment of a just global order

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[1] *Ibid.*, vol. 13, p. 212; vol. 17, p. 306.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. 15, p. 520.

free from domination and hegemony of the global powers for the rest of countries under domination and international system.

The divine system governing the Islamic Iran is based upon a peculiar political principles (internal, external, fixed and variable), which are totally emanating from the Islamic principles and ideals, and can be the practical basis for the other states and governments.

These principles (in the realm of foreign policy), on one hand, is the basis of the active relations and presence of the Islamic Republic of Iran as an independent country in the present international system in the international and transnational scenes, and on the other hand, they bespeak of the principles governing the ideal divine system throughout the world. These principles, according to the Imām, are as follows:

1. Expansion of relations (at all levels: individual, social, national, transnational, etc.) on the basis of Islamic and humane foundations[1]

For Imām Khomeinī, the basic criterion and rule in all activities, contacts, decision-makings and the like in the various political, social and other realms are abidance and observance of the lofty precepts of Islam.

2. Preservation of independence and freedom of the Islamic country of Iran in all dimensions and taking into account the interests of Islam, the country, and people[2]

"Our foreign relations are based on the preservation of freedom and independence, and the welfare and interests of Islam and the Muslims."[3]

3. The principle of friendly relations and good conduct with all countries[4]

The principle of friendly and mutual relations with other countries, in the view of the Imām, is a principle dependent upon and bound by the absence of interference of countries in the domestic affairs of Iran,[5] mutual respect,[6] and balanced and equitable relations.[7]

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[1] *Ibid.*, vol. 6, p. 220.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. 5, p. 80.
[3] *Ibid.*, vol. 5, p. 80.
[4] *Ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 332.
[5] *Ibid.*, vol. 6, p. 532.
[6] *Ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 332.
[7] *Ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 332.

4. Negation of domination and submission to domination[1]

"Our logic, the logic of Islam, is that others should not dominate over us. We should not dominate others. We neither like to dominate nor be dominated."[2]

5. The principle of "Neither East nor West"[3]

The Islamic Republic of Iran's policy of "Neither East nor West" indicates the Islamic government's (both the officials and the people) absence of inclination in both the theoretical and practical dimensions toward the East or West. The spirit of this principle refers to the negation of domination, the absence of commitment with the foreigners, and preservation of the country's independence.

6. Defense of the prestige and existence of Islam and the Muslims[4]

"We are ready to defend Islam, the Islamic countries, and the independence of Islamic countries in all circumstances. Our program is the program of Islam, the Muslims' unity of expression, and the unity of Islamic countries."[5]

7. Support for the oppressed and deprived of the world[6]

The Imām believed that the realization of world peace and deliverance from the oppression and corruption of the tyrants lie in the awakening, resistance and struggle of the downtrodden and deprived of the world against the oppressors and tyrants. Along this line, he used to regard the support for and defense of all the downtrodden of the world (defense of their ethnicities, nationalities, languages, and even religions) as among the basic duties of the Islamic government and society.

8. The principle of export of the revolution[7]

Exportation of the revolution, in the view of the Imām, means introduction, presentation and exposition of the Islamic Republic's choice of the Islamic-humane principles and criteria in the world. It does not mean at all military exportation, imposition of norms and expansionism.

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[1] *Ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 91.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 91.
[3] *Ibid.*, vol. 21, p. 155.
[4] *Ibid.*, vol. 16, p. 335.
[5] *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 336.
[6] *Ibid.*, vol. 21, p. 248.
[7] *Ibid.*, vol. 18, p. 293.

By designing the said principles and applying the happiness-bestowing standards of the pristine religion of Islam in the realms of foreign policy of the Islamic Republic, the Imām presented a model of freedom and independence—from the policies and course of action of the superpowers and domineers of the world—for the Muslim countries and others under subjugation, and a forerunner of modern design of the active and effective presence of countries in the realm of international relations while keeping in view the divine-human rules and laws. Undoubtedly, the realization and implementation of these divine-human rules and laws will pave the ground for the arrival of the caravan of humanity at its collective and individual prosperity under the auspices of the just divine-monotheistic system.

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The present volume is an English rendition of a 194-page collection of articles in Persian compiled by Nasser Mazaheri Tehrani of this Institute. Exceptions are the articles of Irmgard Pinn, Josef Progler, Muhib Opeloye, 'Imad Bazzi, and Sulayman 'Umran Kilimili, which are originally written in English.

Footnotes with the sign, "[Trans.]" at the end are not that of the authors and thus, not in the original text, but provided by the translator to facilitate better understanding for the English readers.

International Affairs Department
**The Institute for Compilation and Publication of
Imām Khomeinī's Works**
December 3, 2005

Principles and Fundamentals of Islamic Diplomacy From Imām Khomeinī's Viewpoint

Muḥammad-Riḍā Dehshīrī

Introduction

Imām Khomeinī as a politician-jurist, who used to present his political viewpoints by basing on the juristic principles and rules, is an authority on Islamic diplomacy, which can be a basis of the political teachings of Islam. A study of the late Imām's viewpoints on Islamic diplomacy[1] in that perspective is of utmost importance as it provides a background theoretical framework vis-à-vis the researchers' knowledge in elucidating the Islamic viewpoint on diplomatic relations in the present time. At the present when the geographical demarcations among nation-states have overcome ideological divisions and the cooperation among Muslim countries, which are territorially not integrated under the banner of Islam, with the non-Muslim countries, which have necessarily adopted the policy of entente vis-à-vis the Muslim nations, has cast a shadow on the opposition between the *dār al-Islām* [abode of peace] and *dār al-kufr* [abode of disbelief], and the paradigm based on the abidance of the rules of international law on the relations among countries has been circumvented, the necessity of elucidating the theoretical viewpoints of the Islamic government in the realm of international relations has been felt more than ever.

In relation to this, it is worthy to examine the theoretical principles of Islamic diplomacy as the bases and fundamentals that form the edifice of diplomatic relations of a Muslim country. By explaining the foundations of

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[1] Islamic diplomacy refers to the prescribed ways based on the sacred laws of Islam in the realm of undertaking foreign policy by the Islamic government through the peaceful means of negotiation, dialogue, and dispatching of political envoys for the expansion of diplomatic relations of the Islamic country with other non-hostile nations and governments. See *Daftar-e Hamkārī Ḥawzah va Dāneshgāh* [Seminary-University Cooperation Office], *Islām va Ḥuqūq-e bayn al-Milal-e 'Umūmī* [Islam and Public International Law]: 209-254 (Tehran: Samt Publications, 1377 AHS), vol. 2, p. 1.

Islamic diplomacy and the principles such as *nafyi sabīl* [protection of independence and rejection of dominance by non-Muslims], *da'wah* [invitation of non-Muslims to Islam], *tawallā wa tabarrā* [befriending God's friends and turning against God's enemies], *ta'līf al-qulūb* [gaining the endearment of others], and compliance with the international agreements and customs, as well as describing objective and practical cases and instances of each of them, new approaches to theory-building and novel methods will be acquired by the foreign policy officials. At the same time, a substantial analysis of Imām Khomeinī's statements and review of the theoretical foundation of his diplomatic viewpoints will provide the necessary grounds for the academic explanation of the fundamentals of Islamic diplomacy.

The *nafyi sabīl* tenet

Based on verse 141 of *Sūrah an-Nisā'*: *"Allah will not give the disbelievers any way (of success) against the believers"* and verse 8 of *Sūrah al-Munāfiqūn*: *"Honor belongs to Allah and His Messenger, and to the Believers,"* the tenet of *nafyi sabīl*—hindering the way of the non-Muslims' influence and domination over the Muslims—is regarded as one of the dominant principles of Islamic diplomacy.[1] While enumerating this principle as one of the rules in understanding jurisprudence in deducing political teachings of Islam, Imām Khomeinī attempts to explain it in two aspects: negative and positive.

The negative aspect of this tenet refers to the negation of aliens' domination and absence of permission for their interference. Its affirmative aspect refers to the positive basis with which the said negative policy relies to overcome some approaches of the Islamic state in hindering the aliens' interference.

The negative aspect of *nafyi sabīl* tenet

In this approach, the negative resistances of the Islamic state against the interference of the foreigners are approved. In the political dimension, non-acceptance of protectorate condition; negation of oppression, tyranny and despotism; refusal of the aliens' interference in the domestic affairs of the Muslim country; non-reliance to the superpowers and non-compromise with the corrupt and domineering powers; non-permission of the aliens' penetration of the political decision-making system of the Muslim country; negation of structural domination of the great powers and of their sought-

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[1] For information on the various interpretations and religious bases of this tenet, see Āyatullāh Bujnūrdī, *Al-Qawā'id al-Fiqhiyyah* [Rules of Jurisprudence], vol. 1, pp. 157-161.

after order; and resistance against the perpetuation of the foreign dominance or the creation of a new form of domination over the Muslim country are taken into account. In the cultural dimension, negation of the foreign cultural domination and avoidance of intimacy or consultation with them on affairs that could make them aware of the internal secrets of the Islamic government are really attempted. In the economic dimension, negation of the dominance of non-Muslim, corrupt and polytheist powers over the resources, minerals and depots of the Muslim country; prevention of their pillage and looting of the Muslim countries; and preclusion of usurpation of wealth particularly through the revenue between the replacement and the replaced [*jam' bayn al-'awaḍ wa'l-mu'awwaḍ*][1] are highly emphasized.

The negative aspect of *nafyi sabīl* tenet from the political perspective

Concerning the negation of the aliens' political dominance over the Islamic system, Imām Khomeinī emphasized on the negation of colonial, protectorate and advisory system so that all forms of domineering such as official, quasi-official and non-official would be limited, and the Muslim country could adopt appropriate decisions in an order free from the dominance of the great powers:

> The Qur'an says that God, the Blessed and Exalted, will never consent to the dominance of non-Muslims over Muslims. Such a thing should never happen, they should never gain the upper hand, there should be no way open for them to do this: *"And never will God grant to the unbelievers a way over the believers."*[2] The polytheists should find no way open to them to do this and the corrupt powers should find no way to hold sway over the Muslims.[3]

"We are not in good terms with any of the powers. We will not be subservient to America and the Soviet Union. We are Muslims... We may prefer to live poorly provided we are free and independent."[4]

"On the basis of the precepts of Islam, we are neither oppressors nor oppressed. We could neither be able to be oppressed nor be oppressors."[1]

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[1] An illustration of this circumstance was Iran's supplying of oil [the replaced] to the United States in exchange for the military weapons and facilities [the replacement], which were also serving the American interests in the Persian Gulf region. [Trans.]

[2] *Sūrah an-Nisā'* 4:141.

[3] *Sahīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 4, p. 317.

[4] *Ibid.*, vol. 15, p. 339.

"The Islamic nation is a follower of a school whose programs can be summarized in two phrases: 'Don't oppress and be oppressed'."[2]

"We have peculiar Islamic relations. Islam was not oppressive and never been subjected to oppression. We also like to be such, not to oppress or be under oppression."[3]

"Our logic, the logic of Islam is that others should not dominate you and you should not be under the domination of others. We like also not to be subjected to the domination of others. The essence of our statement is this: America should not be (oppressive); not only America. The Soviet Union should not be so, too. The foreigners should not be such."[4]

"We are under the protection of no power except God, the Blessed and Exalted. This country of ours that rose up... announced to the world from the very beginning that we are not under the protection of America, not under the protection of the Soviet Union, and not under the protection of any power."[5]

"In all circumstances our slogan is cutting the hands of the leftist and rightist foreigners off the country. For, growth, independence and freedom with the presence of the aliens' interference of any kind, creed and nationality in any of the country's affairs, be they political, cultural, economic, or military, are nothing but nightmare and imagination. Anyone of whatever position and in whatever form who grants permission to the foreign interference in our dear country, whether explicitly or through designs that require the perpetuation of the foreign dominance or the creation of a new dominance is a traitor to Islam and the country."[6]

The negative aspect of *nafyi sabīl* tenet from the cultural perspective

Imām Khomeinī regarded the cultural dominance of the foreigners as the crucial element of political economic dependence and he believed: If the minds are dependent and the culture of a nation not independent, not only that one cannot be hopeful of ensuring the future, but also the dominance of the world-devourers over the nation will be consolidated.

"This West or East that has become dominant over all Muslim countries, the most important of which has been the cultural dominance."[7]

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[1] *Ibid.*, vol. 14, p. 85.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 81.
[3] *Ibid.*, vol. 19, p. 94.
[4] *Ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 91.
[5] *Ibid.*, vol. 17, p. 59.
[6] *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 486.
[7] *Ibid.*, vol. 12, pp. 319.

"Your culture is an imperialist culture, an erroneous culture."[1]

The negative aspect of *nafyi sabīl* tenet from the economic perspective

Imām Khomeinī believed that economic dependence leads to political dependence. Thus, the control of the colonialists over the depots and their pillage of the resources must be prevented so as to provide the necessary ground for economic self-sufficiency and independence. For this reason, Imām Khomeinī strongly stressed on the maintenance and preservation of the above the ground and underground resources from the embezzlement and encroachment of the foreigners:

"Is not the American dominance over us nothing but to have control of the resources that we have, the reserves that we have, things underground that we have, and things above the ground that we have, and to take them away?"[2]

"Our total prosperity is the day when the dominance of all colonialists of the East and West, particularly the world-devouring America, will be severed from the Muslims."[3]

"Blessed is the day when Iran will be free from the dominance of foreigners."[4]

"Blessed is the day for us when the dominance of the world-devourers over our oppressed nation and other downtrodden nations will be cut off and all the nations will take their own destiny in their hands."[5]

The affirmative aspect of *nafyi sabīl* tenet

The affirmative aspect of the *nafyi sabīl* tenet refers to the approaches and points of reliance, on which the Imām stressed for the preservation of independence and negation of dependency. Since negation of anything necessitates a point of repose and reliance on some values and principles, Imām Khomeinī dealt with the political, cultural and economic infrastructures necessary for the realization of independence and absence of the foreigners' dominance, and explained them in this manner:

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[1] *Ibid.*, vol. 6, p. 198.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 300.

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. 12, p. 191.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 280.

[5] *Ibid.*, vol. 14, p. 226.

The affirmative aspect of *nafyi sabīl* tenet from the political perspective

In a bid to consolidate the independence in decision-making and the right of choosing foreign policy options of the Islamic state, Imām Khomeinī gave emphasis on criteria such as Islam and the clergy, unity of expression and political rationality so that through reliance on values and facilities, the means of the foreigners' dominance over the Muslim countries will be limited while independence in all dimensions be realized. Concerning this, the Imām laid strong emphasis on both the material and spiritual powers such as the Islamic ideology, freedom and freedom-loving, national quantitative readiness, integration of all strata of the nation, and their solidarity with the government.

"They saw two things that once existing can possibly hinder their way: One is the essence of Islam... and the other is the clergy of Islam."[1]

"If the people of Iran demand for... the establishment of Islamic government and the severance of the foreigners' domination of the Muslim country... all of these spring from the progressive principles and fundamentals of Islam."[2]

"We want our people to be free and not to be under the pressure and dominance of others internally and externally. We want our country to be from us, independent, and not under the control of others."[3]

"If we have also political rationality, everybody must hold hand in hand so that we could move. Today, both America and the Soviet Union want us to be under their control. Now that we are all prey to the wolves of the world and that all want to victimize us, we must cooperate with one another in thought, policy, writing, truth and everything."[4]

"If the Muslims want to be successful and be released from the commitments with the foreigners and their dominance, their governments should try to win the hearts of their nations. Government over the hearts is a pleasant government, contrary to the government in Iran which the hearts are not with it."[5]

"With the foreign domination, everything you possess will be lost. This creation of differences, God forbid, will lead to foreign domination."[6]

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[1] *Ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 15.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. 5, p. 175.
[3] *Ibid.*, vol. 12, p. 58.
[4] *Ibid.*, vol. 14, p. 177.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 179.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 290.

"A nation that wants to be alive, independent, and not be a servant and dependent (on others), and want to be free and not to be under domination, should be ready for everything."[1]

"Don't be negligent of your human force and power of faith. Avoid reliance to the foreigners. Guarantee your independence in all dimensions."[2]

"If they want to subject the nation under their dominance, they should separate the people from the clergy."[3]

"The result of this creation of division among the brothers is the domination of foreigners."[4]

The affirmative aspect of *nafyi sabīl* tenet from the cultural perspective

For the attainment of cultural independence and negation of intellectual and mental dependency from the colonial powers, Imām Khomeinī stressed on regaining the primordial identity, self-confidence, common sense, awareness and vigilance, spirit of struggle and resistance, reliance on noble national identity, religious values, and freedom and respect for freedom. He considered promotion of rich culture of Islam and reliance on the indigenous human power as ensuring cultural richness and culture of self-sufficiency.

Just as he regarded the value of cultural life in freedom and independence, he believed that cultural independence necessitates long-term comprehensive programs.

"The value of life is in freedom, independence and observance of the religious precepts. We do not believe in life under the domination of others. We know of the value of life in freedom and independence."[5]

"The duty of the Muslims is to negate the cultural dominance of foreigners and to promote the rich culture of Islam."[6]

"So long as we do not find ourselves, we cannot be independent. However, if we ourselves do not have political acumen as we do not, if Islam is not realized here, if our country does not become an Islamic country, which has such designs for 'independence' and 'freedom', then it is not permissible and lawful for a Muslim to forge commitment with a non-Muslim who want to dominate over him."[7]

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 522.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. 10, p. 80.
[3] *Ibid.*, vol. 13, p. 349.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 153.
[5] *Ibid.*, vol. 6, p. 219.
[6] *Ibid.*, vol. 12, p. 319.
[7] *Ibid.*, vol. 11, pp. 226-227.

"You wanted other powers not to have dominance over you and your resources. It became so and now they do not have dominance."[1]

"Culture must be from us. Economy must also be from us. So long as this structure is not with the masses and so long as this mentality which is parasitic and colonial is not relieved, and that we do not believe that we are humans, we cannot attain independence."[2]

"We should produce an Iran that without reliance on America, Soviet Union, Britain and international devourers, can achieve its own political, military, cultural, and economic independence, stand on its own feet and offer its noble identity to the world."[3]

"In the long-term program we should replace our country's dependent culture with independent and self-sufficient culture."[4]

The affirmative aspect of *nafyi sabīl* tenet from the economic perspective

Imam Khomeini was of the opinion that the realization of independence and economic self-sufficiency lies on reliance on one's resources and reserves in such a way that by relying on human and underground resources and applying them, the Muslim country could regain its economic independence and stop the pillages of the world-devourers; thus, alleviating its economic condition. Concerning this, the Imām regarded reliance on the Islamic ideology and religious values as the element preventing the pillage of resources of the Muslim countries, saying:

"The only things that could hinder the way of foreigners and colonial powers, and not allow them to have control over the resources of Muslim countries are Islam and the distinguished *'ulamā'* of Islam."[5]

The principle of *da'wah*

There exists two viewpoints concerning the concept of *da'wah* or *tablīgh*. Some believe in the propagational [*tarwījī*] role of *da'wah* in the sense that other countries should be called upon to accept Islam in such a way that the conveyer-receiver relationship is a commander-agent one. Others believe in the 'explicative' [*tabyīnī*] role of *da'wah* in the sense that we will present to the world public opinion our thoughts, opinions and views so that they would find out the viewpoints and approaches of the Islamic country. In the latter

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[1] *Ibid.*, vol. 13, p. 537.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. 11, p. 222.

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. 9, p. 25.

[4] *Ibid.*, vol. 11, pp. 446.

[5] *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 396.

conception, *da'wah* means explanation and description of the beliefs, convictions and values of the Muslim country in order to introduce the dimensions of the Islamic movement.[1]

Concerning this, Imām Khomeinī believed in the rule of gradualism [*tadarruj*] in the sense that initially explication of the beliefs and then propagation of the same will be undertaken. Of course, propagation of beliefs does not refer to military campaign, war-mongering, projection of force, or export of the revolution by force; rather, it means introducing the spiritual, cultural and political message of the Islamic Revolution to the world. In other words, by introducing the oppression suffered by the Islamic nation of Iran, its spirit of anti-oppression, struggle against colonialism and arrogance, and freedom and freedom-loving, should be conveyed to the world public opinion so that the attractive and peaceful forms—and not the repulsive and hostile ones—would refer to the message of the Islamic Revolution. Thus, it is worthy to examine the objectives of *da'wah*, principles and fundamentals of *tablīgh*, and then the forms of *da'wah* through a substantial analysis of Imām Khomeinī's statements.[2]

Objectives of *da'wah*

Imām Khomeinī believed that the first objective of *da'wah* is the realization of divine and Islamic motives, and the enhancement of spiritual-moral virtues. Among these objectives of *da'wah* are the elevation of human values, awareness, prosperity and happiness of humanity.

Promotion of the spiritual, divine and ethical values

While emphasizing the necessity of implementation of Islamic laws in the world as the ultimate objective of *da'wah*, the late Imām exerted utmost effort to familiarize the people of the world with the basis of the Islamic government's sense of justice and its endeavor to implement justice in order to export the spirituality and culture of the revolution, ethics, Islamic etiquettes and practices, training human beings and enhancing the spiritual virtues of humanity, monotheism and knowing God, and finally, leading the people from darkness to light.

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[1] To know the reasons and bases of this principle, see *Wasā'il ush-Shī'ah*, vol. 11, *kitāb al-jihād al-'adū*, section 11, p. 31.

[2] For information on the late Imām's viewpoints on the principle of *da'wah*, see *Tahrīr al-Wasīlah, kitāb al-jihād*.

"The Prophet of Islam... invited the people to guidance and invited them to monotheism."[1]

"The Most Noble Messenger (s) came and invite his nation to monotheism."[2]

"The prophets came to invite the people from darkness to light."[3]

"Basically, invitation to Islam is invitation to unity."[4]

"The Qur'an is the book of invitation [*da'wah*] and the book of reforming a society which, after being reformed by the Qur'an, would apply the Prophetic tradition and reported narrations from the Most Noble Messenger (s) through the Imāms of Guidance and Revelation."[5]

"It is hoped that... you would succeed and triumph in performing the propagation of Islam and spiritual exportation of the Islamic Revolution in the world."[6]

"We want to export the spirituality of our Islamic Revolution to the world."[7]

"We hope that... these divine and Islamic motives will manifest in all parts of the world."[8]

Promotion of human values and welfare

While stating the need for human building, deliverance of humanity from the bonds of oppression and the tyranny of the despotic and arrogant, and inviting all human beings to rise up to cut off the hands of tyrants and plunderers, Imām Khomeinī laid strong emphasis on the necessity of unity, brotherhood, and awakening and vigilance of human beings, and on the mission of the Islamic government in giving warning and condemning complacency.

"All invitations of the prophets despite the difference in their degrees are all meant to make man human, to make human in potentiality [*insān bi'l-quwwah*] as human in actuality [*insān bi'l fi'l*].[9]

"The aim of Islam, the aim of all prophets is to train human beings; to make human faces as spiritual and real human being. The important thing in

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[1] *Sahifeh-ye Imām*, vol. 2, p. 29.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 163.
[3] *Ibid.*, vol. 8, p. 62.
[4] *Ibid.*, vol. 15, p. 482.
[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 504.
[6] *Ibid.*, vol. 18, p. 164.
[7] *Ibid.*, vol. 13, p. 90.
[8] *Ibid.*, vol. 16, p. 161.
[9] *Ibid.*, vol. 3, pp. 218.

the view of the prophets is that human must be upright. Once human being is trained, all problems are solved."[1]

"Invitations are anyway just the beginning for the awakening of man, to make him understand himself, to show to him."[2]

This was the reason why the Imām used to emphasize the observance of all rights of human being and on the defense of the right to freedom and justice of the deprived and oppressed people of the world as a duty of the Islamic government: "We side with the oppressed. We side with whosoever is oppressed in any pole (of the world)."[3]

Principles and fundamentals of *da'wah*

Imām Khomeinī had particular emphasis on the principles and fundamentals of *tablīgh*, for it is through their observance that the invitation would be effective and useful for the addressees. In relation to this, his viewpoints can be examined in three parts: message, conveyer and recipient.

Message of *tablīgh*

The Imām believed that the message must be attractive and plain. That is why he emphasized introducing Islam as it is; the Islam that is based on the fusion of religion and politics. On the other hand, the message must be expressive and clear in the sense that the addressee must have the ability of understanding and comprehending it. The use of expressions, meanings and concepts must be in such a way that they are compatible with the mentality of the addressee. The recipient of the message must have the necessary intellectual and mental backgrounds to grasp it. Similarly, the message of invitation must be documented and reasonable, and based on proof, reasoning and logic so that the addressee, by relying on proper reasoning, would accept them. Finally, the message must be peaceful and based on invitation to peace.

"Through proper propagation, Islam must be introduced to the world as it is."[4]

"Islam is the religion substantiated by proof and based on logic."[5]

"The prophets... invited the people to peace."[1]

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[1] *Ibid.*, vol. 7, p. 531.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. 19, p. 285.
[3] *Ibid.*, vol. 5, pp. 148.
[4] *Ibid.*, vol. 15, p. 321.
[5] *Ibid.*, vol. 10, p. 81.

Conveyer of *tablīgh*

Concerning the characteristics of *muballigh* [conveyer], Imām Khomeinī emphasized the internal reformation and the necessity of self-purification on the individual dimension and correct training of the Muslims at the domestic level as the first principle. Regarding this, by getting inspiration from the *hadīth* from Imām Jaʿfar aṣ-Ṣādiq (ʿa):[2] "Invite the people through other than your tongues,"[3] and another from Imām ʿAlī (ʿa): "The best utterances are those that are substantiated by actions," he used to emphasize the *muballigh*'s practical invitation through exemplary action, behavior and manner as the model pattern of conduct. In this regard, he believed that practical support for the oppressed nations and the downtrodden and exploited Muslims guarantees the acceptance of the message of invitation. As such, concerning the identity of addressees, he regarded the Muslim and other oppressed nations as the primary addressees.

On the other hand, he treated the elucidation of beliefs, discussing the Islamic models and propagating the message of religion through peaceful means—and not through hostile and war-mongering ways—as one of the basic principles of *daʿwah*. Thus, what he had in mind was the principle of gradualism and the rule of [according to one's] capability. In the same vein, he used to stress on respecting the holy sites and beliefs of the opposite side. Finally, he considered consistency and steadfastness in *daʿwah* and tolerating all problems and difficulties along the way as the basic condition for the success of *tablīgh*:

"Yet, we have to start from ourselves. If we do reform ourselves, naturally the goal that we have will also be realized in this world."[4]

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[1] *Ibid.*, vol. 16, p. 498.

[2] Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad (ʿa) entitled, *aṣ-Ṣādiq* [The Truthful]," is the sixth Imām from the Prophet's Progeny (83-148 AH). Many of the Sunnī and Shīʿāh *ʿulamā* and scholars attended his teaching classes and seminars. Narrators of tradition have quoted the number of Imām aṣ-Ṣādiq's students as four thousand. The socio-economic conditions of his time necessitated greatest efforts to be made by His Holiness in the areas of expanding authentic and original Islamic teachings and in the training and education of faithful students. For this reason the books of tradition and other books quote and cite more traditions from Imām Jaʿfar aṣ-Sadiq than from any other infallible Imāms. See Shaykh Moḥammed al-Ḥusayn al-Muẓaffar, *Imām Al-Ṣādiq*, trans. Jāsim al-Rasheed (Qum: Ansariyan Publications, 1998).

The abbreviation, "ʿa" stands for the Arabic invocative phrase, *ʿalayhis-salām, ʿalayhimus-salām,* or *ʿalayhās-salām* [may peace be upon him/them/her], which is used after the names of the prophets, angels, Imāms from the Prophet's progeny, and saints (ʿa). [Trans.]

[3] That is, *daʿwah* through actions. [Trans.]

[4] *Saḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 17, p. 533.

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"If you train the people with a wholesome training and invite them to know God, to be familiar with the knowledge of God, to be acquainted with the Qur'an, all these were done, then your country will remain upright and this condition will spread to other places."[1]

"Practically invite the multitude of people to Islam. You should be such that you are the model in your deeds, behaviors and manners for the Islamic Republic, and the Islamic Republic will, God willing, also go elsewhere with you."[2]

"The politics at the early period of Islam was a global politics. The Prophet of Islam... used to invite (the people) to the politics of Islam, and he established a government."[3]

"We want to propagate Islam everywhere through *da'wah*, not through bayonet."[4]

"The gentlemen know that the Prophet of Islam (ṣ)... experienced immense sufferings, ordeals and afflictions so as to convey Islam to the people."[5]

"The Most Noble Messenger (ṣ) faced all problems in twenty odd years. In a bid to spread the laws of religion he shouldered all difficulties, the economic difficulties that confined them to a cave (i.e., the isolated compound of Abū Ṭālib)."[6]

Recipient of *tablīgh*

Imām Khomeinī regarded as his foremost addressees the Muslims who must cling to unity, solidarity, emphasis on the Book (the Qur'an) and the Sunnah to attain their spiritual goals. At the second level, he used to address the intellectuals of the world who, by relying on reasoning, individuality and rational belief, could attain intellectual consensus on acceptable principles. At the third level, he used to treat the downtrodden of the world as his addressees due to the common political issues, sympathy and unanimity against the interventionist and plundering superpowers:

"Time and again, I have been inviting the Muslim governments to fraternal unity against the foreigners and their agents."[7]

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[1] *Ibid.*, vol. 19, p. 357.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. 16, p. 81.
[3] *Ibid.*, vol. 17, p. 204.
[4] *Ibid.*, vol. 18, p. 157.
[5] *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 29.
[6] *Ibid.*, vol. 17, p. 414.
[7] *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 139.

"I hope that our Islamic Republic could have an effective role in the solidarity and unanimity of the Muslims."[1]

"We want to offer to the world a model of Islam—though still having a defect—so that the intellectuals of the world... would know what Islam has brought and want to do in the world."[2]

"Today, we could see more than ever the prospect of the Islamic revolution exportation in the world of the downtrodden and oppressed."[3]

"O downtrodden of the world! Rise up and free yourselves from the clutches of the enemies of humanity. More than this, do not yield to oppression since God is with the oppressed."[4]

Forms of *da'wah*

Imām Khomeinī emphasized on the adoption of all legitimate forms of *da'wah* including *da'wah* on the governmental level by applying parliamentary diplomacy; *da'wah* among nations by making use of great gatherings such as *ḥajj*; open and secret invitation; individual and collective invitation; invitation to relatives and strangers; verbal and written invitation; and invitation through the channel of official organs and unofficial institutions. By stressing on the notion of unity in diversity, he regarded as permissible and ideal to adopt divergent approaches in achieving the single value and goal:

"The Most Noble Messenger (*ṣ*) when he was first appointed; was appointed alone—just himself. *"Arise and call upon the people."*[5] The call initially started from the Prophet himself. The day that he announced his prophetic mission, a woman and a child accepted his faith... He did not despair of not being able to call upon the people openly. He was not one to despair. The invitation was covert. He attracted the people toward himself one by one until himself journeyed to Medina, and was given the mission to call on the people to rise up. *"Say, I advise you one thing and that is rise in the way of God."*[6] Here, it is a call to uprising. The call to the gathering is to arise together; and more importantly is to rise in the way of God... Rise up for the sake of God singly and collectively."[7]

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[1] *Ibid.*, vol. 7, p. 123.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. 18, p. 157.

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. 17, p. 480.

[4] *Ibid.*, vol. 12, p. 33.

[5] *Sūrah al-Mudaththir* 74:2.

[6] *Sūrah as-Saba'* 34:46.

[7] *Saḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 7, p. 244.

"Now, it is necessary for the *'ulamā'* of Islam, writers, scholars, artists, philosophers, researchers, gnostics, and intellectuals—of whatever region, school of thought and creed who suffer from these problems and feel sorry for the condition of Islam and the Muslims—to strengthen their resolve in order to prevent this serious threat to Islam and the Muslims and to give warning to the Muslims and urge them not to be complacent."[1]

"Of the important affairs is to have a periodical in every embassy... A periodical, an ethical-Islamic periodical in which the events that have happened in Iran would be published. In every embassy that you have... you have to allocate those expenditures to propagation."[2]

"It is necessary to establish Islamic bases for the propagation of Islam and the spread of the inspiring truths in every region of the world wherever possible. They should engage in their activities under a coordinating organization for the promotion of justice and cutting off the hands of the oppressors and plunderers."[3]

"Establish propagation groups. Invite the people toward religion. Tell the people the affairs of the day. Tell the people the mischief of the day."[4]

"As what has been recorded in history, he (the Prophet of Islam) wrote four letters to four emperors: one each for Iran, Byzantium, Egypt, and Abyssinia. The letters that have been written for the four emperors have a single content, i.e. their invitation to Islam, and this has just been the beginning."[5]

The principle of *tawallā* and *tabarrā*

Technically, *tawallā* and *tabarrā* means befriending the friends of God and turning against God's enemies. In the Islamic diplomatic vocabulary, however, it means prioritizing the establishment of friendly and brotherly relations with Muslim countries as well as aversion and avoidance of forging relations with hostile non-Muslim countries. In their broad sense, *tawallā* means friendship with fraternal and friendly countries including the Muslims and non-belligerent and non-hostile non-Muslims while *tabarrā* means the

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[1] *Ibid.*, vol. 19, p.21.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. 13, p. 486.
[3] *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 324.
[4] *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 394.
[5] *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 30.

entire Muslims and the Islamic government's position of denunciation against the atheistic and polytheistic systems."[1]

By seeking inspiration from verse 9 of *Sūrah al-Mumtaḥanah*: *"Allah forbiddeth you only those who warred against you on account of religion and have driven you out from your homes and helped to drive you out, that ye make friends of them,"* one can judge for the permissibility of forging equitable and friendly relations with a non-Muslim who would not violate the Muslims' sanctity and not in pursuit of expansionism and violation of bounds. Of course, the level and criterion of the Muslims' relations with the non-Muslims should not be as that of the Muslim country's relations with other majority Muslim countries in such a way that relations with non-Muslims should not overshadow relations with Muslims.

While taking this principle as fundamental in Islamic diplomacy, Imām Khomeinī said: "*Tawallā* and *tabarrā* are two basic principles of Islam. With the temporary just government you must sympathize with the just ruler and denounce a non-Muslim regime."[2]

Now, by seeking inspiration from the aforementioned verse from *Sūrah al-Mumtaḥanah* and basing on some *ḥadīth*s such as one reported from Imām 'Alī ('a): "Be harsh to the oppressors and meek to the oppressed," the edifice of Muslim country's diplomatic relations with other countries can be laid down by applying the rule of *tawallā* and *tabarrā*. In view of this, relations with non-hostile Muslim countries take first priority. Relations with neutral Muslim countries, which at the time of conflict between Muslim country and other countries will not take side, occupy second priority. Relations with non-hostile non-Muslim countries, which at the time of conflict between Muslim country and other countries will take side with the Islamic government, take third priority. Relations with neutral non-Muslim states, which will assume neutrality and impartiality at the time of conflict between Muslim country and other countries, occupy fourth priority. On the other hand, other Muslim countries with open hostility with the Islamic government and have proved their hostility to the Islamic government through upheaval and aggression, will be included among the opponents of the Islamic government. Hostile, belligerent and arrogant non-Muslim countries, which are bent on creating tension and committing aggression

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[1] For further information, see Abū'l-Fadl Shakūrī, "*Fiqh-e Siyāsī-ye Islām* [Political Jurisprudence of Islam]," in *Uṣūl-e Siyāsat-e Khārijī* [Foreign Policy Principles], vol. 2, pp. 516-540.

[2] *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 3, p. 322.

against the Islamic government, are counted among the archenemies of the Islamic government. Disgust and aversion with both groups is incumbent.

Keeping this categorization in view, Imām Khomeinī used to emphasize the establishment of relations with Muslim countries and then with the Third World and downtrodden countries. Corollary to this, he used to give attention to confrontation and resistance with cruel and oppressive governments as well as with arrogant powers. With regard to neutral Muslim and non-Muslim countries, he had a favorable view or used not to take any action against them.[1] Now, it is worthy to analyze his ideological viewpoint and categorization concerning the relationship with the four groups of states.

Fraternal relations with the Muslim countries

In the opinion of Imām Khomeinī, considering its ideological nature the Islamic government must always keep in mind the unity and solidarity with Muslim countries for the attainment of the sublime goals and aspirations of Islam. However, this unity and solidarity must be for the preservation of Muslim states' interests and prevention of the arrogant states' oppression against them. It is due to the necessity of these intimate and close relations that by adopting the term 'brotherhood' in relations with Muslim countries, Imām Khomeinī lays stress on sincerity in friendly relations with emphasis on ideological cohesion. Of course, with respect to this, he used to pay particular attention to the spiritual aspects of relations among Muslim nations on the basis of religious fundamentals. This important affair illustrates his attention to the relations among nations at least of the same degree with relations among states.

"Endeavor to improve relations with Muslim countries."[2]

"We are ready to defend Islam, Muslim countries and the independence of Muslim countries at any circumstances. Our program is the program of Islam; the Muslims' unity of expression; unity of the Muslim countries; brotherhood with all Muslim schools of thought in all parts of the world; alliance with all Muslim states of the world; and struggle against Zionism, Israel and imperialist states."[3]

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[1] Abū'l-Faḍl Shakūrī, Political Jurisprudence of Islam, pp. 516-540; Sayyid Khalīl Khalīliyān, *Huqūq-e bayn al-Milal-e Islāmī* [Islamic International Law], p. 255.

[2] *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 21, p. 427.

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 336.

"We do extend our brotherhood to all Muslim nations and seek their assistance for the attainment of the Islamic objectives."[1]

"The relations among nations must be based upon spiritual issues. In this regard, the dimension of distance has no effect. There are so many countries, which are near to each other but have no spiritual relationship. Therefore, other relations cannot be effective. Our relations with other countries will be based upon fundamentals of Islam."[2]

"We hope that the Islamic Republic, which has been founded on the bases of unity and good-will with Muslim countries of the world, could have a decisive role in the realization of the sublime goals of Islam and the prosperity of Muslims around the world."[3]

"Concerning the great power, it has extended its plentiful and powerful hands for friendship and brotherhood in faith to all Muslims, especially the regional and neighboring nations and states. I admonish them (not to respond positively)."[4]

Friendly relations with the non-hostile non-Muslim countries

With respect to friendly relations with non-aggressor non-Muslim countries, Imām Khomeinī used to give precedence to the downtrodden and Third World countries and in the second degree of importance, he used to regard as permissible the forging of relations with non-arrogant powerful countries provided that they would not interfere in the domestic affairs of Iran and observe the principle of mutual respect.

Friendly relations with the non-Muslim downtrodden countries

In organizing relations with Third World countries, Imām Khomeinī used to hold as the foundation of relations the struggle against the oppression, tyranny and domineering posture of the plundering powers with such countries so that the interference of foreigners and the establishment of oppressor-oppressed relationship between them and arrogant states would be prevented. Finally, the said relations could pave the ground for a just government in the downtrodden countries:

"It is the people who, with the conveyance of the message of their Islamic Revolution, decide to familiarize not only the Muslim countries but

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[1] *Ibid.*, vol. 7, p. 170.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. 7, p. 164.
[3] *Ibid.*, vol. 6, p. 119.
[4] *Ibid.*, vol. 16, p. 226.

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all downtrodden of the world with the dear Islam and the Islamic government of justice."[1]

"We pray to God, the Exalted, for the success of all downtrodden nations of the world in the achievement of victory and total freedom from the tyrants of the world, especially the world-devouring America."[2]

Friendly relations with the non-hostile non-Muslim powers

Imām Khomeinī used to regard as permissible the forging of friendly relations with non-Muslim non-arrogant powers on the basis of the rule of caution or optional dissimulation for the prevention of every possibility and the others' use of them at the gradual detriment of the Islamic *ummah*—provided that they would respect the religious beliefs and sense of freedom of the Muslim nation of Iran; refrain from interference on the domestic affairs of the Muslim country; and honor the Islamic state's independence and the right of decision-making. As a whole, humane relations should govern the relations between the two countries:

"We want to have friendly relations with all countries provided that they would not interfere in our domestic affairs."[3]

"While preserving independence, we will have friendly relations with all countries."[4]

"If it is humane relations, there is no problem with humane relations with anyplace (any country)."[5]

"Our relations are based on mutual respect."[6]

"The Islamic state wants to have understanding and wholesome relations with all nations and all states provided that they would reciprocally respect the Islamic government."[7]

Friendly relations with the non-Muslim belligerent countries

Imām Khomeinī had two fundamental criteria for hostility and belligerence with hostile non-Muslim countries. First, countries, which apart from interference and plundering, are trying to uproot the religion or the Islamic country; in this category, he was referring to the arrogant powers.

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[1] *Ibid.*, vol. 19, p. 26.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. 12, p. 227.

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. 5, p. 488.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 205.

[5] *Ibid.*, vol. 11, p. 15.

[6] *Ibid.*, vol. 5, p. 240.

[7] *Ibid.*, vol. 9, p. 72.

The other criterion is the countries, which through expansionism, violation of the security bounds of the Muslims and adoption of the policy of racial discrimination and tribal dominance, are trying to weaken the Muslim nations. Under this category are Zionism and Israel. Thus, it is worthy to examine these two categories of countries by analyzing his statements.

Hostile relations with the arrogant powers

Imām Khomeinī used to regard severance of relationship with arrogant states as a means of negating abjectness and preventing their interferences, dominance and plundering. In this manner, the Muslim country would succeed in cutting off the hands of oppression. The Imām used to reject unequal relations between the Muslim nations and imperialist powers, regarding as favorable the severance of such relations as it would lead to the severance of dependencies and interferences. As such, in his statements the Imām used to express aversion and repugnance to such powers as they have hatched the plot of dominating the Muslim countries and defeating the religious movement of Iran:

"All non-monotheist governments want order and justice for dominance."[1]

"Peace and prosperity of the world depend on the annihilation of the arrogant."[2]

"The American dominance leads to all adversities of the downtrodden nations."[3]

"Our nation's uncompromising struggles with the arrogant will continue unless all dependencies with the superpowers of the East and West were cut off."[4]

"Our relations with America and the Soviet Union are like the lamb-wolf relationship."[5]

"All of them are looking for ways to defeat this Islamic movement... for opportunity to shorten the hands of great powers in the world."[6]

"We do not compromise with any of the superpowers and powers. We are neither under the domination of America nor of Soviet Union. We are Muslims and we want to live."[1]

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[1] *Ibid.*, vol. 11, p. 247.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. 12, p. 144.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 175.

[4] *Ibid.*, vol. 11, pp. 265-266.

[5] *Ibid.*, vol. 10, pp. 55-59.

[6] *Ibid.*, vol. 16, pp. 8-15.

"The great powers want to subject the Muslims under their domination. They want to usurp their (Muslims) resources and plunder their wealth."[2]

"America which is our enemy, if we would need it, it is a humiliation for us."[3]

"Is our relationship like the relationship of an oppressed with an oppressor, or of a bully with a downtrodden? No, we have no longer such a relationship."[4]

"We pray to God to cut the relationship. We will not accept abjectness for having relationship with the superpower. It is not honorable to have relationship with the like of America."[5]

"We take this rupture of relationship as a good omen. For, this rupture of relationship makes America to lose of hope in Iran... The rupture of relationship means putting an end to plunders."[6]

Hostile relations with the Zionist regime

While highlighting the Islamic nature of the Palestinian Question, Imām Khomeinī emphasized the severance of relationship with the Zionist regime and declared a state of war between the Muslims and this regime. He viewed as unlawful any sort of political, trade and military relationship with this entity as he regarded this regime as illegitimate, usurper and enemy of all Muslims:

"We will reject Israel and we will not have any relationship with it. It is a usurper state and inimical to us."[7]

"We will cut our relationship with Israel as it is usurper."[8]

"Assistance to Israel, be it in the form of selling arms, explosives or oil, is unlawful and contrary to Islam. Relationship with Israel and its agents, be it trade or political relationship, is unlawful and contrary to Islam. The Muslims must refrain from consuming Israeli products."[9]

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[1] *Ibid.*, vol. 15, p. 209-210.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. 13, pp. 225-227.
[3] *Ibid.*, vol. 11, pp. 221-222.
[4] *Ibid.*, vol. 10, pp. 159-167.
[5] *Ibid.*, vol. 11, pp. 26-38.
[6] *Ibid.*, vol. 12, pp. 40-41.
[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 273-277.
[8] *Ibid.*, vol. 5, p. 539.
[9] *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 139.

Hostile relations with the debauchee and treacherous Muslim countries

Imām Khomeinī emphasized the Islamic government's severance of relationship with two types of Muslim countries. One refers to countries, which by attacking the Islamic country have committed aggression and revolted against the Islamic government. Within this type, Iraq under the leadership of Ṣaddām Ḥusayn can be cited. The other refers to countries, which have betrayed the ideal of the Muslims by concluding a friendship treaty with the Quds-occupier regime. Within this type, Egypt under Anwar Sādāt can be cited as it betrayed the Islamic world by concluding the Camp David Accord.[1]

Hostile relations with the rebellious countries

Imām Khomeinī used to treat as corrupt and *fitnah*[2]-monger the countries, which through rebellion, dissenting from the Islamic ruler and violation of the security bounds of the Islamic country, are trying to weaken it. One should be firm, persistent and undertake sacred defense in confronting them so as to put an end to all seditions and corruptions:

"The Qur'an enjoins: 'Fight them on until there is no more *fitnah*.' It calls on the entire humanity to fight in order to eradicate *fitnah*; that is, war, war, in order to eradicate *fitnah* in the world."[3]

"Those who want to draw us to corruption; we do not want to have relationship with them at all unless they reform."[4]

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[1] Camp David Accord: the name given to accords signed in September 1978 by the president of Egypt at the time, Anwar Sādāt, and the prime minister of the usurper Israeli regime, Menachem Begin, with the mediation of James Carter, the then US president, at Camp David, a US presidential retreat in the Appalachian Mountains in Maryland. These accords constituted the greatest act of betrayal to be carried out in the wake of the bloody and heavy battles between the Arabs and Israel and the first step toward compromise. So greatly offended were the sensibilities of the Arab nations by the move that Egypt was expelled from the Arab League. In the early days of the victory of the Islamic Revolution, a revolution which had given self-confidence, fighting spirit and a new assertiveness to the Islamic nations, while at the same time weakening the position of Israel and its supporters, this great act of betrayal led to Sādāt's assassination (October 1981) at the hands of a number of soldiers who were supporters of the Islamic Revolution. A few years later, however, the compromising Arab governments, on conciliatory grounds, once more welcomed Egypt back to the fold. [Trans.]

[2] *Fitnah*: sedition, chaos, tumult, etc. [Trans.]

[3] *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 19, p. 113.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 414.

Hostile relations with the treacherous countries

Imām Khomeinī emphasized the severance of relationship with countries that have betrayed the aim of Palestine. Concerning this, he used to denounce the government of Egypt which was the pioneer to compromise with the Quds-occupier regime and brought about schisms among the Muslims and discord among the Muslim countries.

"Dear Dr. Ibrāhīm Yazdī! Taking into account the treacherous treaty between Egypt and Israel and the government of Egypt's unconditional submission to America and the Zionists, the provisional government of the Islamic Republic of Iran would cut its diplomatic relations with the government of Egypt."[1]

"I directed the government to cut its relationship with the government of Egypt."[2]

The principle of *ta'līf al-qulūb*

Literally, *ta'līf al-qulūb* means spiritual intimacy among hearts. Technically, it refers to financial and spiritual support for the Muslims under oppression or with weak faith, as well as for the oppressed non-Muslims who, through encouragement of them, will incline toward the Islamic government, or will decline coalition with the enemies of the Islamic country. Thus, *ta'līf al-qulūb* in the former meaning can be conceived as financial and spiritual support for the Islamists to enhance their ability to be firm and steadfast against the usurpers and interferers, and to resonate the sound of *Lā ilāha illallāh wa Muhammadur-rasūlullāh* [There is no god but Allah and Muḥammad is His messenger] in the entire world. In the second meaning, it refers to the support for liberation, freedom and downtrodden movements, which have stood up against all forms of aggression and colonialism for deliverance from wretchedness and abjectness, as well as freedom of their country from the yoke of imperialism. For this, Imām Khomeinī emphasized all forms of support including explicit and implicit ones. He also used to consider such supports as conforming to the religious and Islamic, rational and humane standards.[3]

Now, it is worthy to delve deeper on the prime meaning of the principle of *ta'līf al-qulūb*, i.e. support for the Muslims and the downtrodden.

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[1] *Ibid.*, vol. 7, p. 168.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 170.

[3] For further information, see Abū'l-Faḍl Shakūrī, *Political Jurisprudence of Islam*, pp. 484-514.

Support for the Muslims

Imām Khomeinī emphasized supporting Muslims under difficulty for the realization of his ideal based on the unity of the Islamic world. Based on the noble *ḥadīth*, "Whoever sleeps at night without thinking about the affairs of Muslims is not a Muslim," he considered helping Muslims—the Muslims of Lebanon and Palestine in particular—as mission of the Islamic government; thus, proving his sense of unity, sympathy and mutual assistance with respect to the Muslim nations and his unsparing support of any sort—be it material or moral—to them.

"The Islamic Republic of Iran wants to assist the Muslim nations and countries on the basis of preserving unity and protection of their interests."[1]

"Unless the sound of *Lā ilāha illallāh wa Muḥammadur-rasūlullāh* resonates in the entire world, the struggle will continue. As long as the struggle in every part of the world against the arrogant and oppressors exists, so we are. We defend the defenseless people of Lebanon and Palestine against Israel."[2]

"The duty of every individual Muslim in the remotest part of the world is the same as that of the Palestinians: 'The Muslims are like a single hand which stands up against others and all have a single responsibility'."[3]

"In the light of human and fraternal duty and based on rational and Islamic standards, the Islamic nation is duty-bound not to spare any kind of self-sacrifice in the way of uprooting this imperialist hireling (Israel), and to render material and moral supports, and to send blood, medicine, arms, and foodstuffs to their brothers who are in the war front."[4]

"The Iranian nation has always been supporting the struggle of the freedom-fighters, especially the Palestinian brothers against the aggressor Israel."[5]

Support for the oppressed and liberation movements

Aiming at promoting the idea of freedom and human dignity, it had been the ideal of Imām Khomeinī to render material and moral support to liberation movements and downtrodden fronts in different regions of the world. For the deliverance of the nations under tyranny and oppression, he considered it a duty of the Islamic system to realize a revolutionary

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[1] *Saḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 20, p. 330.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. 12, p. 148.

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 201.

[4] *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 2.

[5] *Ibid.*, vol. 5, p. 231.

mobilization of the supporters of non-alignment with the two blocs of the East and West throughout the world. Nuclei of the struggle in the entire world should emerge to subject the arrogant powers to humiliation.

"We have to support the downtrodden of the world... for Islam... is the champion of all downtrodden of the world."[1]

"Mobilization is not only confined to the Islamic Iran. Nuclei of the struggle must emerge in the entire world and stand up against the East and West."[2]

"O you liberation movements and fighting for freedom and independence! Stand up and inform your nations and the Islamic nation that to be under tyranny is worse and more shameful than tyranny."[3]

"In the Islamic Republic there is no oppression... They must support the downtrodden; the downtrodden must be encouraged."[4]

"In following the great Islam, we support all... We support every organization that is established for the deliverance of its country."[5]

The principle of observance of the international treaties and customs

Based on the Qur'anic verses, *"observe the contract"* and *"observe the agreement"*, and the juristic ruling, "The Muslims are identified with their commitments", persistence in contracts and commitment to agreements are deemed obligatory and mandatory. Apart from treaties, observance of international customs is also considered part of the binding principles of Islamic diplomacy. In this connection, the necessity of observing the diplomatic immunity of ambassadors and envoys, not offending political representatives, and not insulting the sanctities of other nations can be mentioned. Thus, it is worthy to examine the late Imām's viewpoint on these two juristic rulings on treaties and customs.[6]

Abidance with international treaties

In general, international treaties are classified into two: One is the bilateral or private treaties. Mere signing of the treaty by the two signatory

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[1] *Ibid.*, vol. 12, p. 202.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. 21, p. 195.

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. 12, p. 32.

[4] *Ibid.*, vol. 6, p. 461.

[5] *Ibid.*, vol. 11, p. 111.

[6] For more information on this treaty in Islam, see 'Abbās-'Alī 'Amīd Zanjānī, *Fiqh-e Siyāsī-ye Islām* [Political Jurisprudence of Islam], vol. 3, pp. 487-522; Muḥammad Riḍā Diyā'ī Bīgdelī, *Islām va Ḥuqūq-e bayn al-Milalī* [Islam and International Law], pp. 39-42.

countries makes it binding and ought to be observed. The other is the multilateral or public treaties, which will be signed at the international institutional level and are binding for all countries. It is worthy to delve and examine closer the late Imām's viewpoint on this matter.

Compliance with bilateral international treaties

Concerning private treaties, the Imām distinguished between treaties that were concluded as a result of constraint [*idţirār*] on the will and option of the Muslim nation of Iran and the agreements signed in a state of unwillingness [*ikrāh*] and compulsion as a result of domination and command of a certain power over the Muslim nation of Iran.[1]

As such, the Imām acknowledged the agreement between Iran and the United States regarding the claims relevant to the American hostages and other litigations filed at the International Court of Justice (ICJ) which were concluded as a result of constraint. By saying, "'*Ayn tadhhabūn* [Where are you heading for]?" he used to reproof those who opposed these agreements. However, concerning the agreements between Iran and America forged from the time of the Pahlavī regime, firstly, they were not binding due to the existence of the elements of unwillingness and compulsion. Secondly, on the basis of the principle of *rebus sic stantibus* or the fundamental change of circumstances, after the occurrence of the Islamic Revolution these series of agreements used to guarantee the structural dependency of the Muslim nation of Iran to the United States. Invoking the principle of absence of contract in contradiction, he viewed them contrary to the principle of independence and thus declared the same as null and void. Imām Khomeinī used to honor treaties Iran had signed with any other country in which the principle of others' respect to the independence of the Islamic country and non-interference of foreigners on the domestic affairs of the Muslim country have been observed. He used to emphasize on the observance of the principles of equity [*naşifah*], expedience/interest [*maşlahah*], no harm [*lā darar*], equality [*musāwāt*], justice ['*idālah*], and non-fraud in international agreements. He believed in the right of reservation at the time of concluding international agreements.

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[1] What is meant by *idţirār* [constraint, necessity, lack of alternative, helplessness, need] is that due to governmental expediency, the Islamic government was forced to accept a particular treaty under the state of *force majeure*. *Ikrāh* [unwillingness, reluctance, disinclination], on the other hand, means that due to the dictate of another country and having all the means of political and military dominance at its disposal, a country is compelled to accept a certain treaty.

"What we intend to do in the economic field is prevention of the looting of the resources of this nation, not severance of economic relations with other countries of the world. Exactly, within the framework of a just deal, our oil and gas will be supplied to the customers. More significantly, the foreign revenues should be earmarked for economic development and for this purpose we will definitely have full relations with the industrialized world. But we will preserve the right to decide about the direction of our economy."[1]

"The agreements that are against the interest of our nation will not have any value. But if there is any agreement in which fairness has been taken into account and is useful for our nation, we will correct such agreements... What we know is that they have signed some agreements and taken our oil in lieu of which they have supplied us with weapons that are not useful for us at all. These agreements are detrimental to the interests of our country. A useful agreement is one that is signed to supply a useful item to Iran—useful items for our agriculture and industry. But the items that are not at all useful for Iran, are not useful agreements."[2]

Abidance with multilateral international treaties

Imām Khomeinī accentuated on the need to observe the international rules and regulations ratified by international organizations and institutions provided that they contribute to peace and justice in the world. From the perspective of peace-lovingness and peacefulness of the Islamic government and the rule of obligation [*ilzām*],[3] which obliges and requires other countries to implement and commit to the international treaties, he believed it necessary to observe such rules. Of course, he believed that the legitimacy and validity of such treaties lie on the observance of justice and non-discrimination, abidance with their provisions by the other countries, absence of breach of contract by them, and conformity of these treaties with other international treaties, rules and customs. Thus, countries that pursue espionage, sabotage, treachery, disruption of public order, hatching plot to overthrow or oust the Islamic government, or using supposedly instruments

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[1] *Saḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 5, p. 157.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. 5, pp. 149-150.

[3] *Ilzamū an-nāsa bimā ilzamū 'alayhi anfusahum*: "Oblige to others that which you oblige to yourselves".

of international organizations, cannot reproach the deal with the Islamic government, for instance, by unilaterally invoking international rules.[1]

"I have to stress again that we are serious in our policy to achieve peace within the framework of the Security Council resolution. We will never make a move to weaken it."[2]

"This is our right in the world. The whole world knows that it is in all international rules that the criminal must return to the place where he has committed the crime and there he would be tried. From him (Carter) we demand that this criminal be tried here."[3]

"Do the international agreements demand that the spy in one country be named as ambassador or with the name of chargé-d'affaires, or not? If they were really ambassadors, they are supposed to be individuals who would not betray a country, not do espionage, and not be government 'agents'. They are the ones who are not right to be taken as hostages. Yet, what has been done by our nation is taking hostage of a host of spies. In accordance with the rules these spies must be investigated, must be tried, and according to our rules these must be done. However, what Carter has done is contrary to the international rules because the criminal in a certain country must come to that country and be tried there. Other country has no right to keep and give refuge to the criminal; it is against the international rules. It is this Carter who has acted contrary to the international rules, and not we."[4]

"These days indicate that the Security Council (meeting) would be convened to investigate the case of hostages whose espionage in our nation is proven. After a military and political maneuver, Mr. Carter has been satisfied that the Security Council would be convened for the investigation of this case only—not knowing of the fact that our nation knows that any council or court under the direct influence of America that would be convened, their view has been dictated from the beginning and it welcomes the conviction of our oppressed nation. Our nation does not agree with the dictated Security Council whose duty has been obvious from the very beginning. Investigation of the cases of the deposed Shāh and the spies at the center of espionage is impossible except in Iran because the pieces of evidence and proof of the crime are in Iran and not transferable to other than Iran."[5]

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[1] These points have been deduced from the statements of Imām Khomeinī.

[2] *Sahīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 21, p. 134.

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. 11, p. 93.

[4] *Ibid.*, vol. 11, p. 135.

[5] *Ibid.*, vol. 14, p. 54.

"The propaganda against us… is against the international treaties."[1]

Observance of international customs

'International customs' refer to the recurring practices of countries that are members of the international community, which over a long period of time have been observed as obligatory. Of course, in Islam custom should be related to the universally recognized, accepted and acknowledged affairs, as well as based on the bases of the savants for it to acquire international validity. For example, the immunity of political envoys discharging a diplomatic function and the affairs of signing of the Most Noble Messenger (s) can be regarded as acceptable customs. Of course, in custom the principle of mutual dealing or mutual respectful conduct in the political and trade affairs are viewed as prerequisite and necessary. Such a principle on the ancient trade caravans, exception of political envoys in paying taxes and customs duties, life and property immunity of the political envoys, and inviolability of embassies have been customary and widely practiced, on the condition that the diplomatic agents would not engage in espionage or disruption of public order and the embassy should not be converted into a place for designing the overthrow and ousting of the Islamic government.[2]

Through this introduction, it is worthy for us to delve deeper on Imām Khomeinī's viewpoint on international customs in two dimensions: bilateral and multilateral.

International customs in bilateral relations

Imām Khomeinī considered the validity of customs as depending on just and mutual conduct, non-interference on the domestic affairs of each other, observance of the rights of each other, respect to etiquettes, rites and traditions of others. He deemed as ideal the bilateral relations which are based on prevalent international customs and in conformity with religious principles and wisdom.

"It is practiced through mutual respect with respect to foreign countries. We neither oppress somebody nor allow ourselves be oppressed."[3]

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[1] *Ibid.*, vol. 14, p. 41.

[2] For more information on custom and its status in Islam, see Muḥammad Riḍā Ḍiyā'ī Bīgdelī, *Islām va Ḥuqūq-e bayn al-Milalī* [Islam and International Law], pp. 38-39; 'Abbās-'Alī 'Amīd Zanjānī, *Fiqh-e Siyāsī-ye Islām* [Political Jurisprudence of Islam], vol. 3, pp. 114-116.

[3] *Saḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 4, p. 244.

"If all countries maintain their respect to us, we will also maintain our corresponding respect. If the countries and states want to impose (their will) to us, we will not accept it. We neither oppress others nor allow others to oppress us."[1]

"We have to see what role America will play in the future. If America wants to behave with us as it deals with the Iranian nation now, our stance with it is hostile. If America would pay respect to the Iranian state, we will also reciprocally pay our respect. [We will deal with it] justly such that we will not oppress it and it will not oppress us."[2]

"These are management of the Islamic state; preservation of independence; freedom of the nation, state and country; and mutual respect after total independence. There is no difference between the superpowers and the rest."[3]

"Severance of relationship with states is contrary to reason and religion and we should relations with all. Yet, that we should have no relations with any state is acceptable to none of reasons or human beings for it means defeat, annihilation and to be buried up to the end."[4]

"We behave with respect with all nations provided that they do not interfere in our domestic affairs and consider us deserving of the reciprocal respect."[5]

International customs in multilateral relations

Imām Khomeinī used to regard the validity of international customs at the multilateral level—especially in the UN and other legal entities such as the Amnesty International and human rights associations—as depend on peace-lovingness, pacifism, justice-seeking, egalitarianism, philanthropy, humanitarianism, elimination of discriminatory attitude, and non-taking of stance in favor of the arrogant countries. He used to treat as acceptable a custom that does not contradict another international custom and is accepted by all countries.

This important point can be deduced by applying the logic of Imām Khomeinī's sayings while taking into account the logical rule of *ta'rafu 'l-ashyā' biaddāduhā* ['Know the thing through its opposite'] concerning the undesirability of international organizations, which are supposed to observe

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[1] *Ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 338.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 332.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 411.

[4] *Ibid.*, vol. 19, p. 93.

[5] *Ibid.*, vol. 5, p. 182.

multilateral customs. On this account, we will try to examine the types of valid multilateral customs from the Imām's viewpoint through the following statements:

"All these organizations and groups have come into existence to side with the powerful and these groups (human rights groups) have emerged through the powerful ones to dominate the weak and suck the blood of the world's deprived."[1]

"(Do you think) those who established these human rights groups and similar organizations observe themselves these international rules? Those who are clamoring for human rights—as the time comes when the Ba'ath Party of Ṣaddām has butchered such a number of human beings here and has rendered homeless, infirm and disable so much people here—apart from just ignoring them, they even justify (these crimes)."[2]

By rejecting the 'guardian' groups of international customs who do not observe this principle as not binding, Imām Khomeinī used to point to the need for abidance of all countries with the accepted cases of international customs such as non-interference in the domestic affairs of other countries. He says:

"Those who claim to be supporters of human rights are not ready to listen to the words of these oppressed under the tyranny of the oppressors with the help of the cruel and despotic America from whose hand all our adversities emanate. They are not ready to probe what have transpired. On the contrary, they publish notice; they release declaration for us; and they condemn (us)."[3]

"The Amnesty International which I should label as Fabrication International, Falsehood International, in one of its released manifestos, has made the same accusations, which they used to do at the early period of Islam with Islam, the Messenger of God, his progeny, and companions. They have made accusations to our country more than to him. The same lies that the followers of Yazīd[4] spread, today this (so-called) Amnesty International publishes such lies."[1]

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[1] *Ibid.*, vol. 12, p. 258.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. 17, p. 189.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 427.

[4] Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiyah: (26-62 AH) succeeded his father to occupy the office of the Caliphate in the year 60 AH. He was a young man devoid of knowledge and virtues and was well known for his debauchery and other vices. Yazīd ruled for three and a half years. During his first year he killed Imām Ḥusayn ('a) and his votaries at Karbalā and made the latter's surviving kith

"The center of conspiracy and espionage named as the American embassy and the persons there who have conspired against the Islamic movement do not deserve international political respect."[2]

"Information gathering is different from spying. The discovered pieces of evidence demonstrate that they have designed a plan for every region of Iran. They had hatched a plot in shutting down our *madrasah*s. They had also played a role in the armed conflicts in the different parts of the country."[3]

Thus, it can be inferred that based on the views of Imām Khomeinī, invoking customs and rules of international organizations from the juristic rule of obligation [*ilzāmī*] requires and obliges the other party to abide with international rules and customs. The Imām used to acknowledge as valid the multilateral customs that all countries unanimously and fairly practice and observe, have no contradiction with other rules and principles of international customs, and not inconsistent with the definite Islamic principles. This was the reason why he believed in the right of reservation for the Islamic state in observing international customs.

Conclusion

From the foregoing, it can be inferred that in the view of Imām Khomeinī, the five principles and rules of *nafyi sabīl*, *da'wah*, *tawallā wa tabarrā*, *ta'līf al-qulūb*, and international treaties and customs are interrelated and intertwined with one another, though the rule of *nafyi sabīl* has precedence over other principles. The application of the mentioned juristic rules according to him lies on the two rules of ability [*wus'*] and gradualism [*tadarruj*]. This important point bespeaks of the need to adopt numerous approaches and ways for the attainment of the common value and objective, i.e. the realization of unity and sense of justice in all parts of the world, and will prove the theory of unity in diversity. According to him, Islamic diplomacy is the blending of the value and method that even morality would observe with respect to the means of achieving the goal. In the belief of Imām Khomeinī, the rule of *nafyi sabīl* first prevents the pillages and interferences of foreigners and then guarantees the independence and the right of decision-making of the Islamic state. Concerning the principle of *da'wah*, first he used to address the nations so that the conveyance of the

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and kin captives. In his second year as Caliph, he ransacked Medina, (the seat of the Prophet's rule and his burial site), and in his third year of rule he invaded Mecca. [Trans.]

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 54.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. 11, p. 54.
[3] *Ibid.*, vol. 11, p. 157.

message of spirituality, justice-seeking and freedom-loving to the Muslims, downtrodden and governments would be done ideally and correctly. In this respect, he put strong emphasis on practical *da'wah*, in addition to written and oral ones. In his view, the principle of *tawallā* and *tabarrā* is among the main rules on the organization of relations and contacts of the Islamic state with other countries based on ideological demarcations and type of conduct of the other party. In this regard, he used to emphasize the broad conception of the term. At the next level, he viewed *ta'līf al-qulūb* exactly as the support for the Muslims and the downtrodden. Finally, taking into account the rule of obligation and in case of the realization of the reservation clause, the rule of no harm [*lā ḍarar*] and conformity of the objective-operation milieu with the perceptional-psychological milieu of the nation-states, he believed in compliance with the international treaties and customs as necessary for the establishment of peace and justice in the international scene. It is through these juristic rules the Islamic state's approach with other states as well as in relationship with international relations can be determined, and the bilateral and multilateral relations of the Islamic government within the specific framework be formed. From the entire statements of the late Imām it can be deduced that Islamic diplomacy is not confined to the relations with states. Rather, it also includes relations with nations and movements. As such, he viewed Islamic diplomacy as based upon the precedence of relations with Muslim countries, then freedom fighters and finally, non-arrogant powers. He believed in the legitimate and popular foundation of governments as the criterion for the establishment of diplomatic relations.

In conclusion, Islamic diplomacy, in the view of Imām Khomeinī, is considered a form of propagating the vitalizing teachings of Islam and the spread of the message of spirituality, freedom and independence in the entire world. Thus, it must be a means of attaining the goal. Through the influence of the sacred goal, the legitimate means utilized by the officials of diplomatic relations must be determined.

Decision-Making Process
in Imām Khomeinī's Perspective
with Emphasis on the International System

Muḥammad Raḥīm 'Iwaḍī

The subject of this article is "Decision-Making Process in Imām Khomeinī's Perspective with Emphasis on the International System". The introduction of the article begins with a study of the role of decision-making in the applied theories of political science. The gist of the discussion has revolved around three basic points:

1. The importance of decision-making in the political life of nations will be more crucial when a country would attain political and economic independence and assume the management of the system and the responsibility of making the appropriate decisions on particular junctures.

2. Decision-making introduces the political behavior and action of human beings, and the political views and recommendations of the system's leadership have influence on the decision-making spectrum.

3. Political decision-making in this respect is important when the decision-makers have limitation in terms of the necessary time and opportunity while the reality of phenomena and political circumstances has been complex and unpredicted.

Today's political knowledge on the abovementioned issues has already taken the preliminary steps. Political scientists pay a great deal of attention to the theoretical foundations of rational decision-making and statistical data on the need of deliberating on decision-making in politics. The second part deals with the study of some personal features and characteristics of Imām Khomeinī on decision-making, which will be briefly stated:

1. The decisions of the Imām are interpretations of the Qur'anic verses, *hadīth*s and Sunnah of the Prophet (*s*)[1] and the infallible Imāms (*'a*), which he has acquired after almost a century of self-purification and refinement, learning and teaching various branches of learning such as philosophy, gnosticism, jurisprudence and its principles, etc.

2. The importance of the decision-making subject in the statements of the Imām was related to his understanding of politics and the relationship between politics and religion. It is because by accepting the assumption that politics is not separate from religion or vice versa, the absence of man's endeavor for the affairs of the Islamic country is tantamount to sin and disobedience.

3. In his outlook on decision-making Imām Khomeinī believed in a firm relationship between insights and inclinations. In the Imām' opinion, the fountainhead of human beings' intricate questions cannot be attributed merely to their unwariness to social issues. Rather, the main reason behind social problems is the absence of moral purification and refinement and the lack of spiritual inclinations.

4. Imām Khomeinī was among the peculiar political figures whose scientific personality cannot be confined to one dimension. Rather, he has competence in the fields of philosophy, jurisprudence, theology, gnosticism, and practical ethics. This fact made the viewpoints of the Imām in various realms to be interrelated and to encompass the foundations of his political decisions. For instance, his gnostic personality manifested itself in the political issues and political decisions to the extent of pointing to awakening and awareness as the first step in the alleviation of the downtrodden and Muslims' condition.[2]

   As he said, "A nation that wants to stand on its own feet and manage itself, needs to be awakened first in the way of Allah. The people of knowledge [*ahl-e ma'rifat*] have also said that awakening is the waking up of the first stage [*manzil*]."[3]

5. The importance of morale and spiritual transformation in decision-making. Concerning this, the Imām had repeatedly pointed out the importance of morale in the decision-making of nations and political

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[1] The abbreviation, "*s*", stands for the Arabic invocative phrase, *sallallāhu 'alayhi wa ālihi wa sallam* [may God's salutation and peace be upon him and his progeny], which is used after the name of the Holy Prophet Muḥammad (*s*).

[2] *Saḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 12, p. 382, dated 9/16/1362 AHS.

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. 13, p. 531, dated 3/14/1359 AHS.

struggle as well as in relation to the analysis of the Islamic Revolution based on the theory of 'spiritual transformation'[1] and 'internal revolution'. On the importance of spiritual transformation in decision-making, he says, "Human being has body and soul. What makes him human is the soul, not body... The essence of man is his soul."[2]

The emphasis of the Imām is that the physical constitution of man is merely the means at the service of the soul, the basis and source of all human activities. It is indeed the soul that comprehends, intends and finally decides.

6. The Imām's decisions were based on the trust in God, self-confidence and reliance on the people. It was reliance on tri-dimensional belief whose formula is to have favorable opinion and trust in God, followed by self-confidence and reliance on the people. The Imām frequently pointed to this triple belief.

Pillars of political decision-making

In explaining the decision-making theory, political scientists have enumerated elements for the decision-makers, negligence of which will render them incapable and idle. In this section, these pillars will be briefly analyzed.

Information

Information is the first element in political decision-making. It actually refers to hints and signs that suggest political solutions and ways in a political decision-making. It is a means that links and establishes relationship between the decision-maker and the realities of the environment to determine the individual's kind of approach to the phenomena.

Analysis and assessment

Analysis and assessment are among the key elements of political decision-making. Analysis means putting together the acquired news and information. It is necessary to perform it by considering the particular formulas, arriving at possible conclusions and finding out the unknown based on the known facts. It means that the acquired information should be transferred from the environment to the decision-maker, be mentally digested and analytically operationalized. Based on this, the concept of analysis has so

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[1] *Ibid.*, vol. 14, dated 10/29/1359 AHS, p. 1.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. 6, p. 246, dated 2/7/1357 AHS, p. 118.

much proximity to decision-making. The importance of information analysis lies on the fact that along the decision-making process, there are numerous ways and options. The decision-maker must choose one of them. This choice will entail effects in the international and domestic milieus that could have significant consequences. Thus, the decision-maker must reflect on the existing information that have been acquired from outside, and begin to take step by assessing the various ways.

Future forecasting

Future forecasting is another element of political decision-making. The decision-maker's outlook of the future can be divided into two: (1) objectives and purposes, and (2) prediction of the political events, phenomena and trends. The explanation is that the decision-maker looks, on one hand, on the ideal objectives, programs, and ideals and wishes under consideration, and on the other hand, on the existing realities in the context of the events, existing phenomena, conditions, and circumstances. He tries to predict coming political developments on the basis of these criteria.[1]

Understanding the enemy and its actions

Another element of political decision-making is the actions and reactions of the enemy and their importance in decision-making. In political science, particularly in the game theory, this element and the quality of proper action are given attention by scholars. Political decision-makers will face enemies in the implementation of their decisions. These enemies are always trying to create serious obstacles and problems that would hinder the implementation of one's decisions. Thus, the decision-maker has no alternative but to spend some of his ability and force in neutralizing the enemy's actions. The important point is that a study of decision-makings without consideration of the enemy and its actions and reactions is mostly disappointing and unsuccessful.

Public opinion and people's sensitivities

Yet another element of political decision-making is the public opinion and the people's reactions. In implementing decisions as well as circumstances of facing existing problems, the political decision-makers need to win the favor of the public opinion and to have the protection and support

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[1] Theodore Alexander Columbine (?), *Naẓariyāt-e Mukhtalif dar Rawābiṭ-e bayn al-Milalī [Different Theories in International Relations]*, trans. Barzegar (Tehran: Navīd Publications, 1365 AHS).

of the people. Since political decisions take into account a socio-political movement, the decision-makers must be assisted by others. Hence, political decision-makers should consider the public opinion and people's sensitivities, their words and understanding, and pay attention to subjects such as political participation and good will of the people, reliance on them, preservation of unity, and reputation. Winning the people's attention, trust, good will, and satisfaction in the adoption of political decisions is necessary.

Imām Khomeinī and decision-making process in the international scene

One of the important scenes of decision-making is the international scene. The importance of decision-making and outlook of the political system's leadership on international issues stems from the diplomatic and interstate complex relationship as well as international political sensitivities. International relations, which denote the reciprocal actions among the human units such as nations, countries and empires, can be studied and examined from various dimensions—theoretical, historical, economic, social, and political.[1] Understanding the conditions and circumstances of the world as well as timely and well-calculated decision-making in the international scene are the foundation of success of states in which the political views and recommendations of the government officials in their formation play a pivotal role. The formation of the Islamic Revolution and the establishment of the Islamic Republican system under the leadership of Imām Khomeinī led to a wide spectrum of social, political, cultural, economic, and military leap in the external, regional and global levels. The Islamic Revolution produced new concepts and terminologies such as 'revolution exportation', 'world of the downtrodden and the arrogant', 'pure Muḥammadan Islam', and others. The victory of the Islamic Revolution along with its new concepts represented an intellectual trend and revival of a fundamental way of thinking that emerged through Imām Khomeinī.

In the initial discussion on Imām Khomeinī's decision-making mechanism in the international scene, it is expedient to introduce the components of the international structure. Then, we will embark on the analysis of these components from Imām Khomeinī's viewpoint. Analysts of the international systems include the players, structure, processes, and

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[1] 'Abdul-'Alī Qawwām, *Uṣūl-e Siyāsat-e Khārijī va Rawābiṭ-e bayn al-Milal: Rahyāft-e Taṣmīmgīrī [Principles of Foreign Policy and International Relations: Decision-Making Process]*, pp. 43, 49.

environment among the main elements and independent variables of the international system.

Imām Khomeinī's viewpoint on each of the international system's units forms the principal axis of his political decisions, which will be briefly indicated. Players of the international system are as follows:

1. Individuals: The Imām is of the opinion that every individual has the potential to take action in international relations and influence the political behavior of the units though they differ with one another on positions and circumstances. People who have religious titles such as the *'ulamā'* and clergymen of Islam and the Pope and priests of Christianity have more influence than the rest on the international relations units and players. An individual who is a member of the parliament can play an international role just as Martyr Āyatullāh Mudarris[1] as a member of the parliament stood against the Russian

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[1] Sayyid Ḥasan Mudarris [1859-1938] was one of the greatest religious and political figures in the Iranian contemporary history. He received his elementary education in Iṣfahān and then traveled to the cities of the holy shrines (the cities of Iraq where certain of the imams are buried: Najaf, Karbalā and Kāẓimayn, and to a certain extent some others) where he received further education from such scholars as Mullā Muḥammad Kāẓim Khurāsānī and, after graduation to the level of *ijtihād*, he returned to Iṣfahān and began teaching Islamic jurisprudence [*fiqh*] and principles [*uṣūl*]. In 1909, at the time of the Second National Assembly, he entered Parliament having been chosen by the *marāji' at-taqlīd* and the *'ulamā'* of Najaf as one of the five *mujtahid*s who were to oversee the law-making procedures. At the time of the Third National Assembly, he was elected as a Member of Parliament. When Riḍā Khān carried out his coup d'état, Mudarris was arrested and sent into exile, but after being freed he was again chosen by the people and again entered Parliament. In the Fourth National Assembly, he headed the opposition majority against Riḍā Khān. At the time of the Fifth and Sixth National Assemblies, he opposed the proposal for the establishment of a republic, which Riḍā Khān was in favor of, to replace the constitutional government, and he dissuaded the Parliament from approving it. He was resolute in his stand against the stubborn Riḍā Khān, such that the Shāh hired an assassin to kill Mudarris and when he escaped the attempt, he sent him first into exile in the remote town of Khāf near the Afghan border, and later in Kāshmar, where eleven years later in Ramaḍān 1938, the agents of the Shah poisoned him. In this way, one of the greatest political and religious personalities of Iran was martyred in the way of Allah. Mudarris possessed outstanding qualities, and even though he was a man of great political and religious influence, he lived very simply. Imam Khomeinī always spoke of him with a great deal of respect. The Leader of the Revolution, on the occasion of the renovation of Mudarris' grave, wrote: "At a time when pens were broken, voices silenced and throats gripped, he never ceased from revealing the truth and abolishing falsehood....this feeble scholar, weak in body but strong in a spirit joyful from belief, sincerity and truth, and possessing a tongue like the sword of Ḥaydar Karrār (Imām 'Alī), stood in front of them and shouted out the truth and disclosed the crimes, making life difficult for Riḍā Khān and blackening his days. Finally, he sacrificed his own pure life in the way of dear Islam and the

ultimatum, and the parliament also rejected the same through this courageous resistance of his.[1]

2. Groups on the spheres of culture such as arts, sports and others are effective units in international relations. International councils and commissions are other examples of these groups.

   The Imām has considered all groups as players in the international system. Groups, in theory and practice, on one hand, and positively and negatively, on the other hand, have influence on the behavior of other units; thus, he has considered their political role in all political decision-makings and always wished for these groups' devotion in the way of ensuring independence and freedom.

3. Nations: Nations are among the units of international relations that the Imām always pays attention to. Due to their lofty position in the international transformation and development, they had been always lauded and extolled by the Imām.

   "Do not wait for the moment when your states would do something for you. The nations should think for themselves... If you want to overcome your problems... the nations should rise up."[2]

4. Governments: Governments are the most problematic political actors in the international system. As the representative of the respective countries and nations, they have contact with other units of international relations and influence the behavior of one another. Imām Khomeinī possessed enormous amount of information on international affairs, ability in analyzing and assessing events and happenings on the global system as well as understanding of the enemy. He had a comprehensive and precise analysis and assessment of the governments.

   In the Imām's statements, the large countries' opposition, sabotage and military onslaught on the Islamic movement of Iran;[3] the American and Chinese's defense of the Shāh's crack down on the independence-seeking nation of Iran; the acts of dominance, oppression and pillage of the resources of the Muslim world by America in the past half century as the mother of corruptions in the

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noble nation, and was martyred in exile at the hands of the oppressive Shāh's executioner and joined his virtuous forefathers."

[1] *Sahīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 11, p. 29.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. 6, p. 502.

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. 17, p. 308.

present century;[1] and the actions of the so-called 'Islamic' governments of being close to, and dependent on, Israel and America as well as of assisting Ṣaddām, which are all contrary to the interests of their countries, have been presented as parts of the vivid actions of governments in international relations. They also indicate the ability and assessment of the Imām as well as his high profile of information on the realities in the international realm. "All corruptions of the world are perpetrated by these great powers except the minor ones that hold no importance."[2]

5. Blocs: Blocs are a group of units and players in the international relations that are capable of making a coordinated and cohesive move to pursue a common objective and create a unitary strategy to exert influence on other players. In the Imām's statements, the sequestering of a country's property and hindering the rights of a nation through the formation of the Security Council by the West,[3] and the aggression and crimes of the aggressor East and the criminal West on the downtrodden nations of the world[4] are examples of the direct and obvious actions and effects of these blocs.

6. International organizations: These organizations appeared in the form of governmental and non-governmental, global and regional, political, military and cultural organizations and they influence the behavior of other units. The Imām's analysis and assessment of the governmental organizations are such that they are organizations formed by great states, which act to ensure their own interests. Thus, the United Nations, human rights organizations and the like have not taken steps to advance the interests of nations such as Palestine.[5]

In Imām Khomeinī's opinion, players as units having influence on the behavior of other players in international relations are of crucial importance. In political decision-making, with the optimum application of the basic elements of political decision-making, the Imām adopted a comprehensive and precise course of action on issues related to international organizations. He expressed a large number of statements in this regard that represented his emphasis on vigilance in dealing with international organizations; extensive participation in the

[1] *Ibid.*, vol. 18, p. 237.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 238.

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. 11, p. 50.

[4] *Ibid.*, vol. 12, p. 175.

[5] *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 524.

activities of the international and regional organizations to organize and synchronize as much as possible the struggles against arrogance; and political, social and economic development of the Muslim nations through the use of the single Islamic identity that will be manifested within the framework of international organizations.

International trends

International trends or processes are the second independent variable or main element of the international system. Dimensions and realms of relations, necessities and causes of relations, types and manners of relations, and nature of relations and objectives of the players are fundamental elements of the international system trends with which Imām Khomeini has carefully and meticulously dealt. In his sociological outlook, the Imām has sufficiently paid attention to the trends of relations in all dimensions through his statements and writings. The various psychological, religious, moral, economic, cultural, political, and social realms based on the human dimension in the relations among units of the international system have been taken into account. Keeping in view of the unequal distribution of natural resources, the social nature of the human being, the dictate of reason and religious admonitions, the establishment and expansion of relations among the units of the international system are necessary. The Imām has stressed on the relations with other actors except with those who were not within the pale of rationality. He states,

> We should have relations with the nations and states. We should enlighten those whom we can and should not receive a blow from those that we cannot. Therefore, I do recommend you to make firm your relationship wherever and in whatever country you are, and you should have constant contact (with them).[1]

Rules governing international relations

The rules governing the relations and rules of conduct in the international system are considered another independent variable in the international system. The Imām's manner of decision-making in the context of the international rules shows his deep insight on international issues. While enumerating the laws and rules claimed by the international players, the Imām declares that rules and laws claimed by the players do not represent the

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[1] *Ibid.*, vol. 19, p. 93.

present laws governing their relations. By considering the extant realities in their relations, the rules of the international system must be identified, and the political course of action of the states be based on the realities. In the contemporary period, the logic of the oppressors in international relations becomes the guide in the practices and actions of the international players[1] and those controlling international relations. Thus, oppressive and inhuman laws govern the operation of the international system. The international relations' scene is a scene of struggle for survival with its particular expanse. Preservation of independence, freedom and human values, and to have a noble life in such a chaotic environment necessitate every type of advanced material and spiritual tools so that the attainment of lofty aims vis-à-vis a popular movement would become easy. By pointing to the complex scene of international relations, in his address to the Islamic Consultative Assembly (Iranian Parliament) the Imām states: "The Parliament today is facing a chaotic industrial world, complex politics, cultures of the East and West, and international scenes of struggle for survival. Such a parliament must be filled with researchers, scholars and experts in every field."[2]

Structure of the international relations

The structure of the international relations is also one of the independent variables and main elements of the international system, which includes the institutionalized relations among players in a long period of time. From Imām Khomeinī's viewpoint, just as trends according to the human dimension can be found in the different realms of events, various structures as many as the number of human dimensions can be assumed. Structure is nothing but institutionalized relations of the trends. In the analysis of Imām Khomeinī, inhuman laws worse than the jungle and the oppressive nature of the relations and trends will consequently lead to the appearance of a structure with such a nature. Nowadays, the oppressive structure speaks of the total structure of the international system. In view of the existing state of affairs in the orderly international system and the aforementioned structure, it is necessary for the decision-makers to present a way. One of the important points on structure is the creation of a psychological structure that requires the decision,[3] will power, self-esteem, and acquisition of psychological independence[4] by the concerned units in confronting the architects of

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[1] *Ibid.*, vol. 17, p. 247.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. 18, p. 336.
[3] *Ibid.*, vol. 10, p. 110.
[4] *Ibid.*, vol. 20, p. 222.

intimidating structure in the international system and relations. In doing so, the structure of confidence and tranquility would replace the intimidating one.[1]

International relations milieu

The international relations milieu is another independent variable in the international system. The international system has a reciprocal influence with its milieu. Thus, it is important to draw attention to the milieu in which the international system is located.

Milieu from Imām Khomeinī's viewpoint

The universe is composed of the nature and that which beyond the nature. Man is currently in a journey from the world of nature to the world beyond nature and its end depends upon the goodness or wickedness of his deeds.[2]

Power and control of power

Power and the control of power are among the dependent variables of the international system. Power in the international system means the ability to influence the behavior of others.[3]

Concerning the need to acquire power and its application in the political decision-making, Imām Khomeinī says,

> The weak is always condemned. The weak is condemned at the point of barrel. He is condemned by tools that are worse than force. To be condemned means that the superpowers would say whatever they wanted and do whatever they wanted to these weak individuals and countries, and the latter also submit (to this condition of abjectness).[4]

The power of the international system players comes from three sources: natural, human and supernatural. The Imām's stress on the three essential sources of the international system (players' power) indicates his deep and comprehensive intellectual insight on the essential sources of power. In his opinion, deserts; seas; very vast countries; abundant underground resources

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[1] *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 162.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 346.

[3] J.W. Lapper (?), *Qudrat-e Siyāsī [Political Power]*, trans. Bozorg Nādirzādeh (Tehran: Nashr-e Zabān, 1362 AHS).

[4] *Sahīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 11, p. 297.

such as uranium, copper,[1] and oil;[2] geopolitical location; economic self-sufficiency; strong defensive condition;[3] and others are indications of the natural sources of power of countries.

He views self-reliance, strong morale, psychological independence, independent culture, efforts and endeavor, self-esteem and return to the primordial self; talent and talented manpower, and others are examples of the human sources. Supernatural sources include the 'days of Allah' [*ayyām Allāh*], the days when God showed His power. The hidden assistance of God and accomplishment of extraordinary affairs; victory through God's intervention; divine mercy; and the existence of such sources of power on the life of Imām Khomeinī made him act with such decisiveness in important political decisions.

> I declare to the whole world with certainty that if the world-devourers would like to stand up against our religion, we will also rise up against all of them. We will not give in unless they were all annihilated. We will either be free or attain a loftier freedom, which is martyrdom. Just as we led to victory the Revolution singly and in complete isolation without the assistance and approval of any country, international organizations and groups, in the war more oppressive than the Revolution we fought and without the help of even a single foreign country, we defeated the aggressors. By the help of God and reliance on Him, we will traverse alone the remaining path full of vicissitudes. We will perform our duty.[4]

To adjust these sources from the state of potentiality to the state of action, using two types of tools in the international system is necessary: (1) material and (2) spiritual.[5]

In his own decisions in the international system, Imām Khomeinī stressed on these factors. By stating 'worldly and religious equipments',[6] the Imām emphasizes the material and spiritual tools,[7] instruments and devices, modern military armaments, revolutionary and sacred fury of the nations,[8] and other instruments of applying power. In his view, these material and

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[1] *Ibid.*, vol. 6, p. 32.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. 11, p. 91.

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. 20, p. 240.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 325.

[5] 'Alī Aṣghar Kāẓimī, *Naqsh-e Qudrat dar Jāmi'eh va Rawābiṭ-e bayn al-Milal [The Role of Power in the Society and International Relations]* (Tehran: Nashr-e Qaws, 1369 AHS).

[6] *Saḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 3, p. 225.

[7] *Ibid.*, vol. 19, p. 144.

[8] *Ibid.*, vol. 9, p. 25.

spiritual instruments will be used in the various political, economic and cultural scenes for the attainment of the goals of international actors. These instruments will be used on the intended scenes in various forms—from violence to imaginable cooperation such as assassinating persons and personalities, aggression and defense, acquittal and invitation.

One of the essential sources of the Imām's decision-making on the scenes of application of the acquired power was the preservation of independence and territorial integrity of the country. Imām Khomeinī says,

> We should produce an Iran which, without reliance on America, Soviet Union, Britain and international devourers, can achieve its own political, military, cultural, and economic independence, stand on its own feet and offer its noble identity to the world.[1]

Political and military maneuver,[2] intervention,[3] resistance, insurgence and expansionist pretexts,[4] sedition and espionage,[5] propaganda,[6] elucidation,[7] enlightenment,[8] and others are forms of applying power.

It will be concluded from the sayings of Imām Khomeinī that in a bid to create a monotheist-humane structure and establish equilibrium and stability in the international relations, one must pay attention to the elements of power. The players that are not cognizant of their own power must strive to activate their factors and elements of power. In doing so, they have to take the unity of the downtrodden and the Islamic world as their primary task.

Transformation, change, equilibrium, and stability in international relations

The presence of qualitative and quantitative transformations in the international relations points out the existence of other dependent variables in the international system such as equilibrium and absence of equilibrium, stability and instability, transformation and change. Equilibrium in the international system means putting all the independent and dependent

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[1] *Ibid.*, vol. 8, p. 91.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. 11, p. 135.

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 25.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 240.

[5] *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 231.

[6] *Ibid.*, vol. 18, p. 263.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 342.

[8] *Ibid.*, vol. 14, p. 193.

variables in their respective places. Now, if all elements of the international relations have such balance and placement in their own proper location, the international system is in a state of equilibrium, otherwise they will experience absence of equilibrium. Imām Khomeinī regarded international relations in a state of equilibrium and the maintenance of such a condition and above that, enhancement and consolidation of it as necessary.

"We hope that the equilibrium of the world will not be endangered. For, we have no inclination to either the East or the West. We have equal relations to all and we behave fairly with all."

Stability and instability

Stability in the international system means tranquility, peace and harmonious relations of the players. Disorder, war and hostile relations among them refer to instability in the international relations. In the Imām's perspective, stability and tranquility of the international system are as follows: Since military figures are human beings, there should be human tranquility, not like tranquility of an animal in face of a human being.[1]

Among the factors of instability in the international system that causes the disorder of the international relations at the present time is the obvious military presence of the powers and superpowers in the sensitive regions of the world. Nowadays, if the arrogant powers were not present in the regions such as Afghanistan and elsewhere, there should have been stability and tranquility now. Thus, in order to establish tranquility of the human beings in the international system, one must strive to eliminate crisis and war so that a stable international system would emerge.

Transformation and change

Transformation and change are among the dependent variables of the international system. Transformation means qualitative and substantial alteration while change refers to quantitative and superficial alteration. In the international relations, transformation and change in the international relations have been in two directions: (1) decline and savagery, and (2) transcendence and civilization.

From this viewpoint, indifference and complacency; slumber; fear and dread; West-struckness and East-struckness; and ideological impasse are instances of negative transformation in international relations. Conciliation of nations and states; awakening; to aspire and strive; awareness; and to wish

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[1] *Ibid.*, vol. 19, p. 159.

and hope are indications of positive transformation in the players of the international system and finally, international relations. Colonialist culture; absence of intellectual independence; lack of proper education; dearth of political maturity; selfishness; imprisonment of freedom fighters and independence-seekers; Westernization and self-defeatism; subservience to foreigners; and others are manifestations of degeneration and savagery. Meanwhile, freedom loving; independence; duteousness; human and emotional perfections; spiritual excellence; and growth in all material and spiritual dimensions of human growth are signs of progress, exaltation, civilization, and promotion of the actors in international relations.

Conclusion

To conclude, in this article two levels of Imām Khomeinī's personality in the realms of politics and decision-making are indicated. At the first level are elements of political decision-making and personal peculiarities and characteristics while at the second level is the political understandings of the Imām in the international scene.

In view of the current qualitative and quantitative alterations, it was clear that the enormous ability of the Imām to make decision in a particular period of time in the international system was such influential and universal that it led to fundamental changes in the destiny of contemporary nations and states. It won him many socio-political followers at the global level. It also showed that the continuity and development of nations lie on the decision, endeavor and will of human beings.

The Imām introduced modern understandings in the domain of decision-making such that the Supreme Leader introduced the present era as the era of Imām Khomeinī's prolific thoughts for the nations aspiring for freedom and independence. He said:

> This era must be named as the Imām Khomeinī's Era and its characteristics are as follow: awakening, courage and self-confidence of the nations vis-à-vis the tyranny of the superpowers; breaking of the idols of the oppressive powers; budding of the real power of humans; and exaltation of divine-spiritual values.

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[1] Message of the Supreme Leader on the death anniversary commemoration of Imām Khomeinī, the Great Leader of the Islamic Revolution and Founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Ways of Attaining the Ideal International Order from Imām Khomeinī's Viewpoint

Muḥammad Riḍā Dehshīrī

Imām Khomeinī is the portrayer of the tenet of international order without the dominance and hegemony of great powers. As the main theorizing venture on the international system, this tenet can be discussed in its two dimensions: structural and functional. A scrutiny of the statements of the late Imām leads us to the conclusion that the ideas of that jurist leader were not confined to domestic politics. Rather, they also encompass international politics. With His Eminence's ideological and at the same time realistic viewpoint, he has tried to elucidate an international system, which structurally does not cause the downtrodden countries' dependency on the metropolitan powers. Functionally, it prevents in practice the arrogant powers' interference in the affairs and destiny of weak countries. In a bid to attain such a global system, Imām Khomeinī has embarked on presenting approaches within the framework of an 8-phased design, which on one hand, shows the Imām's realism in resorting to the rule of gradualism [qā'ideh-ye tadarruj] and on the other hand, his idealism in achieving a system free from the dominance of the interventionist powers and based on morality, justice, peace, and laws unanimously accepted by the whole humanity.

In view of the need to elucidate the ideas of this ideologue and architect of the Islamic Revolution of Iran—which has been introduced as a movement with considerable global dimensions in the international scene—and since literary works regarding the mechanism of the Imām's views in the international relations discipline can rarely be found, the present article has been written with the aim of describing, presenting and updating the thoughts of the late Imām at the academic level. It is hoped that with the inspiration of

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his earlier sayings in the *Ṣaḥifeh-ye Nūr*[1] and his writings, this paper could be able to depict the ideal international order from his viewpoint, analyze the ways to attain the envisaged global order, and offer an opening vista for theorizing on the viewpoints and thoughts of Imām Khomeinī in the field of international relations at the academic level.

First Part: Characteristics of the international order from Imām Khomeinī's viewpoint

In the international relations discipline, political scientists, especially Ernst Haas, believe in the classification of the international system into two systems: objective and analytical. The objective system focuses on the structure, i.e. the number and types of players in the international system while the analytical system centers on the function of the international system, i.e. the unions, cooperations, and reciprocal relations among the principal and secondary players. Relying on the said categorization, in this article it is worthy to examine the ideal international order from Imām Khomeinī's viewpoint from these two aspects, structural and functional.

Structural characteristics of the international system from Imām Khomeinī's viewpoint

The structure of the international system can be viewed from these two aspects: the number and types of actors. By separating these two, we will describe below the views of Imām Khomeinī.

Number of principal players in the international system

In this connection, instead of stressing on the number of players, the Imām analyzes the number of dominant ideologies in the international system. For instance, he criticizes the bipolar system based on condominium of the two superpowers of the East and West by rejecting the two ideologies: communism and capitalism. He is remarkably skeptical of the structural dependency of the satellite countries on the metropolitan powers. He views it as an unfavorable structure whose outcome is nothing but the pillage of the downtrodden nations' wealth by the arrogant powers. He declares, "We are at

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[1] *Ṣaḥifeh-ye Imām*: the first comprehensive anthology of Imām Khomeinī's speeches, messages, interviews, religious permissions, decrees, and letters compiled in 22 volumes by the Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imām Khomeinī's Works. Now, a more comprehensive anthology compiled by the Institute is entitled, *Ṣaḥifeh-ye Imām*. [Trans.]

war with international communism just as we are with the world-devouring West under the stewardship of America."[1]

Similarly, by dividing the countries into two, arrogant and downtrodden states, Imām Khomeinī embarks on negating the hierarchical system based on the dominance of the great powers over the weak countries. He deemed ideal a system in which power is equally distributed among the nations in that the wolf-like powers could not find the opportunity to plunder the wealth of weak countries. Thus, by portraying a system based on the cooperation of the nations of the world and far from the dominance and exploitation of the colonialists, he desires for the legal equality of nations and the absence of supremacy of some over others as well as the subjugation of some by the others.

Types of actors in the international system

While giving preference to nations compared to states, Imām Khomeinī regards the nations as the principal actors in the international system. In view thereof, for him non-governmental actors have more importance and value while the governmental players, especially the subservient states whose origin is not their nations but self-love, position and wealth of the rulers, have less importance. It is worthy to mention that concerning the allegiance of rulers of weak countries to the powerful ones, the Imām advances a psychological theory that apart from giving importance to the psychological origin of governments and their popular and spiritual legitimacy, it depicts an international system in which the governmental players would not be imprisoned by their whims and caprices.

In explaining the dependency of weak countries on powerful ones, the indulgence of their rulers in dispatching millions of money and the facilitation of flood currents of bribery to the foreign powers, Imām Khomeinī says:

> This has psychological aspect and that is, the human being in his inner [*bāṭin*] and natural disposition [*fiṭrah*], his wishes are infinite. If the human being were imprisoned by these infinite wishes, he would see that a superpower will preserve these worldly wishes and aspirations as well as his dominance and power over his nation. Since his love for the wealth and position has no limit, he will seek the help of the foreigners and work for

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[1] Imām Khomeinī, *Dar Justijū-ye Rāh az Kalām-e Imām (Daftar-e Chahārdahum: Isti'mār va Abarqudrat-hā) [In Search of the Way through the Pen of Imām Khomeinī (14th Section: Colonization and Superpowers)]*, p. 400; *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 12, p. 19.

him. For, anyone who wants position and leadership is in need of someone or something where to rely on. It can be God, people or foreigner. However, he does not rely on God and is not from among the people. Hence, he will become a hireling of the foreigners and will do nothing for his people. So, in view of the imperialist backing, in order to preserve his power he will put all the sanctities and treasures of the nation at the disposal of the imperialists and will also keep his own share.[1]

Therefore, concerning the types of players in the international system, notwithstanding his emphasis on the nations as the preferable players, the Imām does not discount the governmental players in the international system. In this regard, he stresses on the legitimacy of their political system and the psychological source of their rulers, which must be based on the goals and aspirations of the nation. This point indicates that the Imām holds important the effect of the type of government and the international structure of power on the function of governmental players in the international scene.

Functional characteristics of the international system from Imām Khomeinī's viewpoint

Speaking of the function of the international system, there are two theories put forth in the international relations theories. Based on the classification of Rothstein, the function of the international system can be classified into three: conservative, competitive and conflictual, while according to Stanley Hoffmann, the function of the international system can be categorized into two: moderate and revolutionary. Thus, in order to analyze the Imām's viewpoint on the function of the international system, it is worthy to examine the views of that jurist leader from the said two approaches:

Imām Khomeinī's viewpoint on the function of the international system based on Rothstein's categorization

We have said that Rothstein classifies the international system based on function into three types: conservative, competitive and conflictual. While basing on this triology, we will examine below the Imām's viewpoint on the ideal function of the international system.

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[1] *Ibid.*, 215.

Conservative system

Imām Khomeinī rejects the conservative system, which upholds the maintenance of the status quo, non-elimination of the principal players of the international system and absorption of them all into the system and thus, in favor of the superpowers. He is such, particularly that the said system gives the right of veto at the disposal of the great powers. Apart from institutionalizing the blatant power difference between the strong and weak states, it also guarantees a domineering function.

Competitive system

Regarding the competitive system which is founded on the competition among superpowers over transcontinental interests, Imām Khomeinī has a negative viewpoint because the subject of great powers' competition in such a system is related to the riches and resources of the downtrodden countries. Since in such a system the superpowers regard themselves to have the right over the resources and reserves of the downtrodden nations, they combine with each other to plunder these natural resources. This is the reason why the Imām is of the opinion that the competitive system is to the detriment of the downtrodden countries especially that such a system that institutionalizes the functional dependency or subservience of the weak countries on the strong countries and permits the imperialists to intervene in the downtrodden countries for the preservation of their interests. Since in the competitive international system the great powers pursue different types of intervention models in the weak countries, the Imām, while describing such interventions criticizes such a competitive function.

Now, we will present and explain below the views of the late Imām in its own novel kind and based on his juristic-ideological viewpoint.

Theory of 'revenue from the replacement and the replaced' or 'cyclical accumulation' on the international scale

In explaining the imperialists' revenue from the replacement and the replaced [*jam' al-'awaḍ wa'l-mu'awwaḍ*], Imām Khomeinī believes that the imperialists grant the replacement (like destructive weapons, military advisers and military bases) in lieu of getting the replaced (like oil) in such a way that in the end they get both the replacement and the replaced. For,

[s]ubsequent to the sell of weapons, by sending advisers and imposing the backbreaking and excessive expenses on the weak country, they establish military

base for themselves to be able to confront other powers, control the condition of the country, preserve their colonial interests and repress anti-imperialist movements.[1]

Thus, in view of the juristic rule, 'the replacement and the replaced cannot be combined' [*lā yajma' bayn al-'awaḍ wa'l-mu'awwaḍ*], this act of the imperialists is profiteering and 'consumption of what is forbidden' on an international scale.

According to Imām Khomeinī,

Alongside of buying oil from the weak countries, instead of paying its amount they (the arrogant powers) sell to those countries expensive and unnecessary items whose existence is useless. Therefore, indeed both the price (amount) and the priced item return to them.[2]

Moreover, by buying oil and putting the amount of its price in their own banks, the imperialists plunder the oil and at the same time put its money to their pockets in such a way that both the replaced item and its replacement remain to them. This cyclical accumulation' and 'consumption of what is forbidden' on the international scale continues unabated.

Theory of imposition of the mandate model

One of the ways of consolidating the dominance of the great powers over the weak countries is the taking over of the authority over these countries' affairs through the mandate system. According to the Imām, if these wolves would find out that the nations have no guards, they will attack those countries and appoint themselves as the guardians of these countries. They impose this mandate system over the nations through the plunderer rulers or 'agents of Satan'. In other words, under the guise of immunity and ensuring security and political stability, they impose this mandate system on this group of countries. At the end, this affair is beneficial for the great powers because the establishment of the mandate system leads to the setting up of military bases in the Third World countries, which are practically utilized in guaranteeing the security of the guardian powers and in confronting their rivals.[3]

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[1] Imām Khomeinī's speech in Paris, France on 7/20/1357 AHS as quoted in *Dar Justijū-ye Rāh az Kalām-e Imām (Daftar-e Chahārdahum: Istiʿmār va Abarqudrat-hā) [In Search of the Way through the Pen of Imām Khomeinī] (14ᵗʰ Section: Colonization and Superpowers)].*

[2] Imām Khomeinī, *Wilāyat-e Faqīh*, p. 160.

[3] *Dar Justijū-ye Rāh az Kalām-e Imām [In Search of the Way through the Pen of Imām Khomeinī]*, pp. 186, 310, 314.

Imām Khomeinī believes that the superpowers have practically divided the world into two parts, the free and political quarantine. In the free part, the superpowers view themselves rightful to violate the interests and rights of others and consider colonialism, exploitation, and slavery of the nations as a justifiable affair. In the political quarantine part, they do not view the weak countries to have any right to life and freedom of expression whatsoever, and see them as satellite and dependent countries under their mandate.[1]

It is through resorting to this weapon that they impose a single advisorship and protectorate system on this group of countries. At times, they even dare to annex and incorporate the territories of these countries to theirs.

Spheres of influence theory

Convinced of the possibility of collaboration and cooperation between the two superpowers of the East and West to plunder the nations and feed from their blood in pursuit of the consolidation of the system of dominance in the world, and the dependency of the downtrodden countries on one of the two existing blocs in the bipolar system, Imām Khomeinī believes that in view of the profiteering and exploitative nature of the capitalist and communist superpowers, they try to divide the world into their spheres of influence. For, he views these imperialist powers as rapacious, wolf-like and wicked whose fervent aim is to plunder the nations.[2] The Imām thinks of all the superpowers as political gamblers each of which wants to let its own gambling venture prevail its rival superpower.[3] As such, in order to prevent friction and conflict between themselves, they decided to divide the world into spheres of influence.

Institutionalization of structural dependency theory

Imām Khomeinī believes that with the intention of consolidating their supremacy and dominance over the weak countries, the powerful countries strive to keep the downtrodden countries backward and structurally dependent on them. According to him, the imperialists want to have cultural, political, economic, military and judicial dominance over the dominated world. They have adopted a course of action on devouring the world and depriving the nations of their inalienable rights. Due to their satanic and

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[1] Imām Khomeinī, *Payām-e Istiqāmat: Payām-e Imām Khomeinī dar Dhīhajjeh 1408 AH/Tīr 1367 AHS [Message of Resistance: Imām Khomeinī's Message in Dhū'l-Ḥijjah 1408 AH/Tīr 1367 AHS]* (Tehran: Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance Publications), p. 10.

[2] *Dar Justijū-ye Rāh az Kalām-e Imām*, p. 367.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 559.

arrogant nature, these superpowers believe in the right to self-determination as solely theirs.[1]

In the view of Imām Khomeinī, with the aim of strengthening their dominance over the weak countries and of preserving their authority over the dominated world, the superpowers embark on taking away the underground reserves (resources and minerals) and above the ground reserves (the youth) so that in doing so, they could take possession of all the reserves of such countries and hinder their political, economic, cultural, and military independence.[2] By hindering the self-sufficiency of these nations through the puppet governments, they aim at obstructing their industrialization. With the purpose of preserving their interests and welfare in the strategic parts of the world, and the further exploitation of the very rich lands and enormous resources of the Muslim countries, these profiteers strive to prevent the progress of the downtrodden nations and to plunder their abundant resources so that they could impose on the downtrodden countries an oppressive economic system based on the wide gap between the rich and poor countries.[3]

Cultural dominance theory

In the view of Imām Khomeinī, in a bid to plunder the underground reserves, the imperialists try to corrupt the above the ground reserves (the youth) so as not to let them acquire cultural growth and Islamic training. Rather, they want to rear them as materialist and corrupt and keep them away from Islam and the Islamic culture. With this in mind, they erect centers of corruption and pleasure-seeking, merriment, and enjoyment in order to thwart the blossoming of talents and intellectual growth of the young generation, and to discourage them from interfering in politics. In doing so, the youth would become indifferent toward the country's reputations and the weak countries be internally corrupt.[4]

The late Imām is of the opinion that the imperialists' spreading of corruption and debauchery is to transform the culture of independence of the weak countries' society into an alien culture, which is the root of all corruptions. In doing so, they could take the intellectual and mental independence of the nations, make them mentally and subserviently

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[1] *Nidā-ye Ḥaqq (Sokhanrānī-ye Imām dar Paris 8/2/1357 AHS) [The Voice of Truth (Imām Khomeinī's Speech in Paris, France, 8/2/1357 AHS)]*. p. 217.

[2] *Dar Justijū-ye Rāh az Kalām-e Imām*, p. 62.

[3] *Payām-e Istiqāmat*, p. 15.

[4] *Dar Justijū-ye Rāh az Kalām-e Imām*, pp. 60, 140-141, 147, 424.

dependent, and West-struck or East-struck. That is to say that through disappointing and brainwashing the downtrodden nations, the imperialists want them to believe that they have nothing and cannot do anything.[1]

Conflictual system

While denouncing the interventionist practice of the wolf-like powers in the weak countries and rejecting the actions that tarnish the downtrodden nations' independence and will, Imām Khomeinī calls on the weak countries to revolt and rise up to change the current state of affairs. In this regard, conflictual system based on the disagreement between the superpowers provides the necessary ground for the weak countries to take advantage of the play off politics, especially so that according to the Imām, the nature of the superpowers is anchored on pessimism toward each other. In stating the imperialists' fear of each other, he thus expresses, "At the time of sleep at night, the wolves face each other out of fear that should one of them becomes negligent, the rest would devour him."[2]

Relying on the quotations from Imām Khomeinī, it can be inferred that the late leader believes that the classical realist paradigm, social Darwinism, Hobbes's idea that man is the wolf of one another, and pessimist approach to the human institution of relations between the superpowers are prevalent and true. From this perspective, the Imām treats the superpowers as wolves that fear one another and in case of knowing each other, they devour the weaker power. Thus, the weak countries ought to take this opportunity and take utmost advantage of this contradiction between them.

Imām Khomeinī's viewpoint on the function of the international system based on Stanley Hoffmann's model

On the basis of function, Stanley Hoffmann divides the international system into two types, moderate and revolutionary. In the moderate system, the countries do not seek to eliminate their rivals. They accept the international system while keeping into account the existing principles and model. Meanwhile, in the revolutionary system the principal players are bent on eliminating their rivals and effecting a fundamental change on the rules and principles of the international system.

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 144, 152, 172, 196, 211, 285, 387; *Wilāyat-e Faqīh*, p. 51.
[2] *Dar Justijū-ye Rāh az Kalām-e Imām*, p. 571.

Moderate system

In such a system, the players do not have more than two ways. Either they would adopt the conservative courses of action of maintaining the status quo, or they would pursue revisionist actions. We deduced that Imām Khomeinī rejects adopting a conservative stance. For, he emphasizes maintaining the status quo while at the same time upholding revisionist stance though still far from being perfectly ideal. Yet, in case of the inability of the Islamic state in changing the status quo (from the perspective of *lāyukallifu'llāha nafsan illā wus'ahā*[1]) and in times of necessity (from the perspective of *aḍ-ḍurūrātu qabīḥ'l-maḥẓūrāt*), revisionist actions can serve as the initial steps to pursue reforms and pave the ground for the adoption of revolutionary stance.

Revolutionary system

This system, which emphasizes the fundamental and blatant change of the existing international order and in which each of the principal players aims at changing the rule of the game and takes actions that are deemed contrary to the interests of the rest, is more congruous and appropriate to the Imām's theory on the negation of the World Arrogance. The revolutionary stance of the Imām, which is based on the permanent struggle between truth and falsehood, war between poverty and richness, and the battle between the downtrodden nations and the arrogant states, and manifests itself within the context of the weak countries' uprising against the imperialist powers, can be explained in the present international scene in the framework of the North-South challenge.

From the above points, it can be concluded that Imām Khomeinī believes that in the revolutionary and conflictual system one can take more advantage of the contradiction among the powers. It is easier for the downtrodden nations in such a system to rise up against the arrogant countries. Getting inspiration from the verse 8 of *Sūrah aṣ-Ṣaff*, "They desire to put off the light of Allah with their mouths but Allah will perfect His light though the unbelievers will be averse," the Imām is hopeful that after the collapse of the system of dominance by the Muslim countries with the assistance of the downtrodden nations, the Muslims could establish the rule of the pure Muḥammadan Islam and efface the darkness of polytheism, unbelief, and the oppressions of the World Arrogance from the surface of the earth.[2]

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[1] *Lāyukallifu'llāha nafsan illā wus'ahā*: A Qur'anic injunction which means, "Allah does not ordain to the soul that which is beyond its capacity".

[2] *Ibid.*, (Message in Year 1341 AHS), p. 33.

Second Part: Imām Khomeinī's 8-phase design to attain the ideal international order

From what has been said, the system free from the domination of the arrogant and devoid of the weak countries' dependency on the great powers can be held as the ideal order from the viewpoint of Imām Khomeinī for the attainment of which, the late Imām presents an 8-phased design based on the rule of gradualism (gradual implementation of the eight phases) and the rule of ability (implementation of the said design commensurate to the Islamic country's ability and means in each of the eight phases). Concerning this, the *umm al-qurā*, as the country having the pivotal role in the Muslim world, in which the Islamic laws are observed, having a leadership acceptable to the Muslims, and in which a sort of mutual responsibility between its jurist-leader and the Islamic world in the farthest countries of the world exists, deserves to have a special and primary role in implementing this project. Then, the mission of realizing the ideal international order also involve other countries in the Islamic world, which are supposed to assist the *umm al-qurā* in undertaking the gargantuan mission. In this 8-phase design, the late Imām discusses psychological and individual, sociological and social, governmental, transnational, interstate, institutional or organizational, international confederation, and universalist approaches, each of which will be discussed below.

Individual level

In the view of the Imām, "Will is the first step."[1] It means to say that there should take place a profound and fundamental transformation in the mentalities and psychological characteristics of the individuals of the *umm al-qurā* as well as in the spiritual and psychological peculiarities of other Muslim nations. Apart from understanding their personality and capabilities, preserving their own culture, absence of self-defeatism in face of alien culture, abstaining from West-struckness and East-struckness, and enhancement of the spirit of devotion and self-sacrifice, the Muslims should never entertain a feeling of weakness and feebleness within themselves in the face of the superpowers. By enhancing their knowledge, awareness and religious insight, and trust in God, the Exalted, they should inculcate in themselves the spirit of hope for the future.[2]

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[1] *Payām-e Istiqāmat*, p. 13.
[2] *Dar Justijū-ye Rāh az Kalām-e Imām*, pp. 140, 232, 358, 380, 384, 389, 402, 405.

Societal level

This level focuses more on the sociological elements, which are supposed to be present and observed in the *umm al-qurā* and then in the rest of Muslim countries.

In the *umm al-qurā'*

While stressing on internal coalition of the *umm al-qurā*, Imām Khomeinī believes that the preservation of the unity of expression between the two sections of the cleric and student, the survival of the clergy as the pioneer in the struggle against the imperialists, and the survival of the universities as the centers of learning are deemed necessary and indispensable affair.[1]

In other Muslim countries

Apart from stressing on the necessity of proximity among the Islamic schools of thought, Imām Khomeinī urges them to shun from emphasizing on tribal differences and sectarian discords; calls on the Muslim nations to cling on the Rope of Allah,[2] highlight the unity of expression, oneness of goal, preservation of the bond of brotherhood and cohesion on the basis of *kalimah at-tawḥīd*,[3] enhance internal coalition, and shunning away from discord.[4]

Governmental level

Imām Khomeinī's emphasis on the necessity of establishing an independent and sovereign government in the *umm al-qurā* and other Muslim countries, and the need to harmonize and complement the essence of government and the Islamic culture of the said societies are governmental reasons that will be realized in two domains below:

In the *umm al-qurā'*

In the view of the Imām, the *umm al-qurā* must present a successful practical model so that the other Muslim countries would imitate it. In connection with the 'expression of Islamic government in one country', apart from encouraging to internally strengthen and consolidate the political

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 166, 259, 389, 593.

[2] Rope of Allah [*habhullāh*]: "And hold fast, all together, by the rope which Allah (stretches out for you), and be not divided among yourselves." *Sūrah Āl-i 'Imrān* 3:103 [Trans.]

[3] *Kalimah at-tawḥīd*: The declaration of the Oneness of God, *Lā ilāha illallāh* [There is no deity but Allah]. [Trans.]

[4] *Dar Justijū-ye Rāh az Kalām-e Imām*, pp. 35, 98.

system of the *umm al-qurā* through self-sufficiency and self-reliance, the Imām reckons the independence of views and decisions as well as the adoption of the policy of 'neither East nor West' as its ingredient of success. For the Muslim country to achieve economic, cultural and military independence, he offers a set of solutions.

In the context of economic independence, the Imām is of the opinion that by applying the two factors of commitment and expertise, and the utilization of science and technology as well as the enormous talent of the people, the country of the *umm al-qurā*'s concerned officials should attain self-sufficiency in industry and agriculture.[1] In the field of mental and cultural independence, the Imām recommends proper rearing of the youth, making the people aware, moving toward the primordial self, inclination toward the Islamic culture, and campaign against West-struckness and East-struckness so that the culture of colonialism would turn into the culture of independence.[2]

In the area of military independence, by invoking the *nafyi sabīl* verse, *"Allah will not give the disbelievers any way (of success) against the believers,"*[3] Imām Khomeinī discourages the Muslims from permitting the entry of superpowers into their territories for the setting up of military bases as he views this affair equal to [giving consent] for the dominance of the usurper powers over the Muslim lands.[4]

Similarly, Imām Khomeinī reckons the adoption of the policy of 'Neither East nor West' by the *umm al-qurā* as the basis of struggle against the two atheistic schools of communism and capitalism, saying: "The menace of communism is not less than that of capitalism of the West".[5] He views negation of the East and West as the foundation of uprooting the plundering facilities of the plunderer imperialists and socialist imperialists. He believes that this goal cannot be attained except through the formation of the Islamic government in the *umm al-qurā*. In this manner, it would be understood in other Muslim lands that America and the Soviet Union can be confronted since the best and most important reason behind its possibility is the emergence of such [formation of the Islamic government]. "The first evidence of the contingency of something is that it has happened."[6]

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 412, 421, 445, 453.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 140, 176, 182, 342, 346, 358, 387, 447, 475.

[3] *Sūrah an-Nisā'* 4:141. [Trans.]

[4] *Dar Justijū-ye Rāh az Kalām-e Imām*, p. 52.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 578.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 169, 283, 361, 475.

In other Muslim countries

Imām Khomeinī gives priority to the toppling down of surrogate rulers in the Muslim countries, believing that these rulers should be uprooted because the reason behind the Muslim countries' dependency on the colonialist powers is their love for position, wealth and leadership as well as their greed and covetousness:

"The reason why the mercenary ruler will be endlessly imprisoned by desires is that as power and wealth increase, man's craving for power also increases. This increase of man's craving for power incites the unscrupulous ruler to use power for himself. By strengthening this powerful individual and installing him in power, the superpowers would realize their imperialist design and subject the nations to frailty. The superpowers' hirelings are afraid that the imaginary power granted to them by their masters be taken back. As such, they are submissive to the imperialists and offer them all the possessions of the country. The fear and dread in the hearts of the surrogate governments render them incapable of paying heed to the expression of the state of oppression of the world even in their own countries. For, abuse, self-interest and love for position do not allow them to think for their own nations. These individuals do not think of anything except their interests and that of their masters because anyone who is a puppet of others should serve his master. Therefore, the prerequisite for the lack of psychological independence of the surrogate rulers is the feeling of despise in face of the tyrant governments."[1]

Thus, Imām Khomeinī regards the solution to ensure independence and lack of dependency of the Muslim countries to lie on the assumption of Islamic and popular rulers whose governance is harmonious and concordant with the comprehensive religious culture.

Transnational level

After undertaking the campaign against arrogance and negation of system of dominance at the national level in the *umm al-qurā* and other Muslim countries, the elimination of hegemony of the great powers in the realm of relations between Muslim and other nations will be important because the transnational level, according to the Imām, can be a step toward the interstate level. In his opinion, the nations are the principal decision-

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 140-141, 265, 601.

makers in the international relations. The relations among them are more important than the inter-governmental relations. Concerning these transnational relations, the late Imām's viewpoints can be studied in three spheres below:

Between the *umm al-qurā'* and the rest of Muslim countries

In relation to this, the *umm al-qurā* plays a crucial role as it at times helps the other nations to establish an Islamic government. Such a support is dependent on the capacity of the *umm al-qurā* and preparedness of the Muslim nations in devotion for the protection of the *umm al-qurā* in case of presence of threat to it from the atheistic and renegade countries.

The Imām of the *ummah*'s stance during the Iraqi imposed war on Iran, which while recalling the Islamic Republican Guards Corps from military deployment in Lebanon in resisting the Zionist regime's attacks, exemplifies the claim to the primacy of protecting the territorial integrity of the Iran from the Iraqi Ba'athist regime's aggressions.

Between the *umm al-qurā'* and the downtrodden nations

This transnational relationship can take place in two spheres of commercial-trade intercourses and morale-ideological support for the liberations movements. The *umm al-qurā*, in case of having capability will help the liberation movements in ousting the subservient rulers in their own countries. In such a way, the downtrodden nations could topple satanic agents and rise up through cooperation among the people-based new states in the campaign against the domineering imperialists.

Along this line, the Muslim people of the *umm al-qurā* should be aware of the sufferings of the downtrodden nations, for in the words of the Imām, "So long as the weak societies do not feel the pain, they will not think for the treatment, for so long as the society does not feel that it is sick, it will not think for treatment and will not consult a doctor."[1] Therefore, so long as the downtrodden nations do not realize the evil of colonialism and its menacing effects, they will not resort to changing and transforming their society—*"Lo! Allah changeth not the condition of a folk until they (first) change that which is in their hearts."*[2]

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 228.
[2] *Sūrah ar-Ra'd* 13:11.

Between the *umm al-qurā'* and the free communities in the arrogant countries

Imām Khomeinī believed that by supporting the free peoples of the imperialist countries (such as the African-origin people of America), the *umm al-qurā* should take a step in forming an anti-arrogance front. In this manner, the superpowers would also be attacked from within.

Interstate level

The level which is based on bilateralism between the *umm al-qurā* and other countries, and the adoption of the policy of understanding among the states, can be inferred more from the practical conduct of Imām Khomeinī, which dealt on formulating the over-all policies of the (Islamic) system in its relations with other countries. It will be realized in the following forms:

Between the *umm al-qurā'* and the other Muslim countries

The relations between the *umm al-qurā* and other Muslim countries will be manifested at two levels of cultural-trade cooperation and political-ideological alliance. Of course, the *umm al-qurā*'s assistance to the other Muslim countries depends on the capability of the former as well as the reciprocal cooperation of the two sides.

Between the *umm al-qurā'* and the downtrodden nations

In connection with this, the increase in the volume of trade-commercial dealings between the Muslim countries and other downtrodden countries can be realized, from the functionalist school's perspective, on the basis of frequency of transactions and exchanges, and from the regionalist school's perspective, on the basis of neighborhood or geographical proximity.

Between the *umm al-qurā'* and the non-arrogant powerful countries

In view of the permissibility of establishing peaceful mutual relations with unconvinced non-Muslims based on the noble Qur'anic verse, *"Allah forbiddeth you not those who warred not against you on account of religion and drove you not out from your homes, that ye should show them kindness and deal justly with them. Lo! Allah loveth the just dealers,"*[1] friendly relations with non-hostile countries on the basis of mutual respect and cooperation can be established.

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[1] *Sūrah al-Mumtaḥinah* 60:8.

Institutional or organizational level

At this level, multilateralism based on cooperation and coordination of a group of countries with common objectives and aspirations can be adopted. The said policy of institutionalization can be implemented on the regional, transregional or international level. The policy of equal alliance among countries, which are coequal in terms of power, can be implemented on the security and non-security levels. On the security domain, this policy can lead to the collective autonomy of the allied countries. On the non-security realm, meanwhile, it can initiate permanent alliance based on coordination of economic and ideological policies. The latter case can be implemented in the two levels of alliance within the Islamic world and Third World alliance. In such a way, it can pave the ground for the realization of the international order free from the dominance of the arrogant powers.

Islamic world alliance

Formation of a front among the Muslim countries against the arrogant countries along with the enhancement of ideological integration and improvement of internal consolidation among the Muslim countries forms the edifice of this equal alliance.

Imām Khomeinī deems it expedient the collaboration and alliance of the Muslim countries for the struggle against imperialism. In undertaking this significant task, he admonishes the Muslim nations not to entertain a feeling of weakness and feebleness and not to fear the superpowers. Instead, they should maintain a spirit of strength and potency by the reliance on God so that they could rise up in the struggle against the imperialists to the extent of totally uprooting all forms of dependency.[1]

Third World alliance

Imām Khomeinī regards the alliance of downtrodden nations or the Third World as the most important step in the struggle against imperialism. By adopting the non-alignment policy, they cut off all roots of colonialism and prevent the interference of superpowers on the destinies of downtrodden nations as well as the superpowers' domination of their countries.[2]

In his view, the Muslim states' propagation to incite the world public opinion against the imperialists is of crucial importance. For, by mobilizing forces against arrogance, the *umm al-qurā* can globalize the spread of the

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[1] *Dar Justijū-ye Rāh az Kalām-e Imām*, pp. 232, 337, 402, 413.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 140, 232, 358, 380, 384, 389, 402, 405.

anti-imperialist struggle. In doing so, it can take a step in eliminating the dominance of the superpowers.[1]

International confederative level

In this level in which supranational actors are of significant import, the states strive to draft and enact a single constitution as well as to form a sort of confederation based on the essence of humanity and belief in monotheism. On account of legislation of these legal principles and standards, the states can invalidate communism or capitalism as defective and impotent schools in addressing the needs of humanity; neutralize the laws of the arrogant and domineering superpowers; abolish the order of dominance; and make supreme the rule of monotheistic ideology in the world. These legal measures can undermine national borders and sovereignties. These can be a step toward the preponderance of human standards and spiritual principles over animalistic and materialistic motives of the imperialists, and challenge the legal logic of the superpowers. For, in the opinion of Imām Khomeinī, "They (the imperialists) gauge the nations on the basis of their animalistic motives; they do not believe in values for the nations of the world, human being and humanity; they do not even give account to them."[2]

In the words of the late Imām, "They (the imperialists) are indeed deprived of understanding the truths and unaware of divine motives—*'Deaf, dumb, blind, therefore they have no sense*[3]."[4] Thus, in order to neutralize the expansionist measures of the imperialists, which "are to make the logic of the Middle Ages prevail over all human values and international rules so as to legalize their interventions," the formation of an international confederation founded on common constitution to make the human and spiritual values prevail over the inhuman logic of the superpowers can help the *umm al-qurā* realize the ideal international order.

Universalism/universal level

This phase, which will be realized with the elimination of international borders and finally the formation of a single global *ummah*, considers the implementation of the principles of justice and equity as well as the prevalence of peace throughout the world in such a way that not only the discriminations and class distinctions on the domestic level be eliminated but

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 432.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 219, 265, 463, 555.

[3] *Sūrah al-Baqarah* 2:171.

[4] *Dar Justijū-ye Rāh az Kalām-e Imām*, p. 607.

also in the international scene we will witness the end of supremacy and hegemony of the dominant powers as well as the manifestation of the free will of the single *ummah* in the decision-making and determination of their own destiny. Undoubtedly, in this phase, the endeavor of the *umm al-qurā* in the spread of Islam, revival of the Islamic government in other countries and the performance of the profound mission of the global Islamic revolution are of crucial importance. The hope and aspiration of Imām Khomeinī in linking the Islamic Revolution of Iran with the government of the Master of the Age[1] (may Allah hasten his glorious advent) are suggestive of the constructive role of the *umm al-qurā* in setting up the government of the downtrodden. It is through the inspiration of the noble Qur'anic verse, *"And We desired to show favor unto those who were oppressed in the earth, and to make them examples and to make them the inheritors"*[2] that the late Imām regards as realizable the dream of establishing the just international order free from the dominance of the arrogant powers.

Conclusion

From the foregoing it can be inferred that in the view of Imām Khomeinī, in the international scene an order is deemed ideal which in terms of structure will not lead to the prevalence of non-monotheistic ideologies and not provide the ground for the interference of the great powers in the downtrodden countries. In view of the fact that at present time, we live in an international system in which the powers of the North want to institutionalize their supremacy, hegemony and dominance over the countries of the South, Imām Khomeinī believes that the way to eliminate dominance is first through the reconsideration of the extant system and then in its fundamental and vital change. In view of this, conflictual or revolutionary system provides the necessary grounds for the changes in the standards, criteria and principles of international relations.

Now, in order to attain the order free from the dominance of the arrogant powers, Imām Khomeinī offers an eight-phase design, which is feasible on

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[1] It refers to Imām Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan al-Mahdī, the Twelfth and Last Imām from the Prophet's Holy Progeny who is presently in the state of major occultation and will appear on the appointed time in the future to fill the world with truth, justice and faith after being engulfed by falsehood, injustice and unbelief. For further information on the Islamic belief on the Mahdī, see Āyatullāh Ibrāhīm Amīnī, *Imam Mahdī: Just Leader of Humanity*, http://www.al-islam.org/mahdi/nontl/index.htm; Āyatullāh Sayyid Muḥammad Bāqir aṣ-Ṣadr and Āyatullāh Murtaḍā Muṭahharī, *Awaited Savior*, http://www.al-islam.org/awaited/index.htm.

[2] *Sūrah al-Qaṣaṣ* 28:5.

the basis of the rule of gradualism and capability. In this design, while believing in the pivotal role of the *umm al-qurā*, he is of the opinion that the subsequent mission lies on the shoulder of the Muslim countries and then the downtrodden countries in changing the status quo. In this respect, the nations hold more preference compared to the states.

The views of the Imām in the first stage include the reformation of the individual, society and government in the *umm al-qurā* and other Muslim countries while in the second stage it will be elevated into the level of the Islamic world transnational or interstate relations with other countries. In the third stage, transnational actors and their role in the regional, transregional and global institutions are of paramount importance. This stage will finally pave the ground for the realization of the concluding stage which is the realization of the single global *ummah* and system devoid of dominance of the atheistic and arrogant powers.

Theoretical Viewpoints of Imām Khomeinī in the Realm of Foreign Policy

Maryam as-Sādāt Mīrzā Husaynī

Introduction

The victory of the Islamic Revolution in Iran under the leadership of Imām Khomeinī (r) led to a modern transformation in the context of Iranian political issues including both the domestic and foreign policies. On the domestic dimension, there are changes in the government structure, way of managing the country and entrusting the affairs to the people while on the foreign and international dimension, there are the behavioral and normative changes. Both dimensions can be summed up as basing on the pure Muhammadan Islam. Thus, the Iranian foreign policy after the Islamic Revolution has generally differed from what were current and prevalent during the former regime. These changes are caused by the guidelines, which the late Imām used to express in decrees and directives, messages and admonitions, writings, speeches, and interviews on different subjects and events.

In this article we intend to examine some important and influential instances of his ideas and viewpoints in the realm of foreign policy on different conditions and circumstances. Before embarking on the main discussion, I deem it appropriate to touch first on the description of politics and the elements of foreign policy from Imām Khomeinī's viewpoint.

Definition of politics from Imām Khomeinī's viewpoint

"Politics is that it should guide the society, find its way, consider all the interests of society, and guide them to that which is for their welfare."[1]

"Politics means management of the country based on the religious and spiritual welfare of the people."[1]

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[1] *Sahīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 13, 432.

Elements of foreign policy from Imām Khomeinī's viewpoint

Generally, the following elements in the context of foreign policy can be inferred from his speeches and opinions:

1. Non-reliance on the global powers, which has been manifested in the Imām's policy of "Neither East nor West";
2. Negation of domination and subservience to domination;
3. Preservation of the existence and territorial integrity of the country, and observing the long-term interests of the system;
4. Invitation toward the monotheistic values and fundamentals of Islam;
5. Defense of the integrity and reputation of Islam in the international gatherings;
6. Expression of sympathy to the downtrodden of the world and inviting them to unite with one another;
7. Invitation toward the unity of Muslims;
8. Strategic campaign against the Quds-occupying regime;
9. Harmonious coexistence and forging of equitable and friendly relations with countries of the world and negation of isolationism; and
10. Introduction of Islam as a comprehensive, perfect and practical religion.[2]

It is necessary to explain that a number of these elements have been abundantly discussed in books, articles, university theses, interviews, and others. Detailed explanations concerning them have been given and almost everybody is familiar with them. In this article, there is an effort to avoid repeating redundancies. Instead of those that have been said, those that have not yet been said will be dealt with. It is also tried that this paper be free from repetitive and boredom subjects. The subjects that have been rarely discussed or generally remained uncharted terrain will be treated instead.

Isolationism or active participation in international relations

One of the principles on which the Imām used to stress in the realm of foreign policy was the policy of "neither East nor West". Regarding the concept of "neither East nor West" policy, as it has been earlier explained in

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[1] Quoted in Muḥammad Ṣādiq Mazīnānī, "Risālat-e Siyāsī Ḥawzeh-hā dar Andīsheh-ye Imām Khomeinī [Political Mission of the Islamic Seminaries in the Thought of Imām Khomeinī]." *Faṣlnāmeh-ye Ḥawzeh [Islamic Seminary Quarterly]* nos. 94-95 (Dey 1378 AHS), p. 70.

[2] For further information on the principles and elements of foreign policy, see Muḥammad Maḥlūjī, *Jilveh-hā-ye Siyāsat-e Islāmī [Forms of Islamic Politics]* (n.p.: n.d., 1372 AHS).

many books and essays, we will thus avoid repeating it. We will only deal on the aspect of incorrect understandings of this principle.

The incorrect understanding that many common people have with respect to this principle is that in view of the fact that unbelief is prevalent in the international system and many countries especially the industrially advanced ones are not so much in good terms with religion, it is better for us not to have any relationship with them and close our borders to them on all aspects: cultural, economic, political, and social. This is while the Imām has never had such an intention on this principle. Rather, on the contrary, he believed that by applying the principle of *da'wah* as the first principle in the foreign policy of Islam and with highly active and extensive presence in all contexts, we must forge peaceful relationship (not that of wolf and ewe) with all countries (except with the Zionist regime and countries that cannot comprehend the concept of equitable mutual relationship). By enhancing different political, social, cultural, and even economic aspects with the application of Islamic fundamentals, we could introduce the universality and superiority of the religion of Islam and its prosperity-endowing laws to the world. Without having relationship with the world, how and through which means could we introduce Islam? Can we export the Revolution and introduce Islam by resorting to the use of force, aggression and war? By forging relationship with even non-Muslim and secular countries, can we gradually and in practice ensure the welfare of Islam, which is its introduction and globalization, as well as the interests of the nation as the *umm al-qurā*?

We should not imagine that whatever is there in other countries is evil and harmful. Instead, we should know that many of the scientific, technological and economic advancements in the world are also useful for us. Through the correct methods, we should choose, select and possess these accomplishments. At a time when communications are so extensive and easy with the existence of global networks (such as the Internet), satellites and others, whether we like it or not, communications will exist. Now that we have no option but to communicate with other countries of whatever creed, it is better for us to think of a correct and effective communication, not an undesirable and imposed communication. Thus, this interpretation of the sayings of the Imām who was a farsighted and future-oriented leader is not correct at all. His interpretation never means shutting down of borders. His inclination to pursue the universal objectives of Islam and perform the proper Islamic duties toward the Muslims and even non-Muslims are generally inconsistent with having no communication. The Imām believed that the

international system is exactly like a city whose various districts have relations with each other. We should not seclude. Rather, just as the Holy Prophet (*s*) used to forge relationship by dispatching envoys and preachers, we should act and forge relationship with other countries.

The Constitution's answer to the ambiguities

Another source and reference of foreign policy-making is the Constitution, which has been approved and stressed by the Imām. An accurate study of the articles pertaining to foreign policy will point to us the fact that the Constitution is oriented toward forging, improving and consolidating relations with other international players, especially the Muslim and Third World countries. In this instrument there has never been a discussion of the severance or lessening of relations except in cases that are discordant with the religious principles. In Article 152 of the Constitution, peaceful relations with non-belligerent states, not only Muslim or neighboring countries, have been stipulated.[1]

In its various articles and paragraphs, the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran has described methods of dealing, principles of relations and foreign policy of the statesmen of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the domain of practice. We will briefly deal on some of these principles:

In Articles 2 and 3 of the Constitution, negation of all forms of oppression—infliction of it as well as submission to it—and of dominance, its imposition as well as its acceptance; political, economic, social, and cultural independence of the country; complete elimination of imperialism; and framing of the country's foreign policy on the basis of Islamic criteria, fraternal commitment to all Muslims of the world and unflinching support for them have all been emphasized.

In Article 11, in accordance with the injunction of the noble verse of the Qur'an, *"This community of yours is one community, and I am your Lord, so worship Me."*[2] it is the duty of the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran to formulate its general policies on the basis of the alliance and unity of Muslim nations. In Article 14, treating well in accordance with ethical norms and Islamic justice and fairness the non-Muslim individuals—so long as they

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[1] Article 152 of the Islamic Republic of Iran's Constitution states: "The foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran is based upon rejection of all forms of domination—both the assertion of it and submission to it—preservation of the country's all round independence, its territorial integrity, defense of the rights of all Muslims, non-alignment with hegemonic superpowers, and *the maintenance of peaceful relations with all non-belligerent States"*. (emphasis added) [Trans.]

[2] *Sūrah al-Anbiyā'* 21:92. [Trans.]

do not engage in conspiracy and hostile measures against Islam and the Islamic Republic of Iran—have been recommended.[1]

In Articles 152 and 153, defense of the rights of all Muslims; non-alignment with hegemonic powers; maintenance of peaceful relations with all non-belligerent states; and rejection of any kind of agreement resulting in foreign control of the country's affairs have been indicated. In Article 154, the Islamic Republic of Iran considers as its ideal the realization of human felicity throughout human society, and independence, freedom and the rule of truth and justice as the right of all people of the world. Accordingly, while scrupulously refraining from all forms of interference in the internal affairs of other nations, it supports the struggle of the *mustad'afīn* against the *mustakbirīn* for their rights in every corner of the globe.[2]

Imām Khomeini's answer to the ambiguities

Imām Khomeini reckons seclusion and the policy of isolationism as repugnant to reason and religion. Apart from emphasizing on forging relationship with all states (except for few countries for reasons that are completely logical), he views closing down of borders for the countries and severing diplomatic relations with them as tantamount to annihilation, perdition and burial of the country. He criticizes the proponents of isolationist policy, saying:

> That which the spiteful and ignorant people sometimes express shows that they either do not understand or that they have ill-will. For, so long as a person is not ignorant or does not oppose the essence of the system, he cannot say that the system should withdraw from the world. We are not antagonistic to any nation. On account of the primordial nature, we want to befriend all states; we want to have good relationship with mutual respect to all. In case we need a certain item (available outside) and they need another item (available with us), we could exchange, provided that these states do not oppose us.[3]

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[1] This kind of treatment is in compliance with the noble verse of the Qur'an, *"Allah does not forbid you from dealing kindly and justly with those who have not fought with you because of your religion and who did not expel you from your homes."* *Sūrah al-Mumtahanah* 60:80. [Trans.]

[2] 'Abdur-Rahīm Gavāhī, *Majalleh-ye Siyāsat-e Khārijī [Foreign Policy Magazine]*, 11th year, no. 3 (Summer 1376 AHS), pp. 561-562.

[3] *Sahīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 19, p. 413.

The Imām used to emphasize peaceful and friendly relationship, considering it as part of the necessities of social and political life. Having constant relationship was considered preferential than its abandonment on the condition that this relationship is based upon mutual respect, and the interests and welfare of both parties, not only one, are taken into account.

From our familiarity with the comprehensive, future-oriented and realistic personality, we have no expectation from him but this.

> We want to befriend all nations of the world. On account of the primordial nature, we want to befriend all states of the world and to have good relationship with them; with mutual respect, we want to have good relationship with all.[1]

In the view of Imām Khomeinī, relations that cause dominance are rejected. Hence, concerning this, he says:

"If trade relations with the non-Muslims cause fear on the domain of Islam, then abandonment of these relations is obligatory for all Muslims."[2] Here the difference between political and cultural-spiritual predominance of the enemy has no meaning.

> If political relations that will be forged and established between Muslim states and foreign states would lead to the dominance of the non-Muslims over the lives, terrotories and properties of the Muslims, or cause them political servitude, establishment of relations then is forbidden. The contracts to be concluded are void. It is incumbent upon all Muslims to guide (their) rulers and persuade them to abandon such political relations, though they are by means of negative resistance.[3]

Unity of the downtrodden of the world as an important foreign policy mission in the thought of Imām Khomeinī

As the leader of deliverance for all the downtrodden of the world—be they Muslims or not, monotheists or not—the Imām was always wishing for the felicity of all humanity and used to feel sense of responsibility for all. He illustrated this divine global duteousness both in his message to Gorbachev[4]

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[1] *Ibid.*, vol. 11, p. 153.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 352.

[3] Rūḥullāh Khomeinī, *Taḥrīr al-Wasīlah*, 1ˢᵗ printing, vol. 1, p. 485.

[4] See *A Call to Divine Unity: Letter of Imām Khomeinī, the Great Leader of the Islamic Revolution and Founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran to Mikhail Gorbachev, Leader of the Soviet Union* (2ⁿᵈ Ed.), Ed. Mansoor Limba (Tehran: The Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imām Khomeinī's Works, Winter 2003/4).

as well as in his sense of responsibility in delivering the communist people, in the severance of relationship with the former apartheid regime of South Africa though most South Africans are not Muslims as well as with other Muslims without taking into account the color, race, language, religion, and class. We can clearly see that he discusses the issue of unity of the world's downtrodden as the most important and fruitful way in confronting the arrogant of the world. He regards unity, oneness of voice and support for one another against oppression in the entire world as the only way of eliminating oppression in the world of the oppressed. So, he adopts an important strategy in this context, saying:

> I hope that a party in the name of the downtrodden in the entire world will appear and all the downtrodden do participate in this party, removing all the problems in their way; they would rise up against the arrogant and plunderers of the East and West and no longer let the arrogant oppress the downtrodden of the world.[1]

In the Constitution of the Islamic Republic (Article 11), by invoking the noble Qur'anic verse, *"This community of yours is one community, and I am your Lord, so worship Me,"*[2] the principle of unity among Muslims has been stipulated as an urgency in foreign policy. It states,

> It is the duty of the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran to formulate its general policies on the basis of the alliance and unity of Muslim nations, and to make consistent effort for the realization of the political, economic and cultural unity of the Muslim world.

Endorsing the unifying strategy of the Imām, we can read the following in one of the periodicals:

> During the entire period of his struggles that took place in Iran, Imām Khomeinī set up his Islamic project on two principles, unity and Palestine. He had never been negligent even for a moment in thinking for the realization of Islamic unity and its importance. He brought out the Islamic unity from the leathern bag of slogans and wishes and transformed it into a serious and real practical design so that the Muslims could realize it.

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[1] *Dar Justijū-ye Rāh-e Imām az Kalām-e Imām (Daftar-e Awwal) [In Search of the Way of the Imām Khomeinī through the Pen of Imām Khomeinī (1st Section)]* (Tehran: Amīr Kabīr Publications, 1362 AHS), p. 185.
[2] *Sūrah al-Anbiyā'* 21:92. [Trans.]

The Imām correctly believed that designing the Islamic unity project and calling on the Muslims without a strong support and explanation of its principles and fundamentals, or designing Islam as a global mission, is not an easy job. Hence, through writing various books on different issues, his speeches and stances, he strived diligently to correct the existing deficiencies and prejudices that brought about ambiguities for the Muslims' understanding of Islam.

Admonition to the governments and nations to sympathy and unity

As what we know, in the international scene and system the decision-making and implementing units are the states. The states are [supposedly] the mouthpiece of their nations. If all the downtrodden of the world are supposed to have unity, it can be attained faster and easier through the governments. Because of this, it is necessary for the states to sympathize and have single voice with their own nations in order to realize unity. Thus, we can observe that the founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran pays close attention to this issue. He invites them to unanimity and oneness of voice so that owing to it they could solve the problems and not let the enemy to dominate.

> If there were Islamic unity of expression, if the Muslim governments and nations were united, for the nearly one billion Muslims to be under the sway of the superpowers would have no more meaning. If this power is transformed into a great divine power, no power will be able to overcome it.[1]

> If the nations and governments would like to achieve victory and their Islamic objectives in all their dimensions, which are the felicity of humanity, they have to hold fast to the Rope of Allah; they have to refrain from disunity and discord; they have to obey the command of God, the Exalted: *"And hold fast, all together, by the rope which Allah (stretches out for you), and be not divided among yourselves"* (Sūrah Āl-i 'Imrān 3:103).[2]

The next step or stage is the realization of unity among the downtrodden states. Through this unity as well as their efforts they could eliminate the oppression of the arrogant in the world; in the international gatherings and scenes, they could render helpless the oppressors by adopting a single stance

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[1] *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 7, p. 66.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 170.

and make themselves a great power. Concerning this, the Imām puts more emphasis on the unity among Muslim states, saying:

> The Muslim states should be like a single state, like a single society, having one flag, one book (the Qur'an), and one Prophet. They are supposed to be always united and have love with one another in all aspects. If these aspirations come true that the Muslim states are united in all aspects, there is hope that they could overcome their problems, and a greater power would confront other powers.[1]

The Imām regards the success of the colonialists in colonizing the deprived nations as springing from the discord and division among the Muslims and leaders of the Muslim countries.

> It is the time when the claws of colonialism have penetrated the remotest part of the Muslim countries. It is the time when the colonialists have mobilized all their forces and facilities in the way of creating discord among the Muslims and heads of Muslim countries. Through whatever means at their disposal, they strive to prevent the Muslims from abiding with and practicing the teachings of Islam. In such a way, the colonialists could easily achieve their inhuman objectives, the colonization of the deprived class.[2]

Negation of nationalism and ethnocentrism

The most important factor that prevents the Muslims and the downtrodden of the world from attaining unity of action is nationalism and ethnocentrism, which Imām Khomeinī negates and regards as elements for the discordance and hostility of the Muslims. As what we know, now the Islamic world has suffered enormous losses due to these imperialist weapons. So much amount of blood has been spilled and facilities wasted for this. Having imperialist roots, the sectarian conflicts in Pakistan and Afghanistan are clear manifestations, which unfortunately have continued and amounted to fratricide, genocide, instability, and insecurity in the region. In this manner, the imperialists let the Muslims be preoccupied with these affairs; they could easily plunder their resources and make their weapons manufacturing companies more flourishing. An instance of which is the war between the Arabs and Persians initiated by Ṣaddām—a war that has made them instruments of discord and confusion and sacrificed the youth of both

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 199.
[2] *Dar Justijū-ye Rāh-e Imām az Kalām-e Imām (Daftar-e Awwal)*.

countries who could play a key role in the reconstruction of their countries and could liberate their countries from the state of dependency on the dominant powers. Other examples are in Algeria, Sudan, Yemen, the sectarian wars in Lebanon, etc.[1]

> Among the problems that the plotters have designed (as the imperialist agents do in promoting it) for the creation of discord among the Muslims are ethnocentrism and nationalism. Nationalism against other Muslim nations is an issue that Islam, the Qur'an and orders of the Holy Prophet oppose. The same nationalism that amounts to the animosity among Muslims and rift in the ranks of the believers is contrary to Islam and the interests of Muslims, and is among the tricks of the foreigners who suffer from Islam and its spread.[2]

From among the vivid experiences of this period in which nationalism led to the weakening and defeat of Muslims, one can mention the Arab nationalism that Jamāl 'Abdun-Nāṣir (of Egypt) promoted. Through such a propaganda and irrational feelings he was not able to win the support of many non-Arab countries during the Arab-Israeli war. This affair has led to their defeat and the Israel's acquisition of more power.

"Time and again, I state that this nationalism is the root of the Muslims' misery. For, this nationalism puts the Iranian nation against other Muslim nations and the Iranian nation vis-à-vis others."[3]

> That which has made the Muslim states wretched and presently makes them drift away from the auspices of the Holy Qur'an is the problem of racism.[4] This race is Turkish; this race is Iranian; this race is Arab. The problem of racism is reactionary.[5]

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[1] See Jawād Manṣūrī, *Naẓarī beh Siyāsat-e Kharijī-ye Jumhūrī-ye Islāmī-ye Irān [A Glance at the Foreign Policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran]* (Tehran: Amīr Kabīr Publications, n.d.), pp. 51-56.

[2] *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 13, p. 209.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 87.

[4] For 'racism' the Imām actually used the term, *nezhādbāzī*, which literally means 'playing with the card of race or ethnicity'. [Trans.]

[5] *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 1, p. 377.

Maṣlaḥat in foreign policy from Imām Khomeinī's viewpoint

Definition of *maṣlaḥat*

As the etymologists have defined *maṣlaḥat*, it literally and technically means 'interest' [*manfa'at*].[1] The term *maṣlaḥat* or name of place [*ism-e makān*] means position or place of goodness or interest [*ṣalāḥ*] and its opposite is corruption [*ifsād*].[2]

Abū Ḥamīd Ghazzālī ash-Shāfi'ī[3] has described *maṣlaḥat* as acquisition of benefit or interest and getting rid of injury or damage to the extent that the religious aims are preserved.[4]

Imām Khomeinī had always put at the top of his agenda both the interest and honor of Islam and the nation. Amidst the various problems and on different circumstances he used to emphasize it. All the elements of foreign policy, in the view of the Imām, are cases that are in pursuit of ensuring the national interests, honor and pride of Iran, and the interest of Islam. It cannot be said that the Imām was only pursuing the advancement and reintroduction of Islam and nothing else (even if it is really such, still it has no contradiction with guaranteeing the long-term interests of the people). All the principles on which the Imām used to emphasize are in the long run national interests and the welfare of Islam; these principles used to ensure both the two as in the principles of self-reliance in all aspects (non-reliance on the East and West), negation of domination (both its assertion and submission to it), peaceful coexistence, relations with mutual respect, etc.

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[1] Sayyid Muhammad Nāsir Taqawī, *Hukūmat va Maṣlahat [Government and Interest]* (Tehran: Amīr Kabīr Publications, 1378 AHS), p. 13.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Hujjat al-Islām Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad ibn Ghazzālī aṭ-Ṭūsī was born in Iran in 1058 at Ṭūs, Khorāsān, where he died in 1111. Al-Ghazzālī is recognized by many as a great theologian of Islam and the final authority for Sunnī orthodoxy. Starting his religious life as orthodox, al- Ghazzālī soon turned to Sufism. He spent many years roaming from place to place before eventually going to Baghdad to preach and teach. It was there that he composed what many see as his masterpiece, *Ihyā' 'Ulūm ad-Dīn* [The Revivification of the Sciences of Religion]. His other well-known works include: *Fātihat al-'Ulūm; Tahāfut al-Falāsifah; Al-Iqtiṣād fī'l-I'tiqād* and *Kīmyā-ye Sa'ādat* [The Alchemy of Happiness] which is *Ihyā' 'Ulūm ad-Dīn* re-presented on a smaller scale for Persian readers. Al-Ghazzālī was, however, among a number of classical Sunnī authorities who attempted to legitimize both the hereditary caliphate and the usurpation of power by military dynasties, by means of their political theories. The influence of these theories has far outlived the circumstances that produced them and it continues to affect the political attitudes of Sunnī Muslims, although it is now diminishing.

[4] *Ibid.*

One of the greatest teachings of the founder of the Islamic Republic to the Iranian nation and the global Muslims is the lesson of honor-seeking.[1] Taking into account the honor in foreign policy means that in the international decision-making, interest should be assessed in such a way that the honor of the country and Islam is not slighted and such decisions would not bring abjectness to the Muslims.[2]

Thus, taking into account the honor of the country and Muslims, observance of the principle, "Neither East nor West", and maintenance of the country's independence—none of which should give way to the negligence of the country's interests. Peculiar discretion should be applied and detailed strategic programs implemented. By considering the most vital interests, all the objectives must be ensured.

The Imam believed that we ought to have a detailed program so as to achieve our goals and interests of the deprived nation of Iran, and he frequently used to remind the officials of the system of this point.[3]

Along this line, we will deal with the most important pertinent modus operandi of the Imām:

Thwarting the enemies' conspiracies

With his profound insight, the Imām used to pay attention to this subject. In particular cases, he used to remind and guide the government officials, give warning to the unwary individuals involved in these issues, and thwart the enemies' conspiracies. At the time when some individuals were entertaining the idea of isolationism by asking: "For what that we want to have relations with other countries?" or at the time when some individuals were considering the necessity of forging relations with other countries as abandonment of the objectives and ideal principles of the Revolution and Islam, or in replying to those who used to stress on the relationship with nations only and reject the relationship with states, the Imām thus states:

> The superpowers and America were imagining that Iran—through the revolution that it has launched and its desire to achieve independence and freedom, which is not a new issue and is contrary to the conduct of all governments will have no option but to withdraw; once it withdrew, it cannot be able to live. You have witnessed that it did not. Iran's relations with the foreigners have increased. Now, they arrived at the point: "What

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[1] Honor-seeking ['*izzat-țalabī*]: Striving to maintain or revive the honor of Muslims. [Trans.]
[2] Sayyid Muḥammad Nāṣir Taqawī, "*Maṣlaḥat dar Siyāsat-e Khārijī* [Interest in Foreign Policy]," *Foreign Policy Journal* 12 no. 3 (Autumn 1377 AHS), p. 589.
[3] *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imam*, vol. 21, p. 91.

we have to do with these states? They are all oppressors, so on and so forth. We should (only) have relations with the nations." This is again a new plot, very dangerous issue and well-calculated mischief. Just as at the early period of Islam when the Prophet used to send envoys to the different places to establish relations, we should act and we cannot afford to see or say, "What business do we have with the states?" This is contrary to reason and religion. We should have relationship with everybody. Yet, it has some exceptions with which we still do not have relationship.[1]

Preeminent *maṣlaḥat* in foreign policy: *maṣlaḥat* of the nation or *maṣlaḥat* of the *ummah*?

All that had been said were overall frameworks of assessing interest in foreign policy. From the statements of the founder of the Islamic Republic, we have grasped the kernel of the matters. Yet, the point is that at all times, interest assessment is not that easy such that merely knowing these frameworks and principles, we could choose and diplomatically announce our primary interests, which must be based on one of the two. It is because in some cases, these very principles—in one perspective—are pressed on one another. As what has been said earlier, in the first stage at the times of overlapping with one another, the preservation of honor as a sublime interest has a lofty value and a stronger basis in relation to other interests. However, another postulation and form is possible and that is, if in regard to an issue the honor of the nation overlaps with the honor of the Islamic world, or in other words, if the interest of the nation and the interest of the *ummah* are overlapping with each other—under this condition, which of the two should prevail over the other?

In the political linguistics, the term 'nation' [*millat*] for the common people means a country with the internationally recognized geographical limits and borders. What we mean by 'nation' is the same with the well-known conception of the term. The concept of 'nation' has divergent conceptions in the Qur'an as well as in the Islamic philosophy and sociological viewpoints. However, what we mean by *ummah* is the same Islamic *ummah*, which transcends beyond geographical frontiers, and racial, lingual and ethnic distinctions, and embraces all Muslims—regardless of the schools of thought—the followers of the religion of Islam. The answer to the put forth question depends upon the type of thinking and intellectual basis of the answerer.

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[1] *Ibid.*, vol. 19, p. 73.

In general, three views can be pointed out in this regard:[1]

First view

In this view, the interests of Muslims have never been given attention. Only the country's interests are taken into account. The most fanatic proponents of this idea are the patriotic (most of the monarchists). If in case, as a mere empty rhetoric, they talk about Islam, they are more inclined to express and advance the services rendered by Iran to Islam. For this group, usually, Xerxes, Cyrus, Darius, and the history of ancient Iran hold more importance than the history of Islam. It is so obvious that for them, in principle overlapping between the interests of the nation and *ummah* will not take place. In whatever case, it is the nation, homeland and country (that shall prevail).

Of course, it should be mentioned that usually in sensitive conditions and at the 'touchstone of experience', these claimants of patriotism easily turn back from homeland and surrender. The latest instance of this touchstone was the case of the three Iranian islands and the problem created by the World Arrogance through the United Arab Emirates for the Islamic Republic. Due to political motives, a number of this so-called patriotic group has easily expressed in one of their publications their readiness to relinquish the three islands and in principle, to view Iran as the usurper of these islands!

The nationalists and pseudo-religious intellectuals, as they never pay attention to the interests of Muslims, are also included in this group. The difference of this group with the patriotic and monarchists is its religious image. It is exactly because of this that we stated this view of the patriotic as the fanatic ones. Shallowness in religious understanding on one hand, and the intensity of nationalist fervor on the other hand, have made this group not to allocate any place for the interests of Muslims in foreign policy. The emergence of differences between the heads of the provisional government and the flag bearers of the Islamic movement during the early period of the Revolution (especially on the issue of foreign policy and relationship with America) was exactly caused by this way of thinking and view. In many instances, the Imām has pointed out this characteristic of the nationalists—that is, disregard for the interests of Muslims. He once said:

> ...And drive away from yourselves the nationalists, who are unaware of Islam and the interests of Muslims. Their damage to Islam is not less than

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[1] Sayyid Muḥammad Nāṣir Taqawī, *Maṣlaḥat dar Siyāsat-e Khārijī*, p. 593.

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the damage of the world-devourers. They wrongly present Islam and open the door for the plunderers.[1]

Second view

Proponents of this view are forces within the system and in relation to foreign policy they have a pragmatic outlook. In the view of this group, the interests of the Islamic *ummah* are worthy of respect but the interests of the country are more preferential. According to this view, such that we could be able to implement in our country the Islamic laws under the supervision of the jurist guardian is enough. In the international dimension, we are responsible in solving the problems of our country, and not responsible in removing the difficulties of all Muslims. Of course, in cases we have the capability, it is possible for us and there is no damage for our country's interests, we will render assistance to our Muslim countries. In the international gatherings (provided it is not detrimental to our country), we will always be their supporters. Therefore, in this view the country's interests are the priority, and the regard for the Muslims' interests is more explained by the sympathy and compassion for them.

Third view

This view which is more than a view and theory should actually be called a doctrine. It is the doctrine of Imām Khomeinī in foreign policy. In view of what we can witness in the words and actions of the Imām, he regarded the expansion of the influence of Islam in the whole world as a duty and grand strategy in foreign policy. He used to give priority to the interests of Islam and the Muslims (interests of the *ummah*) over the interests of the nation, in case of overlapping. Of course, this preference has a significant and essential prerequisite. That is, if that nation and country was viewed as the model and vanguard of the Muslim world and in such circumstances the existence and survival of such model—which in the political vocabulary of Islam is called the *umm al-qurā*—was in danger, the interests of the *umm al-qurā* exceptionally takes priority over the interests of the *ummah*. Not only the *umm al-qurā* but also the other Muslims and Muslim countries should render assistance so that the standard-bearer of the Islamic *ummah* should not be destabilized or totally be annihilated.

According to this view, the *umm al-qurā* country is also responsible to deal with problems and concerns of the Muslim world, which in the description of the Qur'an is 'a single community' [*ummatan waḥidah*], and it

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[1] *Sahīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 19, p. 336.

should embark on solving their problems. Imām Khomeinī thus expresses this responsibility as one of the permanent principles of Iran's foreign policy:

> We should exert our utmost effort in establishing relations with the people of the world; in addressing the problems and concerns of the Muslims; and in supporting the combatants, hungry and deprived. We should view it as part of the principles of our foreign policy. We declare that the Islamic Republic of Iran is always the protector and place of refuge for the free Muslims of the world. As a military stronghold, Iran provides the need of the soldiers of Islam and acquaints them with the religious fundamentals and Islamic training as well as the principles and methods of struggle against the systems of unbelief and polytheism.[1]

Therefore, a country like Iran, which is the forerunner of the Islamic world against the front of unbelief, should have a strong defense force as that of the *umm al-qurā* country and in capacity of supervisor and vanguard of the Islamic *ummah*, it should have a strong and firm economic build-up.

A point that is present in this discussion is that if we accept the assumption that the *umm al-qurā* should have such peculiarities and specified duties with respect to the entire *ummah*, and on the other hand, the entire *ummah* has also duty toward it, only then this issue can be put forth: Now, which country is the *umm al-qurā*? As you (Iran) claim that you are the *umm al-qurā*, on what basis and reference that you assert so?

As what we know, Imām Khomeinī led and brought to victory the Islamic Revolution in Iran—a revolution, which in many respects, is different from other revolutions in the world. One remarkable difference of this revolution is its global outlook especially the importance of the destiny of all Muslims of the world and the advancement of Islam from the viewpoint of its founder. Thus, the Imām used to view Iran as the center for the advancement and spread of Islam as well as the safe haven and refuge of Muslims of the world. In fact, once again the echo of *Lā ilāha illallāh* [There is no deity but Allah] reverberated from the rooftop of Iran. In the view of the Imām, Muslim nation of Iran and many Muslims of the world, today's Iran is the *umm al-qurā* of all Muslims. Recognizing and determining the interest in foreign policy with this viewpoint concerning Iran will be so much different unless we would treat Iran merely as a country and confined to its national interests. On one hand, there are many leaders in other countries who claim the right of leadership of the Islamic *ummah*. Each of them

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[1] *Ibid.*, vol. 21, p. 91.

regards his own country as the Muslims' *umm al-qurā* and himself as partner in the destiny of other Muslims and sympathetic to their interests. Examples of these claimants are the rulers of Arabia (especially the family of Saʻūd which has this claim since the time of their rule), Ṣaddām of Iraq, the late King Ḥusayn (ex-king of Jordan), and even rulers of Pakistan before. Hence, we want to know the manner of distinguishing the real *umm al-qurā* from the pseudo-*umm al-qurā*s. Indeed, we want to know the characteristics of the *umm al-qurā* so that on the basis of which we could have a proper recognition of it.

Characteristics of the *umm al-qurā*

In the Holy Qur'an the city of Mecca is described as the *umm al-qurā* as it has been decreed to the Holy Prophet (ṣ) by God so that he could warn (urge them to fear God) the people of it and its environs: *"Thus We sent by inspiration to thee an Arabic Qur'an: that thou mayest warn the Mother of Cities and all around her."*[1]

The fact that it is a holy city [*balad al-ḥarām*] and the locus of the Sacred House of Allah [*bayt allāh al-ḥarām*]—that is, the land of Mecca is the holiest place on the surface of the earth—is indubitable. Basically, if the land of Mecca were not superior to other places, God would not have built His House there and set up the *qiblah* [point of direction] of His final religion toward it. However, by invoking the above quoted noble verse some people associate the *umm al-qurā* of today, in the political sense of the term, to the present state and political geography of that place while some of our à la-Akhbārī[2] countrymen (Iranians) are sensitive to our consideration of Iran as the *umm al-qurā* of the Islamic world. They are negligent of the fact that first, what is meant by *umm al-qurā* in such a discussion is the responsibility of a country toward the entire Islamic *ummah*. Second, this conception of *umm al-qurā*, which is in fact a sort of 'vanguardianship' of the Islamic *ummah*, has certain characteristics and peculiarities. Mere claim cannot make

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[1] *Sūrah ash-Shūrā* 42:7.

[2] *Akhbārī*: follower of Akhbarism [*akhbariyyah*], a movement, which started within the Shīʻah world about four hundred years ago. Its originator was Mullā Muḥammad Amīn ibn Muḥammad Sharīf al-Astarābādī (d. 1033 AH/1623-24). He openly attacked the Shīʻah *mujtahids* in his work *al-Fawāʼid al-Madaniyyah*, vehemently contesting the *Uṣūlīs*' claim that reason is one of the sources of *fiqh*. The *Uṣūlīs*' hold the Qur'an, the *Sunnah*, reason, and *ijmaʻ* [consensus] as valid sources for deduction of the rules of the *sharīʻah*. The *Akhbārīs* accepted the validity only of the *Sunnah* and rejected the rest. Understanding the Qur'an, they claimed, is beyond the capacity of a commoner, being restricted exclusively to the *Ahl al-Bayt* (ʻa). [Trans.]

a country the *umm al-qurā*. Among these characteristics and peculiarities, we will deal with the most important ones:

Leadership and government system

As what has been earlier said, among the heavy responsibilities of the Islamic government is to guide the people toward the true happiness and implementation of the divine laws and limits. Therefore, it is evident that the leader and ruler of this government—who will also be the leader of the Muslim world—should have precise information on the religious sources and laws. As such, the authentic leader of the exemplary Islamic government is a person who should have a profound religious knowledge as well as the highest understanding and capability of management. Correct views and accurate decisions on sensitive and critical circumstances of the Islamic world can play a remarkably key role in facing problems. Similarly, having the sense of unity-orientation, which can lead to 'Islamic integration' and 'unity of the *ummah*', and aloofness from sectarian-religious fanaticisms, which is repugnant to unity, considered as among the meritorious characteristics and peculiarities of a model leader of a country, which aspires to be (or capable of becoming) the *umm al-qurā* of the Islamic world.[1]

Now, imagine that in countries where the qualification of the rulers is not based on Islamic merit and worth, and the criteria such as blood, gene and hereditary system are discussed, and on the other hand, the ruler and governors of the country do not have the least knowledge of the principle of religion and *sharī'ah* (regardless of sects). Could such governments be correctly considered authentic Islamic governments? How much for that country to be the *umm al-qurā*?

Granting that the government system is based upon the criteria of the Western countries (such as force and coup d'état by a military junta) or the heads of such governments acquired their legitimacy totally through the 'enlightened' Western liberal democracies and at the same time do not have the least knowledge of religion and religious issues, and even pursued all his studies in non-Muslim counties in non-religious fields, could such persons identify the true interests of their society and the interests of the Islamic *ummah* and remove the corruptions therein? Could such individuals design a strategy for Islamic unity, cause the integration of the diverse schools of thought in Islam, and form a formidable front against the front of unbelief? Definitely, the answer of any intelligent person to this question will be

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[1] *Maṣlaḥat dar Siyāsat-e Khārijī*, p. 594.

negative. Therefore, in considering the government system and its consistency with the ruler's acquisition of power is one of the key criteria in identifying the authoritative and meritorious Islamic government. It must be seen whether the rulers of that country possess the merit, worth and status of administering the *umm al-qurā* or not.[1]

Observance of the limits and preservation of the Islamic precepts in the society

Undoubtedly, societies that are exerting the least effort in preserving the Islamic rites and at times even in the societal level and mass media of that country open corruption and vulgarities can be observed, do not deserve to administer the Islamic world, which is supposed to move toward virtue and spirituality. Definitely, such countries cannot be model for the *ummah* in attaining moral and social virtues. Based on this criterion, the country having the highest merit and worth to be the *umm al-qurā* is the one having the utmost attachment to religious principles and implement these principles on its societal level.[2]

Courage and audacity in fighting unbelief

Through the heavy responsibility it has in setting free the oppressed, deprived and exploited Muslims, the *umm al-qurā* of the Islamic world should have the courage and audacity in confronting the arrogant and tyrants. How could the countries showing in practice that they are under the yoke of the arrogant claim that they are delivering the Islamic *ummah*? Without doubt, countries having the highest affection with the archenemy of Islam cannot and would not be able even to sympathize with the Muslims and remedy the sufferings of the deprived.

Defense of the limits and boundaries of Islam in the international forums

One of the important responsibilities of the *umm al-qurā* is the protection of the reputation and identity of Islam in the world. The *umm al-qurā* is supposed to be sensitive to the issues, honor and blemish involved in the onslaught against the principles and sanctities of Islam. At the times when the enemies of Islam intend to render a blow to its principles and sanctities, the *umm al-qurā* is not supposed to remain silent but to utilize every means to defend them and nip in a bud every evil intention. In case of manifestation of these evil motives, it should discuss them in the international gatherings in

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 598.
[2] *Ibid.*

the best possible manner and uproot them. As what we have observed, at the diverse events that befell Islam, the Muslims and the Qur'an, many countries and their leaders that do claim leadership of the Islamic *ummah*, have complete silence, show their own limited actions, or in a way compromise with the elements of despise such as on the Palestinian Question, the blasphemous *Satanic Verses*, genocide of the Bosnian Muslims, etc. This is while throughout the life of the Imām, Palestine had been one of his primary concerns and the Islamic Republic of Iran is still the leading champion of the Palestinian rights in the world. On the blasphemous *Satanic Verses* conspiracy, with total courage and audacity the Imām again thwarted this conspiracy (which can be discussed at length) and issued an edict on Salman Rushdie's apostasy and execution. In many other cases, the Islamic Republic of Iran had been and continue to be the champion of the Muslims and Islam.

Endeavor in the propagation of the rich ordinances and culture of Islam

Another distinguishing feature of the *umm al-qurā* is the endeavor to introduce and disseminate the decrees, laws, ordinances, and culture of the true religion of Islam in the world through various methods and in different occasions. Through dialogue, understanding, propagation, *ta'līf al-qulūb* [winning the endearment of others], and the like, there should be attempt to acquaint the world with the completeness and happiness-endowing feature of Islam. The most important means along this way is the culture of Islam. Unfortunately, Muslim countries so far have not done quite satisfactory measure in this context and the Western propaganda has influenced them. Instead of disseminating the culture of Islam, either they have forgotten or practiced it very rarely. Instead of disseminating it, they embraced the Western culture with open arms. It was only after the Islamic Revolution and the Imām's directives on the export of revolution through culture and cultural propagation that the name of Islam became alive again in the world. In reply to Samuel Huntington's theory on the 'clash of civilizations', which not only was not welcomed by the people of the world but also earned the displeasure of many scholars and sociologists of the world, in the recent years, the President of the Islamic Republic of Iran has proposed the idea of dialogue among civilizations, which apart from being lauded by the wholesome and pure natural disposition of the world, was welcomed by the United Nations, which named the year 2001 as the 'Year of Dialogue among Civilizations and Cultures'.[1] Summit conference was held for this occasion,[1] which was

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[1] The UN General Assembly in September 1998 unanimously approved President Sayyid Muḥammad Khātamī's proposal to designate year 2001 as such. See *Salam*, 24 May 1998;

again an honor for the Muslims and Iranians, and the source of this idea was nothing but the salvation-endowing guidelines of the Holy Qur'an, dear Islam and the late Imām.

Possession of geopolitical and strategic capabilities

Although this criterion as an isolated condition is not so much considerable, as an advantage and privilege it is so important. Countries that have small population and manpower as well as insignificant area either have a poor geopolitical location as they do not have the necessary capability and power willy-nilly to organize the Islamic *ummah*, or at least it can be said that they will face difficulty and be so much vulnerable in confronting the enemies.

What have been enumerated above are the most important characteristics and features through which a country could acquire the aptitude, capability and merit of being the *umm al-qurā*. Therefore, we can conclude that being the *umm al-qurā* of a country depends upon the realization of these conditions and qualifications. Hence, it cannot necessarily be permanent and fixed. Through this explanation, a country can be the *umm al-qurā* at a certain time and no longer be so at another time. The implication is that to be the *umm al-qurā* cannot be inherited from one generation to another unless the corresponding attributes and conditions have also been transferred and inherited, and such a country has still the distinction and merit of being the *umm al-qurā* on the basis of the mentioned standards.[2]

In view of the explanations presented concerning the '*umm al-qurā*-ness' of a country, it can be concluded that from the occurrence of the Islamic Revolution under the Imām's leadership up to the present, few years after his

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"President Khatami's Speech at the UN General Assembly on 20 September 1998," *President Khatami's Website*, http://www.president.gov.ir/year2001/khatamiun.htm; *Salam*, 22 and 23 September 1998.

For Khatami's endorsement of and continuous campaign for a constructive 'Civilizational Dialogue' as the ideal rule of the game in the relations among nations, see *inter alia*, "Khatami's Address Before UNESCO General Conference on 29 October 1999," *Discourse: An Iranian Quarterly* 1, no. 2 (Fall 1999): 208-216; Khatami's speech at Lorne, Italy on March 3, 2000. [Trans.]

[1] Addressing the UN Millennium Summit in September 2000, Khatami expounds on the civilizational dialogue paradigm, thus: "If the role model of dialogue among civilizations and cultures is assessed from an ethical angle, one will immediately understand that it is essentially a call for the people of the world to abandon their attachment to wield power and instead resort to a determination that pursues love. In this case, the net result of the idea of dialogue will be unanimity and benevolence." See *Iran Daily*, 6 September 2000. [Trans.]

[2] *Maslahat dar Siyāsat-e Khārijī*, p. 598.

demise, the distinctions of *umm al-qurā* have totally existed only in Iran and nowhere else. We hope it would always remain as the champion of the oppressed and source of hope of the Muslims. For, every thinking, idea and school needs protectors that will protect, advance and consolidate it. Because of this, there should also be a physical base through which program for the advancement, propagation and assistance of the Muslims and the deprived be formed. This base is to be attributed to the *umm al-qurā*. For, keeping in view the welfare and interests of the base, its survival is necessary, and the protection and preservation of the *umm al-qurā* is exactly the interest of Islam. In the light of this explanation, there is no contradiction between the interests and welfare of the people (Iran) as the *umm al-qurā*, on one hand, and the interests and welfare of Islam, on the other hand.

For further clarification of the issue, let us benefit from the words of the Imām:

"Our foreign policy is based upon the preservation of freedom, independence, interests, and welfare of Islam and the Muslims."[1]

With total decisiveness, he deems the preservation of the interests and welfare of the people as among the undeniable duties:

"Our policy is always based upon the preservation of freedom, independence and interests of the people. We will not sacrifice this principle for the sake of something else."[2]

For the Imām, the objective behind forming a government is solely to guarantee the interests and welfare of the people. Prior to the victory of the Revolution, he says the following in reply to a question on the objective behind the formation of a government:

"The future government has no commitment except to the nation and for the preservation of their interests and welfare."[3]

Therefore, it can generally be concluded that *maṣlaḥat* [interest] in foreign policy is first the interest of Islam, then the interest of the people or nation. Of course, regarding the greater interest of Islam, as what has been stated at the beginning of the chapter, only those who would comprehend the viewpoint of the Imām on the Islamic basis, concepts and objectives could understand and grasp this issue. Outside this framework, they could never accept this preference. Another point which seemingly needs to be explained is that the interest of Islam is itself the interest of the people. That is, Islam by itself does not need interest, and the Islamic school has described a

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[1] *Saḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 5, p. 80.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 364.
[3] *Ibid.*, vol. 5, p. 383.

program for their happiness and prosperity. Ultimately, the interest of Islam is the interests and concerns for the happiness of mankind. The Imām pays attention to this covert aspect of the Islamic school. He considers the long-term objectives in identifying the interests, and regards himself obliged to provide felicity for all human beings, not only for the people of a particular country like Iran.

Political violence in the international scene and the idea of export of revolution

As what have been explained throughout this paper, on different occasions and in diverse ways and expressions, the most important objective of Imām Khomeinī in the struggle against tyranny and oppression as well as in leading to victory the Revolution was the deliverance of Islam, which through the defunct Pahlavī regime and its detailed programs and propaganda, was supposed to be uprooted from the Iranian society. After the victory of the Islamic Revolution in Iran, since the Imām as a Muslim regarded it his mission to follow the Prophet of Islam (ṣ) in advancing and propagating the salvation-endowing teachings of Islam, he was always trying to introduce once again and revive Islam throughout the world. It is the Islam, which through the efforts of the enemies and propaganda of the colonialists during a long period, only its name remained, and its school, creed and function were also became instruments in most countries at the service of oppressing and colonizing the Muslims. The Imām's objective was the reinstitution of the pure Muḥammadan Islam in place of the 'American Islam'. He presented this objective under the name of 'export of revolution'. One of his fervent aspirations was the total prevalence of Islam as well as the Islamic values and laws.

In this limited space, in view of the extensiveness of the dimensions of revolution exportation, a comprehensive study of it from Imām Khomeinī's viewpoint cannot be done.[1] In this study there has been an attempt to examine one of the important dimensions of revolution exportation as it has brought ambiguity on the minds of the people and at times highlighted by the enemies of the Revolution to portray a bad image of the Revolution and Imām Khomeinī. Similarly it is worth dealing with, as political violence, dialogue and mutual understanding among civilizations are the hot issues of the day.

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[1] For further information of the 'revolution exportation', see *Imām Khomeinī on Exportation of Revolution*, trans. Ḥamīd Tehrānī (Tehran: The Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imām Khomeinī's Works, 2001). [Trans.]

Imām Khomeinī was a very kind and compassionate person, and had a countenance full of affection. Constant munificence and purity at all circumstances were conspicuous on his face and expression. There was distinct charisma on his visage—full of amity, fondness and concern for the people. He had never been like many leaders who would get angry and shout when furious and annoyed. At worst circumstances he could still afford to speak calmly and serenely. The enemies of Islam and America the Great Satan's portrayal of a harsh and despotic image of the Imām was a grave injustice on the rights of this great upright man of the world. His style and personality throughout his life negate the theory of some individuals who believe that every means should be utilized in introducing and exporting the Revolution or in reviving the Islamic values. He himself never expected to let others follow and admire the Islamic Revolution through force and compulsion. Just as in the consolidation of the Islamic Republican system, in spite of knowing that the people would follow suit whatever he approves of, he had never taken away from the people their right to choose or deprived them of their will. Thus, we find out that a referendum was held and 98.22% of the eligible voters freely voted for the establishment of the Islamic Republic. How is it possible for a person who does not permit himself to take away the choice of others in whose hearts he occupies a special place to resort to force and violence in the international system in a bid to export the Revolution?

The Imām had an absolute conviction in the noble verse, *"There is no compulsion in matters of religion,"*[1] believing that there should be an exertion of effort to introduce the authentic image and message of Islam so that at the time of their natural readiness, the people of the world would be inclined to Islam.

In reviving the Islamic values, the Imām has never resorted to violence even against the Shāh's regime. Initially, he gave counsel, advice and admonition to the Shāh and his government officials, exhorting them to reform the system and preserve the eminence and authority of the Muslim people of Iran. Thus, in this study a selection from the Imām's statements on the export of Revolution devoid of any kind of compulsory and violent actions but through legitimate ways will be analyzed.

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[1] *Sūrah al-Baqarah* 2:256. [Trans.]

Culture as the most effective means of conveying message

It can be said that the Imām is the first person who opened the door of dialogue among cultures and civilizations, laying value to it as well as viewing it as the most important means for understanding and communications. Hence, he believed that cultural activities should be done to export the revolution. As what is known to us all, cultural work and violence can never go hand in hand.

As we know, persons or countries that want to impose their own culture on others utilize instruments that are completely opposite to violence and negate it. By depicting a good image of their culture and ideas, as well as proving the superiority of their culture through the allurements of that culture, they try to draw other toward them. In doing so, they strive to dominate the heart, soul, and mind of the people. This affair can never be realized through force and violence. Creation of fear, dread and awe makes the people disgusted and uninterested. The Imām states:

> When we say, 'We want to export the Revolution', we want that this thing, which has appeared, this spirituality which has emerged in Iran, to be exported. We do not use swords and guns, or attack anyone. It has been a long time that Iraq is fighting against us and we are not attacking them. They attack and we defend ourselves. Defense is a necessity. We want to export our revolution, our cultural revolution, our Islamic Revolution, to Muslim countries. If this revolution is exported, no matter where, the problems are solved.[1]

The Imām believed that if Islam as it is and as it has been stated in the Qur'an and the Islamic commandments is introduced and implemented in Muslim countries especially in the Islamic Republic, it will find its proper place and there is no need for cannons and tanks.

> We, who say, that we want to export Islam, it does not mean that we board the planes and invade other countries. We did not say that, nor are we able to do so. But what we can do is that, by utilizing the equipment that we have, through the radio and television, the press, through people who go abroad, we introduce Islam the way it should be. If Islam were to be introduced the way it is, it would be accepted by all. The innate nature of man is pure. Man accepts things that are said, based on his pure innate nature, and this is what frightens the powerful. Hence we have a very important duty. Not only us, but also all of Muslims, and not only you, but

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[1] *Şaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 13, p. 90.

also all the strata committed to Islam, and living in Iran and abroad. We have a monumental duty, and that is to introduce Islam to the people and the world, as it is, as God Almighty has said, as it appears in our *hadīths* and the Qur'an. This in itself can be more effective than thousands of cannons and tanks.[1]

In the opinion of the Imām, the main objective is guidance and rectification. Thus, if the establishment undertakes such reform and enlightenment, the objective has been realized. It is only in case of the establishment's violation of the Islamic values and precepts that to revolt against them is justifiable.

Concerning the use of violence and arms, and the application of language and logic, dialogue and knowledge in rendering service to humanity, the Imām says, "We hope the whole humanity attain such a lofty station of progress to transform guns into pens. Pens and speeches have rendered so many services to humanity while guns have not."[2]

Elsewhere, in rejecting violence and giving importance to proper propagation and invitation, he again states:

We who say that we want to export our revolution, we do not want it by sword; rather we want it to be done by promotion. We want to neutralize the propaganda campaigns that the communists and others are waging against us, with proper promotion, and say that Islam has everything.[3]

Awakening of the governments and nations as the objective of the export of revolution

When we say that our revolution must be exported everywhere, they should not misinterpret it to mean that we want to take over other countries. We consider all Muslim countries as brothers. [The borders of] all countries should stay as they are. We want that the same thing that happened in Iran—the awakening that occurred in Iran, causing them to distance themselves from the superpowers [by] ending their control over the [natural] resources—would happen in all the nations and all the governments. This is our dream. The meaning of exportation of revolution is that all nations would wake up, all governments would wake up, and would save themselves from this predicament that they face: They are being

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[1] *Ibid.*, vol. 18, p. 364.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. 13, p. 447.

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. 18, p. 72.

dominated; they are living in poverty while their resources are being plundered.[1]

I have repeatedly said that we are not seeking war with anyone. Today our revolution has been exported. Everywhere they are talking about Islam and the deprived (people) view Islam as [their] source of hope. You must introduce Islam as it is with proper propagation. When the nations learn about Islam, they inevitably become attracted to it. We do not want anything but the implementation of Islam's decrees in the world.[2]

In stating the Islamic position on the rejection of violence, believing in the fact that the value of Islam is dependent on the wish and aspiration of human beings, the Imām says, "Islam does not accept dictatorship; whoever is a dictator is not a Muslim."[3]

Through his admonitions and invitation to the rulers of Muslim countries to adopt a proper course of action and to make supreme the divine laws, the Imām first emphasized the upper revolution (among the political elites of the Muslim states). In case of the Muslim ruler's lack of insight, he viewed revolution as the only way for the deliverance of the Muslim nations and the basic prerequisite for the realization of Islamic values.

The Imām's aim in the export of revolution was first the awakening and change of the people's mentality to be set free from oppression. In his talks, he always used to elucidate the religion of Islam, explaining its universality so that through the expression of its true nature, it could be presented in the world and the revolution exportation be realized.

While indicating to man how to worship God, the school of Islam also shows him how to live and how to regulate his relations with his fellow human beings and the Islamic society as well with respect to other societies. There is no movement or action of an individual or society concerning which Islam has not ordained a decree. I hope the Islamic government in Iran be formed and the benefits in such a government be illuminated for the humanity. In such a way, they would understand first of all, what Islam is, what kind of relations would be between the governments and nations, how would be its mode of implementing justice, and that the highest person in the country has no disparity at all in lifestyle with that of the subject.[4]

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[1] *Ibid.*, vol. 13, 281.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. 15, 321.

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. 8, p. 370.

[4] *Ibid.*, vol. 5, p. 389.

The Imām regards the revolution exportation as a religious mission based upon the conduct [*sīrah*] of the Prophet (*s*):

> We, who started the movement, did so for the sake of Islam. The republic is an Islamic Republic. A movement, which is for the sake of Islam, cannot be limited to one country. It cannot even be limited to Muslim countries. The movement for Islam is the same as the movement of the prophets. The movement of the prophets was not just for one place. The Most Noble Messenger (*s*) was from Arabia[1] but his mission was not [just] for Arabia. It was not limited to Arabia. His mission was for the whole world.[2]

"I hope you would succeed in implementing Islam in all Muslim countries and the truths of Islam in the world."[3]

Ḥajj as an important instrument in achieving the foreign policy objectives of Islam

Anchored on the injunction of verse three of *Sūrah at-Tawbah*, which has been conveyed to the Holy Prophet (*s*) by God, thus: *"And a proclamation from Allah and His Messenger to all men on the day of the Greater Pilgrimage that Allah is free from obligation to the idolaters, and (so is) His messenger,"* and similarly addressed to Prophet Abraham, the Friend of Allah [*khalīlullāh*], the people are invited to come and observe what is good for them. These interests are interests of the society—political, social and cultural interests. Let them come and see that you (Abraham) as their prophet offered in the way of God the most beloved in your life. All the progeny of Adam should imitate you. Let them see how you broke the idols and abandon everything but God.

It was for years and perhaps centuries that this mammoth political-social-devotional congress, which could have realized all the objectives of the Islamic school, had only been observed in its devotional-individual aspect. Its true mission, which was true belief in God, eschewing every kind of polytheism and association of partners with God, collaboration of efforts, and elimination of the Muslims' problems has been relegated to the abyss of oblivion until such time that Khomeinī, the idol-breaker, entered the vista of

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[1] The birthplace of the Prophet of Islam was the city of Mecca, and the place where he passed away was the city of Medina. Both cities are among important cities of today's Saudi Arabia, to which millions of Muslims flock each year. [Trans.]

[2] *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 4, p. 417.

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. 17, p. 109.

the Islamic world's issues and concerns, and pointed out the mission of the day to the Muslim society through his actions, words and writings.

During the year 1362 AH *hajj* pilgrimage Imām Khomeinī revived the Sunnah of the Prophet and utilized this grand Islamic gathering as the most important instrument of foreign policy, or we better say, Islamic foreign policy. During the last few years of his blessed life, the Imām conveyed in his various messages sent to the annual *hajj* gathering all the aspects that can be discussed in this congress and be utilized, or we better say, he conveyed in those messages the charter of the Islamic government. Here we will mention three important points of the messages that encompass all the problems and concerns of the Islamic world and are approximately all the possible aspects of the *hajj*'s political and devotional rites.

1. Islam possesses a rich human development-oriented culture that draws the nations toward advancement devoid of any inclination to the left and right, and without considering the color, language and region. It guides human beings in religious, moral and practical dimensions, and urges them to seek knowledge from cradle to grave. In the political sphere, Islam guides the countries to aspire for and establish a wholesome government without resorting to lies, ruses and deceitful conspiracies. It tightens friendly relations with other countries that are committed to peaceful living devoid of tyranny and oppression. It produces a sound economy free from dependency, for the benefit of all, for the welfare of all people, and giving importance to the needy and weak. It strives to further improve the agriculture, industry and trade. In the military domain, it gives military training to all those competent to defend the country during emergency cases. During these circumstances it optionally, and at times compulsorily, mobilizes the masses. At normal times, it gives training for the defense of the borders, administering the cities, security of the highways, maintenance of public order, and discipline of the trained faithful forces.[1]

2. While repeating, *labbayk* [Here I am],[2] say 'no' to all idols and cry out 'no' to all the *ṭāghūts*[1] and small *ṭāghūts*. While circumambulating God's

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[1] *Payām-e Imām beh Zā'irān-e Baytullāh al-Harām* [Imām Khomeinī's Message to the Pilgrims to the Sacred House of Allah], 5/25/1364 AHS.

[2] *Labbayk* [Here I am]: In full, *Labbayk, allāhumma labbayk, labbayka lā sharīka laka labbayk, innal-hamda wan-ni'mata laka wal-mulka lā sharīka laka labbayk* ["Here I am, O Lord, here I am, You indeed have no partner, here I am. No doubt, all praise and bounties are Yours, and so is the absolute Domain. You indeed have no partners, here I am"]. Recited in Arabic, it is the *talbiyyah*, proclaimed immediately after wearing the *ihrām* (white garment) that signifies the beginning of the *hajj* rituals. [Trans.]

sanctuary, which denotes love to the Truth (God), disengage your hearts from the rest, and purge your soul of fear of other than the Truth, and along with your love for God, express your hatred of the small and big idols, the *ṭāghūt*s and their affiliates, as God, the Exalted, and His friends have expressed hatred of them, and all the freedom-loving people of the world do hate them. While touching the Black Stone [*ḥajar al-aswad*],[2] pledge to God to declare enmity with the enemies of God, His messengers, and the liberated and pious men, and never yield to them, no matter who and where they might be, and take away the fear and sense of inferiority from your hearts, for the enemies of God and above them all, the arch Satan, are themselves wretched, though being superior in their tools of murdering, suppression and perpetration of crimes.

While perambulating [*sa'ī*] between Ṣafā[3] and Marwah,[4] try, with all sincerity and righteousness, to acquire the (pleasure of the) Beloved, for, by acquiring Him all the worldly woven webs shall be ruptured; the doubts and mistrusts collapsed; carnal whims and desires expired; material bonds untied; liberties flourished; and all the ties and attachments to the Satan and *ṭāghūt*, which subject the servants of God to captivity and obeisance, shall be detached. Proceed to Mash'ar al-Ḥarām[5] and 'Arafāt[6] in a state of cognition and gnosis, and at each station cultivate your heart-felt confidence in God's promises and the governance of the downtrodden. Silently and serenely meditate on the divine signs, determine to save the deprived and the downtrodden from the grips of the World Arrogance and pray to Almighty God, at these noble stations, to open up deliverance for all.

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[1] *Ṭāghūt*: literally, an idol; figuratively, one who surpasses all bounds in his despotism and tyranny and claims the prerogatives of divinity for himself, whether explicitly or implicitly. [Trans.]

[2] *Ḥajar al-aswad*: a black stone located in the eastern pillar of the *Ka'bah*, 1.5 meters above the ground placed on the wall. *Ḥajj* pilgrims try to touch this stone during the circumambulation for blessing and luck. [Trans.]

[3] Ṣafā: a hill in Mecca which is an extension of Abū Qubays Mountain to the east of the Masjid al-Ḥarām. Traversing the distance between this place and Marwah (another place in Mecca) is another devotional *ḥajj* rite and is termed *sa'ī* [literally: effort, trial, attempt]. [Trans.]

[4] Marwah: a mount located at a point between the east and the southeast of Mecca, north of Ṣafā. [Trans.]

[5] Mash'ar al-Ḥarām: the place where the *ḥajj* pilgrims spend the night on their return from 'Arafāt and offer their *maghrib* [dusk], *'ishā'* [night] and *subuḥ* [dawn] prayers. [Trans.]

[6] 'Arafāt: a plain about 21 kilometers north of Mecca at which the pilgrims' stay from noon to sunset on the 9th day of Dhū'l-Ḥijjah (Day of 'Arafāt) is one of the *ḥajj* rites. [Trans.]

Then, you proceed to Minā[1] and comprehend the righteous wishes, i.e. sacrificing your most beloved thing for the sake of the Absolute Beloved. Let it be known to you that unless you abandon these beloved things, above which are love of the self and then love of the world, you cannot gain access to the Absolute Beloved. It is at this state that you must repel the Satan and make him retreat. While observing divine decrees, repeat the act of repelling the Satan and his entourage, and make them all retreat.

And the prerequisite of all rituals and stations to achieve the natural [*fiṭrī*] wishes and human hopes is the gathering of all Muslims at these stages and stations of the unity of expression of all Muslim groups without the distinction of language, color, tribe, sect, country, and region, and the fanaticisms of the Age of Ignorance.[2]

3. *Ḥajj* is the center of knowing God in which the gist of the policy of Islam in all angles of life should be sought. *Ḥajj* is the harbinger of the creation and establishment of a society free from material and spiritual vices. *Ḥajj* is the manifestation and recurrence of love-engendering scenes of a human being and society in the world. The *ḥajj* rites are the rites of life. As the society of the Islamic *ummah* of whatever race and nation should be Abrahamic so as to be joined and united with the *khalīl* [friend] of the *ummah* of Muḥammad and be a single hand, *ḥajj* is the organization, training and formation of this *tawḥīdīc* [monotheistic] life. *Ḥajj* is the arena of demonstrating as well as the mirror of assessing the talents, and material and spiritual potentialities of the Muslims.[3]

Conclusion

Both in theory and practice, the Imām exerted his utmost effort to remove the ambiguities and flaws that are depicted in the realm of foreign policy of the Islamic country and forging of relationship with other countries. The theoretical dimension of the Imām's thought in the field of foreign policy is examined in this article. The Imām strove hard to revive the political and social precepts of Islam, which had been either relegated to the limbo of oblivion or not been implemented. He tried to illustrate an image of Islam in which Islam was introduced as the most complete religion, most

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[1] Minā: a place in Mecca where the pilgrims slaughter their sacrificial animals. [Trans.]

[2] *Payām-e Imām beh Zā'irān-e Baytullāh al-Ḥarām* [Imām Khomeinī's Message to the Pilgrims to the Sacred House of Allah], 5/16/1366 AHS; *Ṣaḥīfeh-ye Nūr*, vol. 20, p. 8. [Trans.]

[3] *Payām-e Imām beh Zā'irān-e Baytullāh al-Ḥarām* [Imām Khomeinī's Message to the Pilgrims to the Sacred House of Allah], 4/29/1367 AHS.

precise code of living, most advanced culture and civilization, and as the means for the salvation and happiness of humankind. The Imām expressed this objective through various means such as writing books and essays, speeches, stances, and decrees in all aspects—cultural, economic, political, social, and legal.

All thrusts of foreign policy in the view of the Imām are cases that pursue the protection of the national interests, honor, and dignity of Iran as well as the interests of Islam. The principles which the Imām emphasized used to guarantee in the long run both the national interests and the interests of Islam.

For the purpose of introducing the correct image of Islam, delivering the people, exporting the Revolution, and the Iranian nation's acquisition of positive experiences, the Imām was inclined to promote cultural activities in the world. In doing so, awakening and awareness among the people of the world can be fostered. Resorting to violence and force was unacceptable for the Imām. In my opinion, although the blessed life of the Imām was obviously so short, in such a short period he was able to fulfill his mission. Whatsoever is to be conveyed was conveyed; whatever is to be illuminated was illuminated. Hence, in reviving the Islamic values the Imām was able to succeed in allowing the people pay attention to their interests and welfare. Now, it is our turn to preserve these values and endeavors of the Imām, God willing.

Islamic Revolution and the World System

Manūchehr Muḥammadī

Introduction

The victory of the Islamic Revolution and the collapse of the Soviet Union in the last two decades of the twentieth century, apart from effecting essential and fundamental internal change, brought significant and at times decisive transformations in the international community. In the intellectual and theoretical aspect of these transformations, one can call to mind the alteration and invalidation of some points of the theories and predictions put forth before such as the cancellation of taking the role of religion in the destiny and history of mankind on one hand, and the capability of universality of the Marxist-Leninist ideology, on the other hand. In stating the importance and value of this intellectual and theoretical transformation, it is enough to say that many of the international relations theorists were compelled to dissent from the idea and theory of their predecessors such as in the notion of the end of era of religion's capability in shaping the destiny and history of mankind.[1]

In this article, while taking a survey of the changes of the international system after the World War II up to the present and studying the presented views particularly on the future world system, I will embark on the discussion of impacts of the Islamic Revolution of Iran, particularly the thoughts of Imām Khomeinī, upon the trend of transformations of the aforesaid systems.

Bipolar system

Subsequent to the victory of the Allied Forces in the World War II, a new system prevailed in the world, which was then unprecedented in the contemporary world. This system, which was known as bipolar system

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[1] See, for example, Samuel Huntington, *Political Order in Changing Societies* (Yale University Press, 1968), pp. 32-34.

because of the existence and matchless domination of the two superpowers of the East and West and the Marxist and liberal ideologies, continued for almost forty years.

The dominance of the aforementioned bipolar system and its ever-increasing expansion and consolidation compelled most of the countries, small and vulnerable ones in particular, to ally with one of the two blocs. Gradually, this system was established on the basis of rule that in any of the national, regional or global changes and transformations not only that one of the two superpowers had an active presence and role behind them but that they would also seek and get help from one of the opposing poles. Although some ups and downs in the relations between the Western and Eastern superpowers took place throughout the dominance of the bipolar system, a particular feature known as the 'Cold War' dominated the series of relations between these two superpowers.

Unipolar system

During the second half of the 1980s one of the two superpowers, i.e. the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, faced such a fundamental and extensive transformation and change, which not only put an end to its internal structure in an unimaginable manner but also—while ending the era of dominance of the bipolar system—made the international society face an extremely important and destiny-making question: What will be the type of the future international system and on the basis of which criteria and standards it will be established?

Following the collapse of the Soviet Union—which is the defeat of the Marxist-Leninist ideology after the declining in power of the seemingly undefeatable Soviet Union and its relinquishment of leadership of the Eastern Bloc—brought to existence a very conducive opportunity for the other superpower, by taking advantage of this opportunity, to extend and broaden its unmatched power over the entire world. It is to be noted that the aforesaid unmatched superpower saw the capitalist system anchored on liberalism and democracy of its own Western type that stood at the front of this system totally successful and victorious at the outcome of the collapse of the Eastern Bloc, that bespeaks of the inutility of the Marxist-Leninist ideology as well as the potency of the capitalist system to overcome the said ideology. Yet, a concern owing to the end of the Cold War and the disintegration of the Eastern Bloc, which could have rendered serious threat on setting aside the said superpower from the leadership of the Western world, compelled the statesmen and leaders of this country to eliminate the said serious threat by

formulating a new policy and a sort of intellectual alternative, and to extend and widen its dominance over the entire world while maintaining its leadership of the Western world.

Some of the American theoreticians considered the end of the Cold War as a very opportune time in introducing this idea in which the international peace and order requires the presence and establishment of a dominant power which, through reliance on its material interests and absolute power, is capable of ensuring and guaranteeing public security and welfare. Pursuant to this idea of the American theoreticians, the George Bush doctrine labeled as the 'New World Order' was brought to the fore. The said doctrine stood on the proposition that the United States of America, the only remaining superpower after the Cold War era, is in need of preserving a considerable degree of its military prowess to exert effective global influence. The said theory caught the attention of a number of scholars on international politics at the American universities and made them busy justifying and defending it. The most significant theory ever presented in this respect belongs to the structural realism of Kenneth Waltz.[1] The school based on this theory maintained that although the distribution of military capabilities at the end of the World War II warranted the Cold War competition between the two superpowers, at the time when in the mid-1980s the USSR lagged behind in preserving and perpetuating its military capability and necessarily withdrew from the scene of competition, America as the unrivaled power in the international system will remain as such.[2]

Ronald Reagan, by emphasizing this theory, which is the guaranteeing of peace through technological preeminence, was stating thus in his memoirs:

> I know that he (Gorbachev) has strong motives in putting an end to the arms race. The Soviet economy is such a straw that a significant portion of which was used to be spent on armaments. He realized that exceedingly more than the Soviets we could be able to spend on arms as far as we like. The world is in the threshold of a new stage. We have the chance to make this world more secure and a better place for the present and the twenty-first century.[3]

The condition for continuation and consolidation of the new system can be said to be based on two fundamental principles. First, the American

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[1] Kenneth Waltz, *Theory of International Politics* (Reading, Mass: Addison-Wesley, 1979). [Trans.]

[2] Seymon Brown, "Explaining the Transformation of World Politics," *International Journal* 46, no. 2 (Spring 1991), pp. 207-219.

[3] Ronald Reagan, *An American Life* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1990), pp. 14-15.

administration should have such a capability and power to lead the world system—militarily, economically, politically, and socially. Second, the other members of the international community following such a system should be so subservient and obedient to the whims of America. In case of expression of defiance and insubordination, the defying and recalcitrant state should be punished and be taught a lesson as to how it should behave.[1]

The existence and implementation of the aforementioned dual conditions, which are the foundation of continuity of the new world order, seems to be impossible; for, economically, politically and socially the American society has no potentiality, necessary motive and sufficient conditions to assume the global leadership. Besides, the other countries do not have necessary preparedness to accept the American leadership and unconditionally follow that country. As a result, the latter part of the 1990s has witnessed a sort of the American endeavor to stabilize this system and the defiance of other countries based on rejection of this system, which finally led to the failure of America and that of the new unipolar system. It was in this context that the other states such as the People's Republic of China (PRC) propounded the idea of multipolar system, which has been objectionable for America and up to now, it has not acknowledged this reality.[2]

In the multipolar system, economic relations are a decisive factor in international relations and this factor replaces the military power. Under these conditions, the international system has no meaning without considering Asia particularly Japan as new poles of power. In the past, due to the decisive role of military power, the United States and Europe used to exert manipulative influence over Asia particularly Japan. Under the new conditions, however, Japan—having indescribable attention to the regions such as Africa, the Middle East and Southeast Asia, which have experienced remarkable growth—has increased its economic power day by day and has

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[1] The scene of implementation and exhibition of the new unipolar system was provided for the American administration at the event of Iraqi occupation of Kuwait and by capitalizing on this aggression, America was able to pave the ground for the implementation of the new order under its leadership. Although the regime of Ṣaddām had announced its willingness to withdraw from Kuwait prior to the start of the Persian Gulf War, the American administration did not waste time and started the war through air and ground attacks while the other countries particularly the oil-rich countries of the Persian Gulf and some Western countries and Japan shouldered the expenditures of the war.

[2] For further information on various global systems, see Manūchehr Muḥammadī, "*Naẓm-e Novīn-e Jahānī* [The New World Order]," Faculty of Law and Political Science Magazine, Tehran University, no. 28 (Āzar 1371 AHS).

also provided other alternative for these regions. This is while America and Europe has been drowning in the crisis of being lost.

The United States is facing a strong rival from the great economic potential and powerful strategic firmness of a united European community. As a result, it can neither gain global superiority for itself nor even preserve the status quo unless it could create a condition of destabilizing the two Asian and European powers.

Meanwhile, American theorists and statesmen were aiming to present new ideas that would embody the continuity of the American dominance and at the same time serve as guide for the American and Western statesmen. Along this line, the well-known American theoretician, Samuel Huntington, presented his controversial theory of 'the clash of civilizations'.

'Clash of civilizations' system

Huntington, unlike other analysts who consider the end of the Cold War as the termination of the ideological conflicts, deems it the 'clash of civilizations' and on the basis of which interprets and analyzes most of the present world events and developments in such a way that he could strengthen the premises and assumptions of his theory.

He divides the living civilizations of the world into eight or nine great ones[1] and regards the lines of distinction between the said civilizations as the source of future conflicts and the replacement of the ancient unit of nation-state.

According to Huntington, the encounter of civilizations takes the form of the world dominant policy and the last stage of evolution of his time's conflicts. For, in his opinion:

- The conflict of civilizations is fundamental;
- Civilizational self-awareness is increasing;
- Religious revivalism as a means of filling the vacuum of identity is on the rise;
- The hypocritical behavior of the West has led to the civilizational self-awareness of others;
- Cultural peculiarities and differences are unalterable;
- Economic regionalism and the role of cultural commonalities are growing;

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[1] These civilizations are the Western, Confucian, Japanese, Islamic, Hindu, Slavic, Orthodox, Latin American, and at the margin, African civilizations.

- The existing faultlines between the civilizations of today have replaced the political and ideological borders of the Cold War era and these lines are sparks for the emergence of bloody crises; and
- The 14-hundred-year-old hostility between Islam and the West is mounting and the relations between the Islamic and Western civilizations will engender the emergence of bloody events.

As a result and on the basis of this idea of 'clash of civilizations paradigm', other global issues will be sidetracked and in the new era the line of recent views will take form around the axis of civilizations. Finally, the Islamic and Confucian civilizations together will also confront the Western civilization. In sum, the basic concentration of conflicts in the future will be between the West, on one hand, and the union of the East Asian Confucian societies and the Muslim world. In reality, conflicts of civilizations are the last stage of evolution of conflicts in the new world.[1]

Subsequent to the publication of Huntington's article and the presentation of the controversial theory of the 'clash of civilizations', Western and Third World thinkers undertook numerous criticisms and meetings. These criticisms were mainly arguments, some of which emphasized on the theoretical and scientific weaknesses of the theory and considered it fundamentally feeble while others relied on the bases and testimonies presented by Huntington and argued that there exist many contradictions in this context. Some others totally rejected the theory of 'clash of civilizations' by presenting new issues.[2]

'Clash of civilizations' theory as a cloak for the existing realities

The thing given little attention by the critics of the 'clash of civilizations' theory is the fact that the motive, or let us say, the intention of Huntington in presenting this theory has not been designing a new 'paradigm'. Rather, it was an alternative idea, or in other words, justification of the emergent contradictions after the collapse of the bipolar system—contradictions that emerged within the Western world and America, as well as the contradictions and disagreements between the Western world and other existing societies, and probably these contradictions will also be intensified in the future. Since this theory has caught much attention and that some realities of the future

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[1] Samuel P. Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations," *Foreign Affairs* (Summer 1993).

[2] For further information on this issue, see *Naẓariyyeh-ye Barkhord-e Tamaddunhā: Huntington va Muntaqidānesh [The Theory of 'Clash of Civilizations': Huntington and His Critics]*, trans. and ed. Mujtabā Amīrī (Tehran: Institute of Political and International Studies Publications, 1375 AHS).

world system are extant within it, while highlighting its fundamental points of weakness we will deal on the causes behind the emergence of this theory.

Culture and civilization: Their relations with one another

One of the weak points of the theory of clash of civilizations is that Huntington does not give a scientific and specific definition of 'civilization' and 'culture' and broadly interchanges one for the other. As a whole, Huntington imagines 'civilization' and 'culture' as two interrelated and understood in one another. He believes that civilization is the highest cultural category of people and the broadest cultural identity with which humankind can be categorized.[1]

Although presentation of a precise and comprehensive definition of 'culture' and 'civilization' is not an easy task just as connecting the two, considerable differences between the two can be observed to which Huntington has not paid attention. Among the various differences between civilization and culture, two main differences, Islāmī Nadūshan maintains, can be pointed out. First, civilization has more scientific and objective aspect while culture has more mental and spiritual dimension. Art, philosophy, wisdom, literature, and beliefs (religious and non-religious) are in the realms of culture while civilization is more concerned with the material needs of man in the society. Second, civilization has more social dimension while culture is more individual. Civilization ensures the progress of man in the social sphere. Culture can be said to be concerned with the individual evolution, aside from the above.[2]

Although these two terms have different meanings even in terms of etymology, in general they are used synonymously and interchangeably. 'Civilization' means 'city-dwelling' and even in Latin this terminology has the same conception while culture relates to the different modes of behavior of societies.

Civilization, which comes from the concept of 'city dwelling', means growth, progress, awareness, humankind's utilization of the scientific and technological advancements, and creation of a more comfortable life for its societies. Throughout human history—although in every epoch and era some human societies have contributed in this growth and development—it has never confined to one particular society and all human societies have benefited from it. This is while culture has been an aggregate of literatures,

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[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 37-38.

[2] Muḥammad Islāmī Nadūshan, *Farhang va Shebh-e Farhang [Culture and Quasi-culture]* (Tehran: Yazdān Publications, 1371 AHS).

customs, traditions, thoughts, beliefs, religions, and philosophies. In fact, it forms the identity of a community and society. Inevitably, it is also transmitted to other communities and societies. Likewise, culture is the distinguisher of different societies from one another. Civilization and culture are interrelated but they are not necessarily inseparable from one another.

It seems as though the West has exerted utmost endeavor in combining civilization and culture for its own utility and monopoly so that they (Westerners) could advance the proposition that civilization is their peculiar cultures, and other societies with cultures different from that of the West will be civilized only when they abandon their own culture. On the contrary, there are societies with rich culture but weak civilization and on the contrary, societies with high civilization but weak culture, or mixed culture such as in the case of migrant countries such as the United States of America.

Notwithstanding the vivid and essential difference between the two terms, 'civilization' and 'culture', Western scholars in general and others who follow them tried to use them synonymously and replace one with the other, and on this ground, Huntington makes no distinction between 'civilization' and 'culture'.

Degeneration of the American society

Huntington overlooks this crucial as well as destiny-making condition of the Western society, America in particular, just as by adopting the criteria and values which are wrong and incongruent with the natural disposition [*fiṭrah*] of human beings in implementing the materialist Marxist-Leninist ideology, the USSR finally collapsed from within after 70 years of existence and the invalidity of the said ideology was practically proved. For the same reasons, the United States of America and ultimately the Western world are also on the verge of collapse from within.

Brzezinski was among those who have paid attention to this crucial issue in his criticism of Huntington.[1] Initially, he has dealt with the dichotomized fabric of the Western culture at the intellectual level. He enumerates the irrecoverable weaknesses of this culture and finds fault with Huntington's inattention to the internal contradiction of the Western culture. According to him, the discordant reining secularism prevalent in the Western

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[1] Zbigniew Brzezinski, "Weak Ramparted (?) of the Permissive West," *New Perspective Quarterly* 10, no. 3 (Summer 1993). Statistics substantiating this theory shows that from 1960, while the American population has 41 percent increase, the rate of violent crimes has 560 percent increase, single parenthood 419 percent, divorce 300 percent, and fatherless or motherless families 300 percent. This state of affairs suggests a serious social degeneration.

hemisphere nurtures within itself a fetus destroying the Western culture. In his view, that which will bring the American superpower to the brink of downfall is not the clash of civilizations. Rather, it is the internal corruption of the Western system and drifting away from spirituality, which will eradicate not only the American leadership but also ultimately the American culture as a role model and criterion for the others.[1]

On the other hand, everyday the United States has been more than ever diversified in terms of nationality and race. This affair, apart from being a symptom of social degeneration, will also lead to further discordance of culture of the country.[2] Yet, Huntington cannot totally distance himself from this issue as it would uncover the deadly trend, which has recently appeared in the West. This is but incapability to comprehend this matter, which might have possibly made the West experience structural weaknesses within its value systems and institutions. He justifies this trend—which even experienced a warm welcome due to the notion of the end of history and triumph of the Western norm based on Fukuyama's theory—with the notion that individual freedom and democracy will always ensure the leadership of the Western civilization.[3]

While the issue of decay of the Western liberalism in the absence of a cohesive ideological rival such as Marxism-Leninism is a serious matter, today's cultural fragmentation is in the process of destroying the aggregate of beliefs and intellectual philosophy, which underpins the American social fabric.

The political identity of the United States of America is embedded in the principles of the approved primary documents. If the de-Westernization of the United States is realized, it means de-Americanization and emptying this country of its present identity. If such would be the case and the Americans no longer believe in, and act according to, liberal-democracy and the political ideology of Europe, the United States will not remain the way we have

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[1] Kishore Mahbubani, "The Dangers of Decadence," *Foreign Affairs* (September-October 1993).

[2] Based on the estimates of the Statistics and Census Office, up to year 2050 the American population will embrace more than 33 percent Spanish-origin, 16 percent African-origin, and 10 percent Asian-origin. In a country that has successfully absorbed in the past millions of migrants from other countries, and because of the existence of wealth and better welfare facilities in this country, they adopted the European culture and American beliefs, it is so improbable that such a trend will continue in the future taking into account the fact that the demographic composition of this country will be 50 percent Hispanic and non-Whites.

[3] Francis Fukuyama, *The End of History and the Last Man* (New York: The Free Press, 1992).

understood it. Like other superpowers, which were defined merely on the basis of ideology, it will be effaced from the pages of history.

The conflict between the United States and Europe

For the period of 40 years after the victory of the Allied Forces and because of the conflict between the West, i.e. between Western Europe and America, on one hand, and the East, i.e. the USSR and Eastern Europe, on the other, the internal conflict of the Western world was not only overshadowed, rather, owing to the post-war needs Western Europe accepted the leadership of the United States of America and coordinated its military, economic and social policies with that of America. Considering the collapse of the Eastern bloc and the communist system, and the absence of common enemy as well as the natural changes on the conditions of the European countries, there has been no more necessary motives for the preservation of the unity of the Western world, and the internal conflict within the Western society gradually surfaced.

Trying to create a unipolar world and persuade the Western European states to follow and accept its leadership, America witnessed the emergence of serious conflicts between Europe and America with the early failure of the unipolar system and the formation of the multipolar system. It should not be forgotten that the flame of the two world wars that took the lives of millions of people was initially kindled among the countries of the Western capitalist system.

In spite of the historical record of internal wars in Europe, Huntington claims that since both Germany and the United States of America belong to the Western family, serious conflicts between these two powers and other Western countries are already unimaginable! This is while the history of the past three centuries is replete with numerous wars within the Western family with Germany having an outstanding role.

There is no doubt that the British and French imperialism also convinced the Germans to pursue greater needs. Thus, Ernst Haas said in his book, "Like other great societies, the Germans see themselves rightful to attain necessarily their progress within Europe in case there is no chance of progress outside its borders."[1]

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[1] Quoted in Richard E. Rubenstein and Jarl Crocker, "Challenging Huntington," *Foreign Policy* 79, no. 265-6 (1994), pp. 113-128.

Clash of civilizations or dialogue among civilizations?

While Samuel Huntington speaks of the clash of civilizations, particularly between the Western civilization, on one hand, and the Islamic and Confucian civilizations, on the other hand, and predicts that the twenty-first century is the century of clash of civilizations, on the contrary, the President of the Islamic Republic of Iran has put forth 'dialogue among civilizations'. At this juncture, this question will be posed: Is there really the clash of civilizations which, instead of preventing such a clash or minimizing the contradictions, the issue of dialogue among civilizations, or to be more precise, dialogue among cultures, be discussed?

That which separates the different societies, as what has been mentioned before, is not civilization but the culture of each of these societies. Amid the existing differences, cultures are also not necessarily in conflict or inimical to one another. Rather, it has been the governments as the representatives of the holders of power and force, which are at war with the other societies in order to expand their spheres of influence and power by exploiting these differences along the way of attaining their hegemonic aims. They subjected the societies to soil and blood, and sought the compliance of their nations by force or propaganda. In other words, it was these cultures as a tool that were at the service of governments, and not that the governments are at the service of cultures and civilizations. Without paying attention to the serious cultural differences between the Islamic and Confucian cultures, Huntington talks about the unity between the two against the Western civilization and does not mention about the existing commonalities between the two.

It seems as though that which makes the two societies close to each other vis-à-vis the West is that during the last centuries both of them have been subjected to Western colonialism, exploitation and even humiliation. They have so much bitter memories and accounts of oppression and the like that the West have committed against their societies. Nowadays, as the nations of these societies were awakened, they are resisting the dominations of the West, foremost of which is that of America. Huntington expresses concern about the common conflict of these civilizations with the West. Huntington does not want to acknowledge the undeniable fact that the Asian and African societies have not forgotten the bitter periods of oppressive exploitation of the West such as the Opium War in China, Slave Trade in Africa, and the plundering of the enormous God-given resources of the Muslim world within the context of colonialism and neocolonialism. Worrying about the emergence of a new conflict among the Western states particularly between America and Europe on the division of economic resources of the world,

Huntington is on the threshold of creating a new enemy. He is impliedly justifying the statement of Hobbes as he says, "If the barbarians have no foreign existence, then we ought to create them."[1]

The awakening and awareness of the nations

The other reason behind the coinage of the 'clash of civilizations' thesis not only arises from the record of colonization and exploitation committed by the West to the Third World countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The nations of these societies not only do not forget the oppression done to them but also gradually claim for their rights and this affair has provided the opportunities for the awakening of the nations and uprising against the Western colonialists. In the opinion of Huntington, the existence of this contradiction, which is actually between the world of oppressors and the world of the exploited, is inevitable. Instead of acknowledging the reason behind this reality, he tries to present this ever-increasing contradiction as the clash of civilizations.

Huntington forgets that one year prior to his presentation of the clash of civilizations theory, he had conveyed his intention and concern over the developments to happen after the collapse of the Soviet Union. In an article entitled, "American Changing Strategic Interests,"[2] he had studied and analyzed the world situation particularly the status of America. He puts forth the following suggestions to preserve the status quo as well as the American interests:

1. In order to maintain the American status as the superpower of the world, the phenomenal economic competitiveness of Japan must be confronted;
2. The emergence of a dominant military-political power in the Eurasian region (such as Germany and China) must be prevented;
3. The fundamental interests of America in the Third World, which are mainly latent in the Persian Gulf and Central America, must be protected.

The gist of Huntington's arguments includes: The United States of America will face new problems, oppositions and resistances in the world. In order to deal with and confront these new challenges, it should not think for solutions as it can neither preserve the necessary superiority for itself nor

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[1] Quoted in Theodore A. Columbus and Thanaos Veremis, "In Search of New Barbarians," *Mediterranean Quarterly* 5, no. 1 (Winter 1994), pp. 36-44.

[2] Samuel P. Huntington, "American Changing Strategic Interests," *Survival* 33 (January-February 1991), pp. 12-13.

even maintain the status quo unless it provides the ground for the continuity of this superiority through sketching and designing a strategy and new order for the twenty-first century world. It is owing to these problems that Huntington presents the clash of civilizations theory and through which he overlooks the existing realities in the world. At any rate, he dexterously assumes the irreconcilability of the Islamic and Western world as a definite and vivid principle. He endeavors to explain the domination-seeking and expansionist policies of the Western states and the opposition of the Muslim world against these policies within the framework of clash of two civilizations.

As such, I am of the opinion that the invitation of Huntington to the universal defense of the interests of the West against the rival civilizations is the worst form of self-fulfilling prediction. Anyhow, his emphatic question based on this: "If not civilization, then what?" seeks for an answer, which is as follows: In a bid to eliminate the problems and meet the necessities of human beings, the world is in need of forming a strong movement to generate social transformation—a movement that is yet to appear. Yet, its indications and signs have already manifested with the victory of the Islamic Revolution.

Islamic Revolution and the future world system

In the latter part of the nineteenth century especially after the successive defeats in the war against the Tsarist Russia, Iran had weakened and no courage to resist against the military, political and cultural aggressions of the dominant powers of the time. Due to the strategic location of this country, it had become the scene of rivalry among the alien powers. Up to the time prior to the victory of the Islamic Revolution, Iran had been the arena of influence and rivalry of the great powers of the world, which had been the principal actors of the formed systems of the world.

Before the World War I, Iran was the scene of influence and rivalry between Britain and Tsarist Russia. It had acknowledged the matchless dominance of Britain between the two wars. After the World War II, America as the new superpower was able to play a key and fundamental role in the political and social developments in Iran. It is interesting to note that during these periods the anti-despotism and anti-colonialism movements in Iran such as the Constitutional Movement[1] and the oil industry

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[1] What has become known as the Constitutionalism or Constitutional Movement took place due to the chaotic situation in Iran at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, the popular protest over the tyranny of the governors and agents of the

nationalization also took shape and succeeded through the people's solidarity but not free from the interference and support of some alien powers. During the Constitutional Movement, the imperialist British government used to support the Constitutionalists and in the nationalization of the oil industry, the Americans were backing up the Nationalist Front.

The first instance of an independent movement free from the influence of the foreigners was the Islamic movement under the leadership of Imām Khomeinī (r), which took shape in 1962-63 at the peak of the Cold War and the unchallengeable dominance of the bipolar system. By releasing this famous statement, "America is worse than Britain; Britain is worse than America; and the Soviet Union is worse than the two; each is filthier than the rest, but today we are dealing with these wicked ones, with America,"[1] or this utterance, "We are at war with international communism just as we are with the world-devouring West under the stewardship of America,"[2]

Imām Khomeinī raised for the first time his laud voice against the world oppressive system. Indeed, the Islamic movement is the first popular movement to take shape with the support of all the world's oppressed. By not considering the existing conflicts and rivalry among the great powers of the world, it treated them (the great powers) as only after of dividing spoils, and took none of them as in favor of the nations. The more interesting point is that both the two great powers of the world—amid the severe rivalry and hostility they explicitly manifested in the international scene—saw the Islamic movement as a reactionary movement and condemned it especially after the Khordād 15 uprising.[3]

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dictatorial regime and the unruly officials of the government, the weakness and ineptitude of the then king Muzaffaruddīn Shāh, and finally the rising awareness among the people and revolt of the clerics and *'ulamā'*. Years of struggle by the people culminated in the victory of the Constitutional Revolution in 1906. Although the Constitutional Movement was derailed from its proper path, it was able to transform the social organization in Iran, to destroy class privileges, to obliterate the power of the courtiers, and great landowners, and to establish justice and the rule of law. However, with the influence of the Westernized elements, and eliminating the clergies from the political scene and governance, the Constitutional Movement did not achieve its desired objectives and finally with the coup staged by Ridā Khān, the father of Iran's ex-Shāh, a monarchical rule once again emerged in Iran. [Trans.]

[1] *Sahīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 1, p. 420.

[2] *Sahīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 12, p. 202.

[3] On June 3, 1963, Imām Khomeinī delivered a historic speech in Qum, repeating former denunciations of the Shāh's regime and warning the Shāh not to behave in such a way that the people would rejoice when he should ultimately be forced to leave the country. Two days later, he was arrested at his residence and taken to confinement in Tehran. His arrest prompted a major uprising in many Iranian cities, which resulted in the deaths of not less than 15,000 people in the span of a few days when the Shāh's troops opened fire on unarmed

With the culmination of the Islamic Revolution in 1978-79 and presentation of the slogan, "Neither East nor West, but Islamic Republic," this movement continued its independent conduct and strategy at the height of resistance to the world repressive system. It attained victory while not only a single state from among the constellation of states in the world, particularly the principal players in the bipolar system, did not support the Revolution but also, the Shāh's despotic regime was backed up by the great powers of the East and West such as the Soviet Union, People's Republic of China, the United States of America, and Britain.

> This Islamic Revolution is not a common revolution and not relying on any of the two poles of the East and West. As such, it had and has its own peculiarities. By treading the straight path of "neither East nor West," it is standing vis-à-vis the two poles. It is not afraid of any of the fictitious powers, which exactly led to its miraculous victories.[1]

This confrontation and clash between the Islamic Revolution, on one hand, and the bipolar system prevalent in the world, on the other hand, continued up to the collapse of the USSR or the end of the Cold War and the bipolar system. Especially during the period of the imposed war and Iraqi aggression to Iran, the principal actors of the system were also compelled to continue confronting the dynamic Islamic Revolution and they used to support the Iraqi regime with all political, military and economic facilities.

After the collapse of the bipolar system and the proposal of the hierarchical system, in other words, the unipolar system, the Islamic Revolution maintained its uncompromising stance with the oppressive systems, which were products of the great powers. It became known as the first 'defiant' and 'rebellious' in the unipolar system. The American government made an untiring effort to punish this 'defiant' of the unipolar system so as to be able, through strengthening and stabilizing law-abidance, to give identity to this new system with its unmatched domination of the world society. Proposals such as the 'dual containment policy' of Gingrich[2] and D'Amato are deemed part of the American effort along this line.

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demonstrators. The date on which this uprising began was 5th June or 15th Khordād according to the solar calendar used in Iran and became known as the uprising or movement of 15th Khordād. [Trans.]

[1] *Sahifeh-ye Imām*, vol. 18, p. 462.

[2] Newt Gingrich: a former US Republican House of Representatives speaker who, in October 1995, had pushed for a $20 million fund for a covert action plan to overthrow the Islamic government of Iran. This plan is likewise known as the Gingrich Plan. [Trans.]

It seems that the clash of civilizations theory presented in the past few years is not only an announcement of the early defeat of the unipolar system but also a conflict—through distortion of the world public opinion and concealment of the reality—which Imām Khomeinī and the Islamic Revolution have exposed. It is the conflict between the ruling domineers, world-devourers, exploiters, and colonialists, on one hand, and the oppressed, deprived, exploited, and subjugated nations and communities, on the other hand. In short, it is generally the conflict between the oppressors and downtrodden in the entire world. The Islamic Revolution and Imām Khomeinī as the designers of this theory, and patrons and champions of the downtrodden, have hoisted the banner of resistance and rose up against all the tyrants of the world.

"Through the political agents they have placed in power over the people, the imperialists have imposed on us an unjust economic order, and thereby divided our people into two groups: oppressors and oppressed."[1] In other words, the Islamic Revolution not only led to the victory of the Iranian nation over the tyrant monarchial regime but it is also the beginning of a global movement for eradicating oppressive systems of the world based on the awakening and uprising of the deprived and oppressed nations. Below we will deal on the sketched explanation of the described system by Imām Khomeinī and the Islamic Revolution.

As an ideological revolution and its particular worldview springing from the Islamic school of thought, the Islamic Revolution is not only the reviver in the national dimension of its own particular plans, programs and views for governance and statesmanship, rather, keeping in view the universality of Islam, in the global dimension it has also its own particular thoughts and ideas, and is the presenter of its own particular global system.

As in every revolution and based on the nature of the program and goals of the concepts, the Islamic Revolution has offered peculiar terms and expressions some of which embraces a particular world itself of pure thoughts. Among these terms and expressions, *mustaḍ'afīn* [downtrodden], *mustakbirīn* [oppressors], *jahān-e istikbārī* [World Arrogance], and *ḥākimiyyat-e mustaḍ'afīn* [rule of the downtrodden] can be mentioned.

The Islamic Revolution and its leadership have not only repudiated the views dominant in the international relations and the existing world system, which are adopted from the views of Machiavelli, Hobbes and Hans

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[1] Imām Khomeinī, *Islamic Government: Governance of the Jurist*, trans. Ḥamīd Algar (Tehran: The Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imām Khomeinī's Works, 2002), p. 30.

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Morgenthau, upholding might as right, rather, on the basis of the following belief and view that they act and move:

> "World peace and prosperity depends on the annihilation of the arrogant and oppressors [*mustakbirīn*]. So long as these uncultured power-seekers exist on the surface of the earth, the disinherited and deprived [*mastaḍ'afīn*] cannot obtain the inheritance (of power and authority in the world),[1] which has been promised to them by God, the Exalted;"[2] and "Government of the barefooted is rightful and just."[3]

From the viewpoint of Islam and the Qur'an, the term *mustaḍ'af* [disinherited, deprived or downtrodden] means 'one who is kept weak' and 'one who is considered weak' and it can be divided into two categories: (1) impotent and unwary downtrodden and (2) wary downtrodden. According to the Qur'an, *istiḍ'āf* [the state of being downtrodden] has a broader meaning than 'exploitation' and this concept cannot be limited. Any state of being a victim of tyranny and oppression in any form and exploitation of the ideas and accomplishments of others is a form of *istiḍ'āf*. In other words, apart from being victim of economic exploitation, any sort of being subject to unjust and iniquitous mental exploitation and any kind of inequity to personality, and spiritual and cultural growth is deemed a kind of *istiḍ'āf*.

In the same manner, the term *istikbār* [arrogance and oppression] being the opposite of *istiḍ'āf*, is not specifically economic domineering; rather, any type of domineering is included and whose pillar and foundation is rebellion against, and disobedience to, God, which can be manifested in the political, economic and cultural dimensions or their aggregate in the society.

From the beginning of the Islamic movement and especially after the victory of the Islamic Revolution, Imām Khomeinī used to point out in his statements and writings the ideal global system according to Islam and the Islamic Revolution. By referring to his discourses and writings, we will embark on the sketched description of this system:

1. Contrary to Marxists who believe in historical materialism and who considered the rule of the working class as inevitable, Imām Khomeinī believed that only through the downtrodden nations' awakening and awareness of their inalienable rights and uprising against the arrogant and oppressors that they will become victorious.

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[1] It refers to *Sūrah an-Imām* 24:55 wherein God has promised to those who believe and do righteous deeds that the earth would be their inheritance. [Trans.]

[2] *Sahīfeh-ye Imām*, volume 12, p. 144.

[3] *Sahīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 13, p. 544.

"The downtrodden must rise up. The downtrodden of all countries, of all states must get their rights with a clenched fist. They should not wait for them (the arrogant and oppressors) to give them their rights. The arrogant and oppressors will give nobody's right."[1]

2. Just as he considered necessary and inevitable the creation of awareness and practical uprising of the downtrodden for the realization of their sovereignty in the world, by relying on a noble verse of the Qur'an he reckoned it definite and certain. "Behold nations of the world who are all deprived and disinherited! Move from where you are (i.e., you act), get your right and do not be afraid of the hullabaloos of the powerful ones for God is with you and the earth is your inheritance."[2]

3. The maintenance of peace and prosperity is not dependent upon the establishment of the balance of power and the other already presented and experienced systems of the Western scholars and statesmen. Rather, it is only possible through the annihilation and defeat of the arrogant powers.

This movement, the movement of the downtrodden against the arrogant must be spread in the entire world. Iran is the beginning, first point and model for all the downtrodden nations. In all strata of the world the Muslims must stand up, nay the downtrodden must stand up. God' promise encompasses the downtrodden, saying that He has promised to the downtrodden that they be leaders and inheritors of the world. Leadership is the right of the downtrodden. Inheritance is for the downtrodden. The arrogant and oppressors are usurpers. The arrogant and oppressors must be effaced from the scene.[3]

4. The downtrodden are not only confined to the Muslims and the Third World nations. Rather, they embrace all the masses under tyranny and oppression in the different parts of the world even those who are under the rule of the arrogant states of the East and West. Therefore, none of the geographical-cultural elements and nation-state divisions is an indication of the partition between the downtrodden and the arrogant. In the same manner, the clash of civilizations or cultures theory or the polarization of the world is nothing but for the perpetuation of the arrogant and oppressors' dominance or the

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[1] *Sahīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 12, p. 143.

[2] *Sahīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 12, p. 138.

[3] *Sahīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 7, p. 292.

conflict among them in dividing the spoils as well as in exploiting and repressing the different societies and nations.

You should know that the nations (of the world), even the non-monotheist ones, are all part of the downtrodden of the world and they have been always under the dominance of the arrogant and oppressors.[1] Both superpowers are bent on annihilating the downtrodden nations. We must support the downtrodden of the world. Islam does not differentiate between Muslim and non-Muslim countries and it supports all the downtrodden of the world.[2]

5. Contrary to the previous systems which have taken form on the basis of the secularist and humanist thoughts, and promoted hedonism, leisure and consumerism as a pleasant way of living, this system is anchored on the return to religion and the sovereignty of God. It finds prosperous life in attachment as much as possible to piety, ethical order and divine spiritual beliefs. It sternly condemns and rejects the culture of capriciousness and wealth-centeredness, which is the conduct of the arrogant and oppressors.

6. The Muslims in general, and in particular, the Muslim nation of Iran—which for the first time emerged triumphant against *istikbār* [arrogance and oppression] through the grace of benefiting from the vitalizing and human-building school of Islam—assume the role of guidance and leadership of this great global uprising. In other words, it is the spread and exportation of the revolution in the sense of endeavor in the resistance to *istikbār* and in the defense of the downtrodden. "God willing, with the spread of the Islamic Revolution the satanic powers will be isolated and the government of the downtrodden will pave the ground for the global government of the Mahdī (*'a*) at the end of time.[3]

What we can understand from the writings and views of Huntington, Brzezinski and others is this: First, theorization and planning of the arrogant and oppressive powers for the perpetuity of their dominance over the world continue. Meanwhile, from their views can be noticed an atmosphere of concern about the increasing awakening of the downtrodden nations of the world, their unity and solidarity in whatever extent regardless of the cultural,

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[1] *Saḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 16, p. 311.

[2] *Saḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 12, p. 202.

[3] Quoted in *Dar Justijū-ye Rāh az Kalām-e Imām* [In Search of the Way from the Words of Imām Khomeinī], p. 15.

racial and religious distinctions, and the opposition against the domineering and oppressive states. In spite of the fact that Latin America is part of the Western culture, because of its antagonism and disagreement with domineering and domination, Huntington does not put these two societies in one group and front. Meanwhile, he sees the Islamic and Confucian civilizations, which have extremely little cultural commonalities, in one front and party! This is while the only point of commonality between these two different cultural societies is their bitter memories of the periods of Western domination whose effects are still conspicuous. It seems that in the twenty-first century, after experiencing a multipolar system, the world community will enter a new bipolar system in which one pole are the arrogant and oppressive powers with all their military economic facilities, and in the other pole are the downtrodden nations of the world particularly the downtrodden nations of the Third World. Under the leadership of the awakened and vigilant Muslims, they have risen up and the arrogant and oppressors will kneel down.

Although the arrogant and oppressive states have and will have considerable armed, military and economic facilities and equipments, they have no alternative but to engage in a precarious war in both the internal and external fronts with the awakened and vigilant masses. Under this condition, those facilities will not be capable of saving the tyrants and definitely, as what has been promised by God, the final victory of the downtrodden, who will be the inheritors and vicegerents of God on earth, will be realized.

*"And We desired to show favor unto those who were oppressed in the earth,
and to make them examples and to make them the inheritors."*[1]

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[1] *Sūrah al-Qaṣaṣ* 28:5. [Trans.]

'Dialogue of Cultures': Only a Catchword or a Way toward Understanding and Peace?[*]

Irmgard Pinn

Since a couple of years ago "dialogue of cultures" has become a common topic in political statements. It is a popular subject of international and inter-religious conference and important topic in scientific publications as well as in the media. But what do all the politicians, journalists, scientists and others think about when they are pleading for a "dialogue of culture?" An analysis of publications and mutual statements quickly shows that there are considerable differences in images, interests and goals.

In the first part of my lecture I want to discuss some of these differences. I will ask for their ideological sources as well as for the interests linked to the different positions. This will need a further distinction: on the one hand we have to look at the main *topics* of such dialogues. On the other hand we have to analyze at the *structures of communication* which are deeply influenced by the political, economical and cultural inequality in international relationships. We further have to analyze the rules of conflict management, of decision making and so on. As a conclusion I want to make some proposals under which circumstances "dialogues of cultures" will be possible. But before coming to the point I have to make some short remarks about "dialogue of cultures" as an instrument of political interest.

"Dialogue of culture" as an instrument of political interests or as a mean to promote understanding and peace

Up to the present, the relations between the Western world and the Muslim world are dominated by strangeness, distrust, and hostility. Such attitudes culminate in popular visions of an approaching 'clash of

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civilization,' like it was predicted by the American political scientist Samuel Huntington. Yesterday Dr. Muḥammadī and others have talked already about Huntington's ideas of intercultural relationships. They obviously are part of a global power play after the break of the former Soviet Union. Huntington is one of the most important theorists of the US-dominated 'New World Order,' we have also heard about yesterday.

While in the past mighty states like the United States carried through their interests without any inhibition, today the demand for superiority needs a moral legitimization because it gets necessarily into conflict with ideological essentials of the 'free West' like the principles of democracy and the right of all people in the world to follow their own cultural values, including religious belief. To create such a legitimation, Western theorists and politicians distinguish a 'good Islam' from a 'bad Islam' which they call 'fundamentalism.' This construction called 'fundamentalism' is an ambiguous term: Generally it is associated with violence and terrorism, with fanaticism and backwardness. Therefore it is in conformity with the Western ideals of freedom and democracy to fight against 'fundamentalism' and to exclude 'fundamentalism' from the community of 'civilized societies'.

Of course, I do not want to contest the existence of fanaticism, violence and oppression in the name of Islam. But if we carefully analyze scientific explanations, political statements and media reports, we find that the separation-line between 'good Islam' and 'fundamentalism' generally is *not* drawn between a religion which leads human beings to spirituality, peace and justice on the one hand and an ideology of violence, terrorism and oppression of women on the other hand. Instead of that, the separation line is drawn between an idea of 'Islam' reduced to pure spiritually on the one hand and a religion which includes a spiritual as well as a secular dimension on the other hand. It is the secular—'political'—dimension and the refusal of the Western model of human evolution and progress which makes the difference between 'good Islam' and 'fundamentalism'.

This differentiation is the base of Western politics against 'political Islam': The defense of 'fundamentalism' is justified as a necessity to defend freedom, human rights and democracy and to save the Muslims themselves from the authority of a medieval ideology. From such a point of view, 'dialogue of cultures' means an offer to Muslims to overcome their backwardness and oppression and to enter the modern secular world.

What makes such a strategy successful and obviously convincible also in the eyes of Westerners who do not agree with the Western claim for predominance all over the world? Apart from manifest political and

economical interests, this position is based on specific historical experiences and ideological principles which make intellectuals, politicians and ordinary people believe that it is wrong and dangerous to allow a religion—not only Islam, but also Christianity and other religions—to gain influence on the political sphere of a society. Historical experiences and philosophical traditions have led to a widespread conviction that the religious influence on political structures and institutions and on rules and laws causes ignorance, oppression, terrorism and wars. It can be referred back to the European religious wars in the seventeenth century and to philosophers like Rene Descartes who argued that a peaceful society has to be based on rationality, not on religious values. This intention later on was taken up and perfected by the German philosopher Immanuel Kant (1724-1804). Nearly all debates on human rights refer to his ideas.

Western intellectuals and politicians criticizing 'political Islam' do not mind that Islam is not Christianity and the occidental with the power and influence of the churches, with oppression in the name of religion and religious motivated wars are not the same like Muslims have made with Islam, the Islamic institutions and the Islamic guiding ideas concerning the 'secular sphere'. The Western model of 'secularization', which has led the European and American societies to 'modernity', is the result of a very specific process of historical and ideological development. This is not the place to discuss 'secularization' and 'modernity'. At least it can be said that according to Western criteria Islamic societies are less as well as more 'secularized' than Western societies. As I want to emphasize, this model of development is not suitable to discuss political and social processes in Muslim societies. Moreover, it leads to wrong perceptions of the social reality and to wrong judgments.

On the other hand, Muslims often do not know the historical and ideological background behind the Western aversion against 'political Islam' and do not regard these implications when they participate in intercultural and inter-religious debates. When, for example, the aversion against the 'political Islam' is based on a general aversion against religious influence on the public sphere, it makes no sense to argue against this position with quotations of the Holy Qur'an. Taking such reflections into consideration, we have to ask if a 'dialogue of cultures' between Islam and the West is possible and desirable. I think that barriers and conflicts should be no reason to refuse communication. We have—as Imām Khomeinī always emphasized— to distinguish between groups and individuals who spread disinformation and anti-Islamic ideas in full consciousness and intentionally, and others who

perhaps are misinformed and un-enlightened. Further, individuals and groups who seem to belong to the same ideological faction, often show big differences in their attitude against Islam, for example, Christian organizations, which partly refuse Islam while others offer communication and cooperation. As Muslims we are taught by the Holy Qur'an that the diversity of mankind is not an incident but Allah's will. If He had wanted to create human beings of one religion, one nation, one language, one color He could have done so. But His will was a creation of diversity, and it is the task of human beings to bring this diversity into harmony. Therefore, the dialogue of cultures belongs to the obligations of man.

Indeed, we find people engaged in peace and understanding all over the world. In Germany for example—like in other European countries—there are a lot of meetings, seminars and publications to promote the Christian-Muslim understanding. But efforts do not only depend on good will. There are a lot of obvious and hidden barriers and traps we have to take into consideration if the intention of such 'dialogues' goes further than to offer an occasion to meet each other. Certainly, such meetings sometimes promote peace and understanding, but it also often happens that they result in disappointment and frustration.

Case study: human rights

I want to give some examples for such barriers and traps in common topics of intercultural dialogues. To do so, I have chosen the human rights, because this is one of the most discussed topics in 'intercultural dialogues'. If we compare human rights with the basic values and principles of Islam we find on the one hand a lot of agreements, such a human dignity, the right of an individual to be physically uninjured, freedom of expression and others. On the other hand, human rights are obviously founded in very special European experience and values. This often leads to confusion. Therefore, I suggest differentiating between the sphere of values and norms and the codification of rights.

If we look, how Muslims answer the question if Islam is compatible with human rights, we find at least five different positions:

1. Islam is viewed as a system of total dependency and submission. Therefore it is said to be in fundamental contradiction to human rights. This is an assertion of Western experts as well as of 'modern' Muslim thinkers.

2. Some of them come to the conclusion that Islam—like any other religion—has to be perfectly removed from the political and public sphere.

3. Others demand for reforming Islam. According to them Islam has to enter a process of secularization before becoming a part of the 'modern' and 'civilized world'.

4. Among the Muslims closely related to their religion there is a faction refusing the idea of human rights as just another Western strategy to impose their own interest and values on the Muslim world.

5. Other Muslim thinkers argue that human rights are part of Islam and we can find them already expressed in the Holy Qur'an. Some of them even have used Islamic sources to codify 'Islamic Human Rights'.

The basic question is, if human rights are of universal validity or if they are a production of Western history and occidental spirit. The limited time does not allow me to discuss this question. But at least I want to point out that Muslims who are involved in such debates should carefully study the social and ideological history of human rights. It has to be known that this ideal arose at the end of a long period of wars in the name of different Christian confessions. In this time the Christian churches were very closely related to the feudal rulers. As I have mentioned before, such experiences made Europeans believe that religion is one of the main sources of oppression and violence. The French philosopher Rene Descartes (1596-1650) already demanded for a peaceful society based on rationality instead of a religious moral order.

The ties in Western history and ideology we can demonstrate, for example, in the definition of 'human rights': The Western concept—as well as Islam—knows *individual rights* and *social rights*. But if we analyze the codification of human rights as they are declared to be universal by their Western defenders, the priority is given to the individual rights while social rights are marginalized and suspected to undermine individual freedom. Obviously this understanding of human rights is derived from the ruling ideology of economic liberalism. This is a big difference to the Islamic understanding of human rights which prescribes to bring individual rights and social rights into a harmony. Another example can be found in the *freedom of expression*. Islam is often accused of disregarding this right because in many Muslim countries we find restrictions and censorship. But the critics do not reflect the difference between Islam and the government of a country where all or most of the inhabitants are Muslims. If we analyze

carefully the situation of countries which are accused of disregarding human rights because of Islamic principles we mostly will find feudal rulers, dictators and political institutions, which cannot at all be called 'Islamic', i.e. following Islamic values and principles.

Islam does not prescribe censorship and oppression of critics. Muslims are responsible members of the society. How can they act responsibly without free information and free discussion? But this does not mean that 'freedom of expression' is a charter which allows insulting people, propagating obscenities and determining the basic values of a society. Westerners as well as Muslims prevent attacks against the fundamentals of their system of political and social order. I do not at all plaid for the idea that a given social and political order has to be accepted, even if it is a dictatorship. The only thing I want to explain is firstly, that it is a fake and a trap to discuss 'freedom of expression' like the so-called 'free West' as it does not know any rules and limitation. Secondly, we have to consider that different human rights often are not compatible. 'Freedom of expression', for example, easily gets into conflict with the protection of religious belief. While in the West the priority is set on freedom of expression and freedom of arts, Muslims certainly come to another hierarchy of values.

Instead of constructing a polarized world of freedom, democracy and human rights in the West and an Islamic world of oppression, fanaticism and violence, it should better be analyzed and discussed, *how* (according to which criteria) a society interprets and codifies human rights. It further should be discussed *who* participates in decision making and *who* has the right to control if they are regarded and to sanction offences. If we do so, we will certainly come to better results than in debates only on a very philosophical and abstract level. As a conclusion I want to emphasize that from an Islamic point of view the demand for universal validity of human rights can be agreed with, but as an aim, as a result of dialogues and debates which have still to be carried on. If I had the time, I could give similar examples concerning democracy, secularization, modernity and other topics. But this is impossible.

Structure of intercultural dialogues and the question of how to deal with the given situation

The final aspects I want to speak about are the structures of intercultural dialogues and the question of how to deal with the given situation. Presently most of the meetings, publications and institutions, which intend to promote 'intercultural dialogues', are predominated by the West. This predomination

does not only refer to political and economical power but also to the worldwide predominance of a Western way of life, of Western moral values, of 'progress' and 'development' in a Western definition and many others. It causes different effects which the partners of intercultural dialogues often do not realize in their full importance; for example, the power to push through their own interests and aims by economic sanctions and gratifications, the big influence on international organizations as well as the competence to name the topics and to nominate the participants of intercultural meetings. This explains why in intercultural debates on democracy, freedom and human rights, topics and issues of Islamic origin, for example, the right to be uninjured on grounds of religious beliefs rarely are discussed. This means, that while the concept of dialogue essentially requires equality, the reality of intercultural dialogues strongly depends on a structural inequality. Therefore these communications hardly can be called dialogues in the deeper sense of the term (even if the 'dictators' are not fully aware of their dictatorship).

Now there is the question of how Muslims should deal with this situation. Should Muslims refuse communication until the West has given up this attitude of superiority and predominance of its own accord? This probably will never happen. Moreover, Islam does not allow such a turning away from political reality. So should Muslims preach, insult and threaten the West? Some Muslims stick only on power and violence. With this opinion they confirm the prognosis of an approaching 'clash of civilizations'. Others who do not agree with this attitudes—and I am sure that this is the majority—have to find out new strategies on how to promote worldwide enlightenment and intercultural understanding.

Certainly, the ongoing effects of colonialism and imperialism always have to be made public and should be criticized, as well as the more subtle effects of the Western predominance in the cultural sphere (science, media, lifestyle, moral values, etc.). But this should be done based on scientific analysis and in a language which refers to the Western political and philosophical debates. Within the Western societies there are a lot of groups and individuals that do not agree with the Western politics against Muslim countries, with the ideas of Samuel Huntington and the concept of a 'New World Order'. They are in a minority, of course, and even if they respect Islam, most of them do not want to become Muslims themselves. Nevertheless they are sincerely engaged for a better understanding and for justice. I think that Muslims should seek and promote communication and cooperation wherever it is possible—with benevolent and sincere people all over the world. But they should do it in a state of awareness and wisdom.

Conclusion

As I have mentioned above, promoting a 'dialogue of cultures' needs more than good will of the participants. I want to make some suggestions on how Muslims should take action and improve their own position in such dialogues:

1. Muslims should be aware of the international political and cultural background of such dialogues which necessarily imply a predominance of the West and therefore an inequality of communication structures. Muslims have to bring this inequality to the public and to insist on equality as a pre-condition of dialogues in the real sense of the term.

   As I have pointed out before, Muslims should not accept the common Western invitations to condemn 'fundamentalism' before having explained the term. Muslims mostly do not understand what Europeans and Americans ask them for. They do not understand that they are not only expected to abjure terrorism, violence and fanaticism but also to abjure the whole secular dimension of Islam, especially any influence on the political sphere. From the Western point of view a condemnation of 'fundamentalism' has to be followed by a confession to secularism and the superiority of Western culture. If Muslims condemn 'fundamentalism' without regarding these Western ideas and expectations, Westerners feel to be deceived and a lot of misunderstandings and frustrations certainly will be the result.

2. 'Intercultural dialogues' have to be founded on knowledge about historical developments, about political processes and structures, about different beliefs and values, interests, expectations, and manners. This request is addressed to all participants of such dialogues. It includes awareness of their own values, beliefs, history, etc. as well as information about the values, belief etc. of the other participants.

3. 'Intercultural dialogues' should not be limited to ministers, prominent scholars, the *'ulamā'* and leading Christian clergymen. This idea of 'dialogue', as it is namely favored by many Muslims, excludes numerous possibilities and necessities of communication apart from the governmental level where every statement is laden up with the experiences and interests of a global power play. Therefore the dialogue of 'cultures' should include a great deal of meetings and exchanges.

4. 'Intercultural dialogues' need an atmosphere where the interlocutors acknowledge each other as reasonable, honest individuals. They furthermore need participants who are willing to listen, learn and discuss—even their own errors and mistakes. Presently such dialogues are mostly taken as an occasion to accuse, teach and preach to each other.

5. 'Intercultural dialogues' need cultural translators, i.e. translators not only for the languages but also for a reciprocal knowledge of values, customs, manners, beliefs, etc.

If we study the speeches of Imām Khomeinī, we will find that he always referred to the political and social reality as well as to the intellectual level and the cultural background of the people his speech was addressed to. The success of the Islamic Revolution was not based on reviving traditional values and manners but on analyzing political and social processes and reviving the spirit of Islam. Imām Khomeinī was a great scholar, knowing the Islamic sources and the works of the great scholars of the past. But he was more than a repetitor. He revived Islam as a leading ideology to overcome oppression and injustice in Iran as well as to unite Muslims all over the Muslim world in Islamic liberation movements.

Of course Imām Khomeinī was an outstanding scholar and political leader. To follow him cannot mean to become like him. But it also certainly does not mean to repeat blindly his words without regarding the changing political and social structures and the changing international discourses. The present world is not the world of 1979 or 1989. Imām Khomeinī himself, if still alive, certainly would have spoken and acted according to the present situation. So, even he always has sharply criticized the political, economic and cultural injustice caused by the Western predominance, we have to remember that he did not give up to invite people of good will, even in the United States, to join the worldwide movement for justice and peace. This, I think, should be the guiding line to develop strategies to improve intercultural dialogues. And I am sure that this conference will be valuable contribution to reach this goal.

'Clash of Civilizations' Hypothesis and the Role of Imām Khomeinī in Initiating International Dialogue[*]

Josef Progler

Since the publication of Samuel Huntington's original paper in *Foreign Affairs* in 1993, much has been written about his infamous 'clash of civilizations' hypothesis. It has become a cliché to refute the notion of a 'clash of civilizations', and few people still adhere to it wholeheartedly. Yet several points are often overlooked. For example, Huntington admits that one of the causes of tension in the modern world is that the West must speak for everyone, its voice having become the self-proclaimed "voice of the world community", as in the war against Iraq. And although he expects conflict, Huntington also recommends some important policy alternatives to clashes. In some cases, he has even backed down on the seeming inevitability of a clash, as when challenged by Muslim intellectuals at an international conference in Nicosia.

Besides recommending that the US should strengthen ties with Russia and Japan, he suggests that the West curb the military strength of Confucian and Islamic states. He also advocates exploiting differences between Confucian and Islamic states, while supporting those elements within them that are "sympathetic to Western values and interests". Huntington recommends that the West act to "strengthen international institutions that reflect legitimate Western interests and values and to promote the involvement of non-Western states in those institutions". Finally, he stresses that "the West will increasingly have to accommodate those non-Western modern civilizations whose power approaches that of the West but whose

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values and interests differ significantly from those of the West," and that this will involve identifying "elements of commonality" between civilizations.

Huntington seems to be advocating an uneasy co-existence with carefully selected kinds of difference that he deems worthy of recognition, while ignoring or eliminating elements which are not compatible with Western modernity. The result of the fuss about Huntington's hypothesis is that the 'Third World', and the Islamic world in particular, has been reduced to begging the West for dialogue, denying that a clash exists or is inevitable. In short, Huntington's 'hypothesis' can be seen as a clever way to intimidate and entice the non-Western world into dialogue and cooperation with the West.

The West has had a particular and consistent attitude toward dialogue for most of the modern history. In short, its position has been some variation of the dyad 'dialogue or die'. Dialogue in this sense is a form of domestication, regarded in some cases as preferable to extermination. The Western challenge to other peoples to domesticate or be exterminated has historical phases, and the current phase is to promote domestication by way of dialogue and cooperation, but with the threat of extermination always implicit. Examples of this policy can be found throughout Western history in its encounters with the outside world.

Napoleon's invasion of Egypt is a significant example. Napoleon arrived bearing a letter typeset in Arabic—on a printing press stolen from the Vatican—in which he insisted that "[I have come] for the purpose of restoring your rights from the hands of the oppressors and that I, more than the Mamluks, serve God—may he be praised and exalted—and revere his Prophet Muḥammad and the Glorious Qur'an." He claimed that "the French are also faithful Muslims," giving as evidence his recent destruction of the supposed enemies of Islam in the Vatican and among the Maltese Knights. The letter also offered an alternative to this offer of brotherly assistance, however: "Woe upon those who will unite with the Mamluks and assist them in the war against us, for they will not find the way of escape, and not a trace of them shall remain. . . Every village that shall rise against the French army shall be burnt down."

Nor has this policy of 'dialogue or die' has been reserved for Muslims. Consider Commodore Perry, who sailed to Japan in the mid-19th century with warships to deliver a letter from the US president demanding that the Japanese open their ports to American trade, warning that "if this friendly letter of the President to the Emperor is not received and duly replied to, he

will consider his country insulted, and will not hold himself accountable for the consequences."

The West's drive for economic supremacy destroyed the Third World during the Cold War. This was what some refer to as the 'Third World War', in that it followed on the heals of the two Euro-American and trilateral world wars, but paradoxically it left those parties intact and resulted in the destruction of what has come to be called the Third World in Cold War parlance. Now, with the Second World civilizations thoroughly discredited, and the Cold War over, the West's need is to mop up the third world war, and bring the Third World into the sway of the First World. In short, the 'New World Order' requires bringing the Third World around, and toward this very end the "dialogue or die" strategy will be employed.

We must understand two other points about this West that now demands dialogue: first, it is ferociously dichotomous, and has an irresistible drive to make intelligible that which is not—at all costs, and usually with great damage to the unintelligible. Most Western social science is really about understanding the other in terms that make sense to the researcher's culture, not in terms of the culture being studied; indigenous knowledge must be explained in terms of Western knowledge, or else be ignored. Self-correction and self-reflection are not characteristics of the Western mentality. What the West really wants is a controlled monologue, tempered by a limited feedback.

And secondly, the West cannot accept "no" for an answer. Once approached for dialogue, the choices are simple: "dialogue or die". The death may be slow, or it may be fast, it may be conceptual death in the form of propaganda and slander, or it may be physical death, but death it will be, because no third way is allowed. The threat of death is not always swift, as in the use of embargoes and other economic policies shows. In fact, the economic crisis that is wreaking havoc in the Third World is related to the larger project of domestication. Economic dialogues are simply ways to entangle Third World peoples into arrangements that will result in domestication. The end result of this game, upon which the West has built its grandiose self-image, is liquidation of the assets of the Third World, in terms of human labor, natural resources and selected sets of knowledge deemed useful to the Western outlook.

It is in this setting that I wish to discuss Imām Khomeinī. To illustrate how the Imām responded to calls for civilizational dialogue, we can look at some examples of dialogues that he engaged in. In line with the *Sīrah*, for example, the Imām wrote several letters to world leaders urging them to

abandon their false systems and study Islam as the only true salvation for themselves and their peoples. The Imām selected his recipients carefully; he did not write to leaders of many of the Western countries. But the most celebrated of his letters was the one to Mikhail Gorbachev in 1989,[1] and he also engaged in an exchange of views with the Pope.

The Imām's famous letter to Gorbachev was delivered to the Soviet leader by envoys from the Islamic Republic, two men and a woman. After greeting the Soviet leader and lauding his efforts to reform the Union, the Imām warned Gorbachev that the Western world only seems more appealing compared to the crumbling communism of the East. The Imām declares: "If you wish to put an end to the economic woes of socialism and communism by simply resorting to the core of Eastern capitalism, you will not only not ease the pains prevalent in the Soviet society, but others must come after you to offset the mistakes you will have committed," for communism will be relegated to the "museums of the world's political history, since Marxism cannot meet any of the real needs of human beings." The Imām emphasizes that Gorbachev must beware to "not get trapped in the prison of the West and the Arch-Satan while pulling down the iron curtains of Marxist idealism". The Imām then offers to open a dialogue on the future of the Soviet people, urging Gorbachev to take his reforming efforts further, to rethink the Soviet policies on religion and state-mandated atheism, to free the churches and mosques, and to allow the calls to prayer to once again ring through the air.

Soon afterwards, the Imām received Eduard Shevardnadze at his home in Tehran, with the Soviet foreign minister sitting on the floor, and being quite taken aback, unable to remain still, out of his element, unexpectedly affected by the Imām's presence, according to several witnesses. The style and terms of the dialogue are telling: no round-table discussions, no gala banquets, not even tables and chairs, or sophisticated translation devices; just two leaders, with their associates and assistants, drinking tea and conversing face-to-face in the traditional Islamic way. The letter to Gorbachev and the meeting with Shevardnadze are important because the Imām sets the terms of the dialogue, without making demands as to the responses.

During the American 'hostage crisis', early in the Revolution, the Imām exchanged a number of letters with Pope John Paul. These are instructive for the way in which the Imām insisted on clarifying assumptions, and that a

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[1] See *A Call to Divine Unity: Letter of Imām Khomeinī, the Great Leader of the Islamic Revolution and Founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran, to Mikhail Gorbachev, Leader of the Soviet Union* (Tehran: Institute for the Compilation and Publication of Imām Khomeinī's Works, Winter 2003/4). [Trans.]

clear sense of right and wrong be maintained. In this sense, they are similar to the letter to Gorbachev, urging a leader to do right by his people and sticking to the *haqq* [truth]. But the exchange with the Pope is instructive in other ways as well.

The Imām exchanged a series of letters with the Pope from 1980 to 1982, initiated by the Pope with a letter expressing concern for the 'increase of tension' between the United States and Iran, asking the Imām to use his 'authoritative influence' to bring about a solution. The Imām responded by pointing out that "our militant, noble nation took such cutting-off of relations as a good omen and celebrated it with rejoicings and illuminations" and that "the day will be dangerous for our people on which relations such as those existing during the former treacherous regime are re-established."

Moving beyond merely responding to the Pope's inquiry, the Imām then requests that the leader of the world's Catholics uphold the truth and "warn the US government of the consequences of its tyrannies, imposition of force and plundering, and advise Mr. Carter, who is confronted with final defeat, to treat the nations which want absolute independence and do not want to be affiliated with any power in the world, according to humane criteria, to follow the teachings of Christ (may God's blessings be on him) and not expose himself and the US government to further scandal." The Pope ignored the Imām's request to speak out against imperialism, but wrote again several months later, asking the Imām to assure him that Iran's Christians would be treated well and continue to be able to gather freely in their churches and schools.

The Imām's response to this second letter is instructive for his consistency. After noting that certain Christian schools in Iran were being used as a cover for espionage and intrigue—like the American nest of spies—the Imām discusses at length the legacy of the despised Shāh and his unflinching support from Carter, and asks a series of telling questions of the Pope, which are worth reproducing here in full:

"Does [the Pope] know we lost everything under 50 years of British and American domination? Does he know about our young people who are demanding justice and calling attention to the oppression of our nation? How can I tell my nation that Christian clergy are in the service of the superpowers? Why did the Pope make no comment when our young people were killed on the streets? Why does he show such discrimination? Does Christ teach discrimination? Does Christ act well toward the rich and badly toward the oppressed? Do you know what they did to our country? Did you hear the voice of our oppressed nation or do you only listen to the cries of

tyrants? Do you know about the behavior of the US police towards our young students, male and female? Are you aware that when some traitors in America were going to demonstrate against our oppressed nation, the US police protected them but when Muslim students were going to have a demonstration to complain about the oppression of our nation, what the US police did to them? Does the Pope know that our young boys and girls are chained, that they have broken ribs and some of them are unconscious? Is he concerned about these problems? Does he know about Christ's behavior toward people? Why does he not send a message to Carter? Why doesn't the Pope speak one word about the situation of these young girls and boys, who are imprisoned under torture? Why does he not ask these people who call themselves Christians and members of Churches, why they do such things? How can I reply to the oppressed people when they ask us why we defend these clergymen who don't say a word against the superpowers and oppression, even of the American people?"

The Imām concludes with a telling observation, that "I have never heard of the Pope defending oppressed people in Iran or America," and with a suggestion that he should "criticize America for its behavior toward human beings, and ask it not to oppress them," also requesting that the Pope "act according to his religious and Christian duties and stop these American executioners and police."

It is evident from these exchanges and others that the Imām is not willing to sacrifice truth in the name of dialogue, and that he took every opportunity to speak the truth, even if it risked offending men in high places. For the Imām, then, protest can be framed in terms of religious duties, and need not be limited to the liberal discourse of international relations and various human rights accords, all of which use the secular language of Western liberal discourse.

Holding a dialogue with the Pope, who himself is subject to the Western discourse, without voicing religious duties and obligations, would amount to validating the Western monologue and its pious frauds in defense of tyranny and oppression. The Imām saw through these charades, and minced no words in pointing them out. The Pope's letters continued to skirt the central issue of papal support or silence in the face of tyranny, but the Imām kept that issue at the forefront, as a condition for meaningful dialogue.

Notably, the letters to the Pope indicate that the Imām held the Pope to account not for Islamic values, but for the Christian values about which he was supposedly a spokesperson. This act of holding religious leaders to account is also evident in his letters to other Christians, worldwide and in

Iran, in which the Imām emphasizes brotherhood and asks for solidarity in the fight against imperialism. But he also asks Christians to "warn the heads of some Christian countries helping the tyrannical Shāh with their satanic powers and crushing a whole nation under oppression, and to acquaint them with the teachings of Jesus Christ," and to expose 'pretend Christians,' such as Carter who "commits tyranny and cruelty in the world contrary to the teachings of Jesus Christ".

Besides proclaiming the *ḥaqq* to world leaders of his time, Imām Khomeinī also followed the Sīrah and the Islamic method in other ways. He was a strong proponent of the *barā'ah min al-mushrikīn* rallies that are held during *ḥajj*, and was clear about who should be the targets of such rallies. Imām Khomeinī considered the present-day *mushrikīn* to be the Americans and the Zionists in particular, and the Western powers in general. In a sense, these targets are not worthy of dialogue, those with whom dialogue would be useless. The Imām regularly highlighted America as the single greatest problem facing the Muslims, and outlined America's cooptation of Islam through the influence of the Saudis, which resulted in what he called 'American Islam'. For the Imām, followers of American Islam on the one hand propagate the Islam of aristocrats, the Islam of Abū Sufyān,[1] the Islam of filthy court *mullā*s, the Islam of the silly pseudo-divines of theological centers and universities, the Islam of disgrace and wretchedness, the Islam of money and power, the Islam of deception, compromise and captivity, the Islam of the sovereignty of capital and the capitalists over the oppressed and the barefoot, and . . . on the other hand, prostrate before the altar of their lord, the US, the world-devourer. (Khomeinī 1988, p. 89.)

Against this he upheld the pure Muḥammadan Islam.

Also to be found in the Imām's writings are recommendations for relations with other Muslims, especially some of the Persian Gulf States. This suggests that intra-Muslim dialogues ought to precede others, to help find solutions to problems that address Muslim concerns and assumptions. In his last testament and counsel, the Imām warned against what he called Third World 'occidentosis' [*gharbzadegī*] and 'orientosis' [*sharqzadegī*]. The Imām urged Muslims to conduct dialogue among themselves first, and to form alliances with 'Third World' nations. This was evident even before the revolution. For example, in his message to the *ḥujjāj* [pilgrims] in 1971, he urged intra-Muslim dialogue to solve problems, especially those of Zionism

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[1] Abū Sufyān: father of Mu'āwiyah, head of the Quraysh tribe of Mecca and the staunchest enemy of the Holy Prophet of Islam. He was at the head of the non-believers and idol worshiping groups who opposed Islam and persecuted Muslims.

and imperialism. This was consistent in his post-revolutionary messages, too, such as on the anniversary of the Saudi's massacre of *ḥujjāj* in Mecca, where he elaborated on the revolutionary slogan "neither East nor West":

"Some persons of dubious motives accuse us of pursuing a policy of hostility and disdain in international forums. With their pretended sympathies and childish objections they contend that the Islamic Republic has incited enmities and lost prestige in the eyes of the East and the West. They should be asked, 'At what time did the Third World nations and Muslims, especially the nation of Iran, enjoy any esteem and credit with the East or the West so that they should lose them now?' Of course, if the Iranian people should set aside all Islamic and revolutionary principles and norms, and demolish with their own hands the house of the honor and credibility of the Prophet (*s*) and the pure Imāms (*'a*), then it is possible that the world-devourers may accord to them official recognition as a weak and poor nation devoid of culture. But that too will be up to a certain level, at the level that they remain superpowers and lords and we mean servants, they guardians and masters and we their henchmen and base hirelings. That will not be an Iran with an Islamic identity, but an Iran whose identification card has been issued by the US or the USSR. Today all the grief and lamentations of the US and USSR, of the East and the West are for this reason that Iran has not only gone out of their patronage but invites others to escape from the domination of tyrants."

Several times the Imām exposed requests for dialogue as imperialist ploys. For instance, during last two weeks of January 1979, after the Shāh fled Iran and before the Imām returned, Shāpūr Bakhtiyār was installed to lead the Iranian government in what the Shāh's backers thought to be a logical compromise. Bakhtiyār immediately requested a dialogue with Imām Khomeinī. The Imām agreed, on one condition: that Bakhtiyār first resign as prime minister of Iran. The dialogue ended; the Imām returned to Iran; Bakhtiyār unleashed a last gasp of murderous oppression, and his government collapsed on February 10-11, 1979, when the Islamic Republic was born.

The Imām wrote several *fatwā*s that are relevant to our discussion of dialogue. He insisted that the *'ulamā'* proclaim the truth and denounce falsehood, but that given the silence of the *'ulamā'* on such issues the people must take it into their own hands. The Imām also wrote about the need for *'ulamā'* to maintain credibility. Dialogue reflects credibility, and conversely also reflects upon the validity of those whom one engages in dialogue. To do so with Bakhtiyār, for instance, would have validated his position.

The current dialogue fad has some interesting characteristics. Initiating a dialogue with the West is a politically clever thing to do, gaining some credence in the United Nations, and challenging the West to live up to some of its own proclamations. But it also demonstrates the degree to which Muslims are committed to Western methodologies. Nevertheless, there is a strong momentum in the current wave of dialogue, and it will be difficult to resist in the near future. But it is not too late to ask some critical questions about the form and structure of dialogue, and about its goals and intentions, and especially the key issue of who can enter into dialogue, and with whom.

Dialogue with whom? This question cuts to the heart of dialogue as an essentially political activity that sifts and sorts different parties by validating or discrediting them in terms of approved voices in a dialogue. The West is ferociously dichotomous, tending to only see two sides to any issue. But the world is not that easily divided into black and white, good and bad, rich and poor, north and south, east and west, or any other of a number of partners in the Western dialectic. The power of the dialectic is disarming conceptually, and leads to marginalizing other voices while maintaining the illusion that 'both sides' are represented. Take again, for example, the ongoing protests around the World Trade Organization meetings, first in Seattle in the US and soon thereafter in Davos, Switzerland. While US President Bill Clinton spoke of coopting the opposition, and environmental and labor groups decried the organization's secrecy, no one questioned the underlying assumptions of the discourse of world trade, all of which are rooted in the myths of modernity, including the myths of progress, objectivity and rationalism.

Larger questions also loom about the clashes and dialogues of civilizations. 'Civilization' is just a word, made up by modernist philologists and social scientists as shorthand for complex social, political, cultural, philosophical and economic phenomena. But what counts as a civilization? What doesn't count? Who decides? How many civilizations are there? How have these changed, disappeared, or appeared over time? Who gets to speak on behalf of a given civilization? In an age characterized by a postmodern veneer over retrenched modernity, that some people are calling 'hyper-modernity', one major innovation stands out: image presides over reality. Deception, of self and of others, is a major feature of hypermodernity and its surrogate, the much-touted 'information age', so it is all the more necessary to look beneath and beyond the surface values. Who in the world is now seeking truth in these ways? Truths beyond those colonized by modernity? Truths beyond those reducible to television and computer images? Truths

beyond those sanctioned by Western science and its surrogates in the global political scene and transnational capital? Not scientists, who are doing as the Imām once said, reducing knowledge to a thick veil. How about journalists? But many are obsessed with image and style, and about self-promotion in media driven by corporate advertising tastes and trends. Who are the truth-seekers outside the Western limitations of science, outside the narrow focus of Western journalism? By all means enter into dialogue with them if the goal of the dialogue is to speak the truth, to find the truth, to implement the truth. Even most religious dialogue falls outside this scheme, since Western assumptions pervade, such as "difference equals death", with talking only to avoid death, to avoid killing each other. But why is this the presumed outcome of difference? It should be clear that "difference equals death" is another of the pathologies of the *ṭāghūtī* civilization and its *istikbārī* culture. Why can't difference just be different?

What about 'dialogue for common interests'? But defined how? Common with whom? Nowadays, these common interests usually mean common economic interests, about seeking the *dunyā* [material world], in a lopsided relationship with the rest of cosmological existence, as a feature of the Western pathological civilization. There are many such areas where dialogues on commonality obscure complexity. Television is an example. Discussions of television are often reduced to interminable debates on issues of free speech and censorship, while people who talk about things like the physiological effects of television, how television promotes individualism, consumerism, and the other myths of modernity, are not part of the dialogue on content. Common interests also raise the question, "common with whom?" For instance, the Muslim world is more a part of the 'Third World' than of the West, and given the Imām's preference for working within the framework of the Islamic world and the Third World rather than the West, the commonalties between the Islamic and the Third Worlds ought to be studied. These might include the imposition of structural adjustment programs by transnational financial bodies, along with privatization and neo-liberalism in economics, or the renewal of indigenous knowledges with respect to food-production and other sustainable necessities, or diagnosing the pathology of consumerism and the social ills of hypermodernism and unrestrained capitalism, and perhaps most importantly, how to keep the West at bay on all these fronts.

Another unnoticed aspect of the rush towards dialogue is the hidden role of power. Imām Khomeinī always spoke out on behalf of the downtrodden and oppressed over the arrogant and repressive. So would it be better to

attempt dialogue with powerful transnational corporations, or with grassroots consumer movements? Do the eager promoters of dialogues even know of such grassroots movements, or are they so blinded by their drive to appease the *istikbārī* and *ṭāghūtī* powers that they think these powers speak on behalf of the world's oppressed? Why? Who is in and who is out, and who decides? Perhaps employing the concept of 'polylogue' is better, admitting many voices and not only resolving false dichotomies, since these in one way or another benefit the West. Again, who in the world today is seeking and proclaiming the truth? If we must have a dialogue, then perhaps it would be better framed not in terms of civilizations, which are at best reified concepts anyway, but in terms of truth-seekers, and the oppressed, the weak and the powerless.

Proclaiming the truth does not have to mean violence yet. Imām proclaimed the truth to Gorbachev, and yet still affirmed bilateral relations at the end of his letter, not feeling the need to destroy difference, and able to coexist with certain forms, letting the truth speak for itself and letting Allah be the ultimate judge. In Western dialogues, truth is often the first casualty, negotiated out of the picture in the name of cordial relations or a limited sense of mutual respect, in the interest of not hurting anyone's feelings. But why is denying the truth or avoiding the truth necessary for cordial relations and a sense of mutual respect?

The story of *mubāhilah* in the Qur'an is an example of a dialogue in search of the truth, which is taken very seriously and with dire consequences for the liars, those who cover or deny the truth.[1] The Islamic way, as exemplified by Imām Khomeinī, is to proclaim the truth, let Allah do the rest, or let others back out, as in *mubāhilah*. Dialogue requires suspending proclamations of truth for the sake of cordial relations, protocols and relativistic understandings, all of which are current concerns in the liberal and modernist Western worldview. What takes precedence in such a dialogue is the process of dialogue, and given the West's ferocious tendency to dichotomize, the only perceived way for them is to not proclaim any truth, to simply talk away the truths and falsehoods as if they didn't exist, to focus on expediting presumed commonalties. The whole enterprise is riddled with guilt, another stubborn Western pathology permeating the dialogue/conflict dyad. Dialogue is a form of domestication, which is at times held within the Western dichotomy to be preferable to extermination. Any real consideration of the implications of dialogue needs to keep in mind the core assumptions of

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[1] See commentary of *Sūrah Āli 'Imrān* 3:61, http://www.al-Islam.org/quran. [Trans.]

the West: that dialogue is compulsory, that the absence of dialogue equals death, and that dialogue by definition makes things better: simply talking about things will make them go away. At the same time, that which cannot be understood in such a limited framework must be adjusted or destroyed. So, in the end, dialogue is a form of control, a way to openly monitor dissent and deviation, in order to plan behind closed doors an agenda of domestication or extermination. All dialogues about democracy in Islam seem to serve this purpose.

Inasmuch as Muslims are part of the 'Third World', this majority world bloc offers a third way out of the self-destructive dichotomies of Western civilization. What the West fears most is 'Third World' autonomy in any shape or form, that a 'third way' is possible and viable. Seeing the world in this way is a direct repercussion of colonization. Once a colonial system is established, colonized peoples generally have three choices with respect to the Western system of thought and action. Some will become good subjects of the Western colonial system, adopting its set of norms and allegiances and playing by them. Others may become bad subjects of the colonial system, also adopting the norms and allegiances of the colonial system but using them against the colonizers, in a sense demanding no more than a bigger slice of the colonial pie. This category includes most nationalist movements, especially those that adopt one or another of the Western ideologies, such as liberalism or socialism. A third group, the non-subjects of the West, exemplars of our third way, will operate entirely outside the colonial system, thinking and acting in ways that are unintelligible to the West, and operating by their own set of norms and allegiances. The third way is fraught with uncertainty, about indigenous knowledge and action, which itself is a result of the colonized mentality, but which the West fears the most, no matter how ineffective it may be.

The Islamic movement currently has members in all three groups, although the non-subjects are not well organized and therefore virtually invisible in the current nation-state system. In many ways, Imām Khomeinī was trying to develop such a third way, outside Western dichotomies and choices, and this is shown for example by the slogan of the revolution, "neither East nor West". But slogans remain only words until people turn them into action. It is only when the colonized have a strong sense of themselves, and have developed a coherent third way, that they can really engage in a meaningful dialogue on an equal footing. Until then, dialogues may be shortsighted and may perpetuate the legacy of colonization.

Injustice in the World Order:
The Revolution of Islamic Republic of Iran as a Response[*]

Muhib O. Opeloye

Introduction

The importance of the theme of this conference cannot be overemphasized considering the injustice which pervades the world order as of today. The role of Imām Khomeinī can also not be underestimated in view of the fact that the revolution of the Islamic Republic of Iran was a struggle against injustice that characterizes the world order. This is what has informed the title of my paper, "Injustice in the World Order: The Revolution of Islamic Republic of Iran as a Response".

At the beginning of this lecture, I will cite Professor Shujā'at Khān[1] whose finding in a recent study he conducted I consider relevant to our subject. He asserts that the richest 25% of the world's population live in industrially advanced countries receiving 75% of the world's income whereas the poorest 75% live in the less developed countries getting 25% of the world's income. Having virtually monopolized the production and trading of the manufactured goods, the West left the Third World countries in a state of economic dependence. While the people in the West are wealthy, healthy, educated and productive, the people in the Third World are poor, illiterate and less productive. It is this imbalance in the conditions of the nations of the world which makes the world order unjust. The West is often held responsible for this state of affairs in view of the dominant role it plays in polity, economy, diplomacy and commerce of the Third World nations.

The pertinent question to ask is to what extent is the West responsible for this state of affairs? And of what significance is the revolution of the Islamic

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[1] Shujā'at A. Khān, "Two Pathways to Development: Capitalist vs. Islamic Approach," in *Hamdard Islamicus* (Karachi: Hamdard Foundation, 1998), vol. 21, p.7.

Republic of Iran in this context of the present world order? These and other related issues are what this paper is set to examine.

Perception of the existing world order

There are two contrasting models that are of particular relevance for consideration when examining world order and more specifically world economic order, namely the 'benign neglect' and the 'malign neglect' doctrines.[1] The former views the economic link between the rich and the poor nations as primarily beneficial for the poor nations. In this model the laissez-faire view that private greed will produce public good translates on the international platform into the notions that while the different actors in the world economy pursue their interests the result will invariably be to benefit the developing countries. Hence, the investments of the multinational corporations in these countries are to increase the countries' incomes, diffuse technology and harness their domestic savings. Private investment is regarded as motivated by the desire to spread the fruit of modern technology and enterprise to the developing countries. In particular, the foreign aid programs are conceived as humanitarian in origin, reflecting the Western ideals of liberalism and the enlightened objective of sharing the world's resources with the poor countries: It is also argued that exchange of commodities and services in trade will reflect the principle of division of labor and bring gains from trade to these countries. Furthermore, it is believed that the migration of the skilled labor instead of constituting a troublesome brain will help to remove impediments to progress such as inadequate remuneration of the educated elite.

The 'malign neglect' on the other hand views the impact of the links between the rich and the poor nations as primarily detrimental to the latter group.[2] According to this school of thought, international aid leads to the perpetuation of the role of developing countries as producers of primary, unsophisticated products that relegate them to secondary and inferior position in the international division of labor. Furthermore, the terms of trade of the primary-product-exporting-developing countries have declined and will continue to do so, conferring gains on the developed and inflicting losses on the developing countries. It is also argued that the brain drain to the developed countries deprives the developing countries of the scarce skill and the talents that make economic progress possible. Moreover, foreign aid is

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[1] Jagdish A. Bhagwati (ed.), *The New International Economic Order: The North-South Debate* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1978), p. 2.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 3.

seen as a national extension of the imperialists' designs on the poor nations aimed at creating dependence.

The 'malign neglect' doctrine is in our view a more acceptable model as it presents a more accurate description of the type of relationship between the developing and the developed nations of the world. It is the relationship that grew out of the West's policies of imperialism, colonialism and even neo-colonialism.

Dimensions of injustice in the world order

The world order as it stands today is a product of domination of the countries of the South by the countries of the North. The domination as rightly observed by Āyatullāh Sayyid 'Alī Khāmene'ī[1] prevails not only over world economy but also culture, education, polity, and international relations. Let us examine some of these.

Economy

The policy of the superpowers is to make the economy of the Third World nations dependent on their economy. The Third World countries are made to remain perpetually producers of raw materials for the developed countries who process them and export them back to the Third World countries at prohibitive rates. The economic poverty, hunger and loss of life in the several Third World countries are as a result of superpowers' exploitation, repression and usurpation. Also exploitive is the aspect of the international aids. The worth of the aids is drastically reduced by practices such as aid-tying which compel the aid recipients to buy from the donor nations at artificially high prices. Their worth is further reduced as some of the aid funds are nothing but loan to be repaid with stringent conditions making repayment almost impossible. More often than not the aid donors insist on examining and endorsing the entire set of economic policies of the recipient nations and in the process impose ideological solutions to the problems of those nations. When the developing nations realize the inherent difficulty in the repayment of their debts they appeal passionately to the donor nations to cancel their debt or reschedule its payment. Of course, such appeals are hardly considered; instead they stipulate conditions which the debtor nations would be unable to meet. For instance, after Nigeria has returned to democratic rule, the government of that nation had expected that

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[1] Sayyid 'Alī Khāmene'ī: "Human Rights and the Present World Order" in a *Al-Tawḥīd*, vol. 4, no. 4 (Tehran: Sāzmān-e-Tablighāt-e Islāmī, 1987), p. 54.

her debts would be cancelled by her creditors but this has turned out to be an unrealizable dream.

Rather than meet the demand, the IMF, dancing to the tune of the superpowers, has started to set conditions that the government of President Olusegun Obasanjo should demonstrate transparency and accountability in governance before such request could be considered! This is a clever way of turning down the request.[1] All these lead to the inevitable gap between the developed and developing countries which could hardly be bridged. For long time to come Africa, in spite of her plenteous resources would remain dependent on the developed nations in consequence of various forms of exploitations to which it has been subjected. The Latin America and also many Asian countries in the same vein would remain subjugated in spite of their potentials for greatness.

Polity

Most countries of the Third World are not truly independent because their affairs are managed in most cases by the puppet governments installed by the superpowers that are only out to promote their selfish interest. Seeing themselves as powerful nations they rely on their political, military and economic might to oppress and exploit less privileged nations and governments. They interfere in their domestic problems, plunder their wealth, insult their culture and tradition, and trample on their rights. When a government of the Third World country is stable, it is stable at the pleasure of the superpowers. If such governments are too progressive such that the interests of the big powers are jeopardized, they are ready to bring down such uncooperative regimes even if they are democratic in nature. The world order is such that it protects the rights of some nations on account of their wealth and strength while some nations' rights are violated on account of their weakness and poverty. This is why the satellite launched into the space by the big powers are moving in their orbits around the globe and gathering minutest details and probing into the secrets of other countries.[2]

Culture

Cultural subjugation of the weak nations by the powerful nations is another characteristic feature of the world order. After colonizing most countries of the Third World, the imperialists imposed their culture on their subjects. In the Muslim world this meant abandonment of the *sharī'ah* as a

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[1] Nigerian television news broadcast at 9:00 pm on January 10, 2000.

[2] Khāmene'ī, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

way of life in favor of the culture of their colonial masters. In my country, Nigeria for instance, particularly in the northern part, which is predominantly Muslim, *sharī'ah* had governed the life of the people for a millennium in all its ramifications—political, economic, social, moral, and spiritual—before the annexation of the territory by the British at the beginning of the 20th century. The only aspect of the *sharī'ah* left untampered with was that dealing with *ahwāl ash-shakhṣiyyah* (aspect of personal status) which is the pattern in most Muslim states. Since Nigeria's independence in 1960, each attempt made to widen the scope of application of the *sharī'ah* during constitutional reviews, was always resisted not only by the Christians but also by uninformed Muslims. This state of affairs had made the *sharī'ah* a controversial issue in Nigeria for more than three decades. However, a recent development in one of the States of Northern Nigeria is likely to change the course of history in the country. This is the declaration for full application of *sharī'ah* by the Zamfara State government on September 19, 1999. It is also interesting to note that more States in the Federal Republic of Nigeria have signified their interest to adopt the *sharī'ah*. The Federal Government is certainly in a dilemma over the issue. When President Obasanjo was in the United States and confronted with a question on the *sharī'ah* issue in Nigeria, he replied that the action of Zamfara State government is 'unconstitutional'. Apparently he had to say this in order not to offend his big brother President Clinton because when he got back to Nigeria he maintained perfect silence over the issue. It would appear that full application of the *sharī'ah* has come to stay in Nigeria today at least in some States that are homogeneously Muslim whose governments have indicated their interest in the *sharī'ah*. These States Governments are ready to call off the bluff of the superpowers who may want to challenge their action in view of their anti-Islam posture. We are surprised when we see some Nigerian Muslim leaders criticizing this development about *sharī'ah* in Nigeria because it is a development which as far back as 1988 this writer had postulated its possibility in a paper presented at the Conference of Nigeria Association of Teachers of Arabic and Islamic Studies and published in *Bulletin on Islam and Christian-Muslim Relation in Africa*. The views we expressed therein is here partly quoted:

> ...Since federal system of government enables each region or State to have full control of its affairs it should be possible for any State of the federation that prefers the Islamic system of government to adopt it. Adoption of the system at the State level in our view does not in any way constitute a threat to national unity and neither does it make the nation drift toward

confederation since the kind of relationship that exists between the federal and the State government would still be maintained. Plebiscite could be conducted in the States opting for an Islamic system to determine whether or not they actually want the system. Only States which are more or less homogeneously Islamic in their religious belief like Sokoto, Kano, Borno, and Bauchi should be allowed to operate the system if it is their wish.[1]

One way to interpret the happening in Nigeria vis-à-vis *sharī'ah* is to see the Muslims' action as setting the machinery in motion for their liberation from cultural subjugation by the West which I see as taking a cue from the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Education

Education is the basic tool to make a nation develop, be it scientifically, technologically or industrially. The scientific and technological breakthrough of the developed countries is due to the high quality of their education, while the backwardness of the Third World countries in science and technology is due to the poor quality of their education. This is the imperialists' design to make the Third World countries dependent on the developed nations. The education bequeathed to the Third World countries is the type which does not train the citizens according to the needs of their nation; rather the training is designed to make the students learn the ideology of the West as well as Eastern ideology. The universities of the Third World countries are made to concentrate on liberal arts rather than impart knowledge that would lead to discoveries in science and technology. This is what happened throughout the long period of colonization. Here in Southern Africa it is a common knowledge that the educational legacy of the apartheid regime would need a drastic reform to be able to meet the needs and aspirations of the people. What we are saying in essence as evident in the foregoing is that the world order is unjust to the countries of the Third World because they are made to be economically disadvantaged, politically dependent, educationally backward[2] and culturally subservient and this leads us to the significance of the revolution of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

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[1] Opeloye M.O., "Problems of Desecularizing Nigeria's Political Order" in *Bulletin on Islam and Christian-Muslim Relation in Africa* (Birmingham: Center for the Study of Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations, Selly Oak College, 1988), vol. 6, no. 2, p. 11.

[2] *Selected Messages and Speeches of Imām Khomeinī* (Tehran: Ministry of Islamic Guidance, 1979) p. 31.

Significance of the Islamic Revolution in the context of the world order

Imām Khomeinī would forever be remembered in the annals of history for leading a successful revolution that brought Islam back to its former glory in the ancient nation of Iran. The 15-year old struggle which started on June 3, 1963[1] culminated in the establishment of the Islamic Republic of Iran in February, 1979, thus bringing to an end 2,500-year old dictatorial regime.

For a period of fifty years before the Islamic revolution, Iran like many countries of the Third World had been a victim of the unjust world order. The country had suffered terrible injustice in the hands of internal and external powers. The oppression, injustice and pressure encompassed the cultural, military, economic and social aspects of the lives of the people of Iran.[2] The revolution therefore was a struggle to rescue Iran from the tentacles of the world-devourers and tyrants.

The objective of the revolution was to make the tyrannized people of Iran serve Islam, to return Islam to the country, to curtail the influence of the superpowers, to put an end to the rule of the dictatorial government, and to establish a government under the banner of Islam.[3]

In his work entitled *Wilāyat al-Faqīh* [Governance of the Jurist], Imām Khomeinī deals extensively with the nature and importance of Islamic government.[4] This he has done to correct the erroneous notion held by the imperialists that Islam does not have a specific form of government or governmental institution and also to enlighten the Muslims.

According to him, monarchy and hereditary succession constitute an aberration in Islam because they have no support in the *sunnah* of the Prophet of Islam.[5] The purpose of government as laid down by the Prophet

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[1] On June 3, 1963, Imām Khomeinī delivered a historic speech in Qum, repeating former denunciations of the Shāh's regime and warning the Shāh not to behave in such a way that the people would rejoice when he should ultimately be forced to leave the country. Two days later, he was arrested at his residence and taken to confinement in Tehran. His arrest prompted a major uprising in many Iranian cities, which resulted in the deaths of not less than 15,000 people in the span of a few days when the Shāh's troops opened fire on unarmed demonstrators. The date on which this uprising began was 5th June or 15th Khordād according to the solar calendar used in Iran and became known as the uprising or movement of 15th Khordād. [Trans.]

[2] *Selected Messages and Speeches of Imām Khomeinī,* p. 23.

[3] "The Testament of the Islamic Revolution: Imām Khomeinī's Last Counsel," in *Al-Tawḥīd* (Tehran: Sāzmān-e-Tablīghāt-e-Islāmī, 1989), vol. 6, no. 4, p. 76.

[4] See Ḥamīd Algar (trans.), *Islamic Government: Governance of the Jurist* (Tehran: Institute for the Compilation and Publication of Imām Khomeinī's Works, Autumn 2002). [Trans.]

[5] Saʿīd Najafiyān, "Imām Khomeinī: Life and Works Part 2," in *Al-Tawḥīd* (Tehran: Sāzmān-e Tablīghāt-e Islāmī, Tehran), vol. 8, no. 1, p. 98.

Muḥammad (ṣ) and contained in the Qur'anic ordinances is to establish a just order so that chaos, corruption and anarchy could be prevented. *Sūrah* 57:25 in this regard declares: *"Verily We have sent our messenger with clear signs and sent down with them the book and the balance so in order that man might establish justice."*

The nature and character of Islamic ordinances indicate that the laws were made for the purpose of creating a state, and for the purpose of administering the political, economic and cultural affairs of the society.

According to the Imām, if encroachment by the oppressive ruling classes on the right of the weak is to be prevented, if ruling minorities are not to be permitted to plunder and corrupt the people for the sake of pleasure and material interest, if the Islamic order is to be preserved and all individuals are to pursue the just path of Islam, if innovation and the approval of anti-Islamic laws by sham Parliaments are to be prevented, if the influence of the superpowers in the Islamic lands is to be destroyed, to have a government based on Islamic foundation is a necessity. An Islamic government would ensure the unity of the Islamic *ummah*, it would liberate the Islamic homeland from the occupation and penetration by the imperialists and their puppet government. Islamic government is therefore antithetical to political dependence, because governance based on Islamic system of polity is superior to any other system.

The Islamic Revolution was also to redress the unjust economic order. The regimes of Riḍā Khān[1] and Muḥammad Riḍā brought to power by the imperialists (the British and their allies) created two classes of people—the oppressed and the oppressors.[2] While millions of people were deprived of the basic necessities of life, the minorities comprising of the wealthy and the powerful citizens live a life of luxury, indulgence, licentiousness and corruption. Israel's takeover of Iran's economy was encouraged by the

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[1] Riḍā Khān, the founder of the Pahlavī dynasty in Iran, likewise known as Riḍā Shāh and the father of Muḥammad Riḍā, staged a coup in Iran in 1299 AHS [1920] based on a plan devised by the British. In the year 1925, he was crowned. Before staging a coup, he was the commander of a unit of "Cossacks" in the city of Qazvīn. In 1941, when Iran was occupied by the Allied Forces, Riḍā Shāh abdicated, as was ordered by the Allied leaders, in favor of his son, Muḥammad Riḍā Pahlavī whom the Allied leaders deemed an appropriate person to rule over Iran. The political atmosphere, resulting from these changes, paved the way for a five-year-long liberalization. These charades were being organized based on the plans by the British government and executed by their agents. The British also ordered Riḍā Shāh into exile on Mauritius Island south of Madagascar in the Indian Ocean. Riḍā Shāh finally died in 1944 in Johannesburg, South Africa. [Trans.]

[2] *Dar Rawḍah*, 1993, p. 27.

Pahlavī hegemony. Imām Khomeinī warned against the danger of concentrating on the observances of rituals without paying attention to economy. To do so would mean giving the imperialists the liberty to do whatever they wanted with the economy. The Imām says and I quote:

> If you pay no attention to the policies of the imperialists and consider Islam to be simply the few topics you are always studying and never go beyond them, then the imperialists will leave you alone. Pray as much as you like, it is your oil they are after—why should they worry about your prayers? They are only after your minerals and want to turn your country into market for their goods. That is the reason the puppet governments they have installed prevent us from industrializing and instead, establish only assembly plants and industry that is dependent on the outside world.[1]

The import of the Imām's statements is that a Muslim's faith is not complete if observances of rituals are not combined with discharge of socio-economic responsibilities. This in my opinion interprets, in a way, *Sūrah al-Mā'ūn* (107:1-7) which reads:

> *"Have you seen him who denies religion (or recompense)? It is he who harshly repels the orphan and does not urged others to feed the needy, woe to those who pray but are heedless of their prayer and put on show of piety but refuse to give even the smallest help to others."*

The Islamic Revolution did not spare the education sector because it was another sector heavily dependent and highly colonized. The university curriculum was designed to train students to be pro-West and pro-East rather than train them according to the needs of the nation. After 50 years of university education prior to the Revolution the system did not attain self-sufficiency in science, medicine and technology. The university curriculum was deficient in Islamic ethics and Islamic education. According to the Imām, if the products of the university system had been desirable Iran would have a garden, there would have been no need to wage war or stage revolution.[2]

With the help of the Almighty Allah, the revolution of the Islamic Republic has not only been a success; it is also achieving its goals in spite of the malicious propaganda of the imperialists aimed at destabilizing the

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[1] Najafiyān, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

[2] Aleedin Pazargadi (trans.), *Educational Revolution* (Qum: Foreign Department of Bonyād-e Bi'that, 1986), p. 24.

government of the Islamic Republic. This I can say with some degree of authority having visited Iran and seen things by my eyes. Imām Khomeinī's last counsel contains enough admonitions for the Muslims to remain resolute and steadfast.[1] If the success of any revolution is to be preserved, abstention from division and adhering to unity are the basic conditions. Imām 'Alī[2] ('a) is reported to have said as recorded in *Nahj al-Balāghah*[3] and I quote: "Surely every nation which endeavored in unison for a common idea became firm and reinforced... Every nation enjoyed unity of purpose. God removed

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[1] *Al-Tawḥīd*, vol. 6, no. 4, p. 69f.

[2] Ḥaḍrat Amīr: Imām 'Alī ('a), the leader of the Muslim world was born in 600 CE to his mother by the name of Fāṭimah and a father by the name of Abū Ṭālib (Prophet's uncle), and from the age of 6 he grew up in the Prophet's house. He was the first man to accept Islam and promised to aid the Prophet (s). In the early days of his mission when, at God's command, the Prophet was inviting his kith and kin to Islam, at a gathering, he announced to them: "He among you, who accepts my Faith will succeed me." He repeated this declaration three times and each time, only 'Alī ('a) declared his faithfulness. On the eve of the *hijrah* or migration, notwithstanding the plot of the Quraysh against the Prophet's life, 'Alī ('a) slept in the Prophet's bed and thus proved his fidelity to him. The Prophet selected him as his brother and when returning from the last *hajj* pilgrimage, at a place called Ghadīr, introduced 'Alī ('a) as the master and guardian [*walī*] of the Muslims, after himself. 'Alī was the companion of the Prophet during his loneliness and his aid in his struggles and in time of dangers. After the Prophet's spiritual ascension, for about 25 years, 'Alī ('a) kept aloof from government administration and leadership. During this period he was the observer and overseer who prevented deviations and defections. After the murder of the 3rd Caliph, 'Alī's disciples and a group of people swore allegiance to 'Alī ('a) and elected him as the caliph. The Imām's period of administration lasted for 4 years and 9 months. 'Alī obliterated the changes that had been made after the Prophet (s) and restored things to their earlier conditions. Opposition elements, whose personal interests were threatened, rose pretending to take revenge for the 3rd Caliph's death. Bloody civil wars followed that lasted throughout the reign of 'Alī ('a). Finally the unique man of history was martyred in the altar at Kūfah, Iraq.

For further information on the Imamate of 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, see Yousuf N. Lalljee, *'Ali the Magnificent* (Qum: Ansariyan Publications, 1987); Muḥammad Jawād Chirri, *The Brother of the Prophet Mohammad (Imām 'Alī)*, (Qum: Ansariyan Publications); George Jordaq, *The Voice of Human Justice*, trans. M. Fazal Haq (Qum: Ansariyan Publications, 1990), and visit: http://www.al-islam.org/faq. [Trans.]

[3] *Nahj al-Balāghah* (Peak of Eloquence) is a collection of speeches, sayings and letters of the Commander of the Faithful, Imām 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib ('a) compiled by Sharīf ar-Rāḍī Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn (d. 406 AH/1016). Contents of the book concern the three essential topics of God, man and the universe, and include comments on scientific, literary, social, ethical, and political issues. Except the words of the Glorious Qur'an and of the Holy Prophet (s), no words of man can equate it in eloquence. So far, more than 101 exegeses have been written on the *Nahj al-Balāghah*, indicating the importance of this treatise to scholars and learned men of research and investigation. For more information, visit: http://www.al-islam.org/nahjul.

disorder and degeneration from the midst and directed them to the signs of religion."[1]

Conclusion: Challenges for other countries of the Muslim world

The big question to be posed as a challenge for the other nations of the Muslim world is how they can liberate their nations from the injustice inherent in the world order? The answer is a straight forward one; they are to take a cue from the action of the Islamic Republic of Iran by rejecting the ideologies of the imperialists. It must be admitted as asserted by Āyatullāh Sayyid 'Alī Khāmene'ī that there can be not true Islamic government in the countries of the Muslim world where any of the big powers has domination.[2] These countries should cease to be pseudo-Islamic states and prove to the world that Islam as a way of life chosen for mankind by Allah, the Blessed and Exalted, has put in place the socio-economic order superior to those of the West and East.[3] And it is an ideology which can liberate mankind from the injustice of the present world order because it is based on justice and not on domination. The big powers know that fact and that is why any mention of Islam is a source of worry for them. The West particularly sees Islam as the next threat after the collapse of communism. The West's liberalism, communism, socialism and all other isms have gone through their tests and proved their incapacity. This is an indication that the collapse of capitalism too is imminent being another artificial ideological system. This being the case, Islam is the natural successor as indicated in the word of Allah in *Sūrah an-Nūr* (24) verse 55 which reads:

> *Allah hath promised such of you who believe and do good works that He will surely make them to succeed (the present rulers) in the earth even as He caused those who were before them to succeed others); and that He will surely establish for them their religion which He hath approved for them, and will give them in exchange safety after their fear. They serve Me. They ascribe no thing as partner unto Me. Those who disbelieve henceforth, they are the miscreants.*

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[1] Muḥammad M. Reyshahrī, *Key to the Community of Revolution in Nahj al-Balāghah* (n.p., n.d.), p. 16.

[2] Sayyid 'Alī Khāmene'ī, "Islamic Government: Objectives and Hurdles," in *Al-Tawḥīd* (Tehran: Sāzmān-e Tablīghāt-e Islāmī, 1985), vol. 2, no. 4, p. 110.

[3] See T. M. 'Azīz, "An Islamic Perspective of Political Economy," in *Al-Tawḥīd*, vol. 10, no. 1 (1992). It is a lucid presentation of Islamic economic system as a superior alternative to the existing system.

Islamic Revolution and the New Islamic World Order

'Imād Bāzzī

In order to grasp the full relevance of what is meant by the New Islamic World Order it is necessary at first to have a glance at the current, dominant world order, its rationale, appeal and the challenge it poses to non-Western cultures.

Since at least four centuries ago, a new world system has started emerging, which was at first characterized by vigorous cross-continent commercial activity and the discovery of new geographical horizons. This was ebbed on by the slowly developing technologies and their application in navigation and the military. The Industrial Revolution saw the culmination of this process that in turn gave a huge impetus to imperialism and the subjugation of Eastern as other indigenous people.

Europe was now not only the dominant military and economic power in the world, but it was claimed that it represented the apex of human progress and the arrival-point of the march of human civilization. There we see that the theories and indeed the sentiments about the end of history were current as early as the mid-19th century.

Europe was considered the center of the world and this had deep ramifications in the geographical, historical and intellectual spheres. Geographically all regions of the world were to be considered as to their geographical position in relation to Europe. Thus the terms the Near East, the Middle and the Far East were invented.

Human history was divided into Antiquity, the Middle Ages and the Modern era. All human scientific and intellectual outputs were to be judged according to the standards of positivism and Western rationalism. Those that did not qualify were relegated to the category of pre-objective discourse. Hence, it was claimed that the East had something to offer in the realm of ethics, spirituality, poetry and legend but certainly every little in the

knowledge and thought which contributed to progress or the proper management of social, political and economic affairs.

The legalistic framework for this world was international law, which was nothing but a balance-sheet for the balance of power. Its logic was viciously simple enough. We, the West, are the dominant power and we have every right to chart and enact laws, which see to the upkeep of our strategic and economic interests. It is needless to say that the maintenance of such interests often meant the colonization of countries for their natural resources, markets and cheap labor. A subsidiary process, no less harmful was arbitrary introduction of Western cultural values and lifestyle. Anyone who sought to protest or rise up against this oppression was not—it was claimed—up to the standards of international conduct and civilized behavior and therefore should be brought into submission. The focal point of this world order shifted to the United States of America especially after the Second World War.

The first serious challenge to this system was the establishment of the Soviet Union after the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 that brought into question the hegemonic nature of the capitalist apparatus that resulted in immense exploitation at home and imperialist venture abroad. This ideology was appealing to many a Third World people and, at times, militarily menacing to the West. However, belonging to the West's intellectual and philosophical traditions and because of its own internal contradictions, the West was able to isolate, contain and later destroy it as a political entity.

Such were the general conditions when Imām Khomeinī returned triumphantly to Iran in February of 1979. Within months of the establishment of the Islamic Republic of Iran it became known to the whole world that this man wanted nothing less than the establishment of a divine order first at home and then, by example, in all Muslim countries. What is meant by this Islamic World Order is to rejuvenate a worldwide system, some of the basic components of which had been dormant for centuries, with the aim of making the divine precepts the stimulation and guiding lines for cultural, political and economic affairs. It had the ambitious claim that in a postmodern world characterized by material progress but existential problems in terms of alienation, identity crisis and loss of meaning; religion would have the answers and the solutions if it were to take charge of human affairs. For the outside world it meant bringing into question and indeed challenging the legitimacy or, more appropriately, the legality of the dominant world order, especially when it came to the issue of trampling upon the rights of the Muslim people, or the advocacy of policies, agreements and activities injurious toward their economic interests or derogatory toward their

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ideals and principles. It—the New Islamic World Order—implied crossing the redlines demarcated by international arrogance in order to perpetuate their dominance and oppression.

Both the targets for the call of the establishment of this divine order and the vehicles for its implementation were the worldwide Muslims, the *ummah*, whose underlying spiritual and moral principles were dear to their hearts. So cataclysmic and emotive had been the response of the Muslims for the rejuvenation of this scared order that it reminded them and others familiar with Islamic history of that first great Islamic Revolution instituted by Prophet Muḥammad (s): *"O ye who believe; Obey Allah, and the messenger when He calleth you to that which quickeneth you."*[1] And again: "And We sent a messenger to you to revive the remembrance of you." Also in the traditions of the Infallibles (*'a*): "In such admonition, he makes manifest the secrets of the intellects." And in the words of the Great Leader of the Islamic Republic, Āyatullāh Sayyid 'Alī Khāmene'ī: "We were dead and then the Imām (Khomeinī) brought us to life again."

Indeed this new life breathed into the *ummah* by the late Imām and the preoccupation of the world media with Islam and Muslims had been perhaps the most defining feature of world culture in the last two decades of the twentieth century. The most identifiable manifestations of this sacred order was the almost universal endeavor by the world Muslims to establish Islamic governments and be ruled by divine laws; a huge social transformation in terms of societal and gender relations; and a humane economic order in terms of shunning usury, and selfless charitable work for the sake of the needy, orphans and the disadvantaged. Of no less importance was the reassertion of cultural values and an increasing confidence to offer opinions and views in matters of intellectual, philosophical and artistic nature on a global sphere. This was to give impetus to religious people of other faiths as well.

This sacred order demonstrated that it is the only system able to stand up to the dominant Western world order while all other system and, indeed, cultures would falter sooner or later.

The Western culture on which the dominant world order draws has a series of features, which include economic prosperity, freedom in human and especially gender relationships, and democracy. These characteristics are defined by the concept of the pursuit of happiness, a notion which embodies the soul of Western culture.

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[1] *Sūrah al-Anfāl* 8:24. [Trans.]

These features are immensely attractive to many non-Western people, especially the younger generation, and they are communicated through a variety of images, role models and fantasies. In order to withstand the corrosive influence of this culture and its totalizing process, non-Western people and some non-Western governments try to resurrect their indigenous cultural heritage and other nationalistic sentiments so that they may act as barrier against this flood which is carried through consumerism, television and travel. The crucial point here is that history and experience have shown that if these indigenous cultures are not built on the edifies of *tawḥīd* they will collapse sooner or later.

The basic domain of influence of Western culture is *nafs*,[1] not the mental faculty. Its basic domain is that of whims, passions, emotions, and caprices. Even when it appeals to reason it does so through the channel of emotion and feeling. It presents itself more as a lifestyle and mode of contentment rather than an intellectual system that a person might accept or reject out of conviction. It is aptly named by an Iranian scholar as the 'Culture of the *Nafs*'.

When Allah, the Blessed and Exalted, talks about Satan in the Holy Qur'an, He describes the mode in which Satan operates in the following terms: promises and wishes (as in *ya'dahum wa yamnīhim*); misguidance (as in *wa laqad aḍalla minkum jabalan kathīran*); whispering (as in *fawaswas lahum*); and embellishment of bad deeds (as in *wa idhā zayyana lahum ash-shayṭāna a'mālahum*).

It is clear that the domain of operation here is the carnal self with its passions and whims and not reason. Allah, the Blessed and Exalted, adds that the influence of Satan will not extend to the sincere ones [*al-mukhliṣīn*]. It follows then that the Greater Satan (the USA), which represents the cutting edge of Western culture will ultimately dominate all those cultures that are not possessed of pure *tawḥīd*. It might even dominate Muslims who are not sincere to the faith or practice of Islam.

That is why an even avowedly atheist such as the Soviet Union, which presents itself as a system of thought and appeal to reason, was a much less dangerous adversary. And that is why we see the unique emphasis which Imām Khomeinī places on the USA and its role.

Here it becomes clear also that the 'Japanese Model', which many Eastern intellectuals have taken as paradigm for the successful modernization

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[1] The *nafs* does not have an appropriate equivalent in English because depending on its level of debasement or development it might refer to the carnal self, the soul, or even the spirit. It is, however, to the first of these levels that I refer when I use the word *nafs*.

and at the same time preservation of cultural values may not be a viable one. In fact those who are deeply aware of Japanese culture would point to the fact although a face of traditional heritage remains, Japan is fast becoming a part of Western culture. Moreover, in some aspects, notably consumerism, sexual trends amongst the youth, and suicide, it is surpassing even the excesses of Western countries. In the long term it and other Asian cultures ultimately become Western—a distorted, controlled, misconstrued, third or fourth class West, but a West nonetheless.

It is in light of the above that the full relevance of the sacred order that Imàm Khomeini instituted becomes clear. The first real test for the role this sacred world order saw itself fulfilling and the claims it was advancing was what became as the 'Rushdie Affair'.

Here was a book that had behind it an intellectual tradition that had developed over four centuries and has come to espouse particular views about cultural and artistic freedom: That some of the literary manifestations of this tradition were deeply offensive to the sacred symbols and beliefs of Muslims and indeed all people of religious persuasion did not matter in the least for the masters of the New World Order. If anything, they did all they could to ensure the publication and propagation of such calumnies. Here was political and economic system that had come to dominate key aspects of international affairs declaring that its own version of freedom of speech and expression was one of its articles of faith. And that it was prepared to go to extreme measures in order to protect the practitioners of such freedom in spite of the aspirations and sentiments of the Muslims worldwide. Moreover, here was a divine scholar who not only called for the banning of the book but issued a *fatwā* sentencing its author to death.

The dramatic reaction of Western powers and intellectuals toward this *fatwā* can be fully understood in the sense that it put into question and, indeed, challenged this New World Order. It had shaken to the core its philosophical and intellectual pretensions and the rights and freedoms that they advocated. One of the Western intellectuals, Anthony Burgess, who understood some of the ramifications and dimensions of this *fatwā*, declared that it "constituted a declaration of *jihād* against the Western world."

Again, the response of the Muslims in relation to this issue was phenomenal and global. For the first time in modern history, one would get a real sense that there was a united and huge *ummah* ready to rise and defend its ideals. In the coming generations this *fatwā* will be looked at as the event that ushered in the declaration of the birth of the New Islamic World Order.

The Islamic Revolution and the sacred world order that it initiated was an event of global dimensions. In terms of the long-lasting effects it will have on the world stage, it may be considered as the most significant event of the twentieth century if not modern times. The full dimensions of this event will not be realized until sometime in the future, maybe after 50 years.

Already it had important ramifications with regard to the nation-state, international law, liberation movements and liberation theology. There were major effects also in relation to the social sciences especially political science, sociology and psychology.

For us Muslims, suffice it to say that every action that earns the pleasure of Allah contributes to the strengthening of this New Islamic World Order and brings it into final victory.

Islamic Revolution and the Cultural-Political International Changes and Transformations

Sulayman 'Umran Kilimili

Topics of the article:

1. Cultural-political messages of the Islamic Revolution in the world;
2. The Islamic Revolution's impact on the contemporary Islamic movements;
3. The Islamic Revolution and changing the concept of separation of religion and politics in the world; and
4. Victory of the Islamic Revolution notwithstanding the internal and external threats.

Cultural-political messages of the Islamic Revolution in the world

Subsequent to the fall of the 'Islamic' state in the wake of the First World War, the Muslims had been hopeless of establishing another Islamic state in the world. With the victory of the Islamic Revolution in Iran under the leadership of jurist-leader of the *ummah*, Imām Khomeinī, the Muslims of the world experienced a fresh awakening.

The Islamic Revolution shook the contemporary world and the the Third World in particular. It brought up a set of actions and reactions as well as new questions, while opening the eyes of people throughout the world on the truth of the transformations that can possibly happen in the Muslim world. Among these transformations are "self-confidence, resistance to all types of dominations, and resorting to the precepts and ordinances of Islam when dealing with the problems of life".[1]

In view of Imām Khomeinī's intimate relationship with the conscience of the entire Muslim *ummah*, the allegiance paid to him by Muslims of various countries and regardless of nationalities and sects, and the enthusiasm he

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[1] Sayyid Muḥammad Bāqir al-Ḥakīm, *Dawlat-e Islāmī az Ti'urī tā 'Amal [Islamic government from Theory to Practice]* (n.p., n.d.), p. 12.

brought between them and the revolution, his revolution was the most important event of our contemporary period.

Through his movement and method, Imām Khomeinī broke down the elevated and formidable wall that divided the Sunnis and the Shī'ah. Instead of only focusing on the concerns of the Shī'ah, he was able to give attention to the problems of the Islamic *ummah*. With indubitable spirit, he stood against the enemies of Islam and thus, winning the approval and pleasure of the Muslims.

"Imām Khomeinī drew the Muslims' attention to the broader and urgent problems and concerns, and brought to existence an open ground for the cooperation, solidarity and then unity of the Muslims."[1] He raised the consciousness that the prevailing divisions and classifications such as Sunni and Shī'ah as well as other sects are nothing but legacy of the time and the recent periods and the essence, accordingly, is that the Muslims of all sects should return to the pristine Islam.

With the application of the authentic and pure Islam, the Sunni-Shī'ah issue becomes simple and insignificant. The ground for the coming into existence of a true Muslim worth the name who manifests in himself the principles of the Islamic mission is provided.

How could the above issue be not simplified with the existence of Islam given the fact the this religion possesses the highest degree of flexibility and tolerance even with respect to non-Muslim minorities, while observing a just and immaculate policy in which there is trace of neither ill-will nor trickery.

> In its sublime positions with respect to the non-Muslim religious minorities, Islam has never resorted to guile and feigning slogans of rights and freedoms, nor opting for empty slogans and exaggerated promises. Rather, in its movement it has always employed rightful and clear method, which has emanated from the transcendence and self-reliance of Islam as a system. It takes into account social diversities and religious differences. It never remains negligent of the necessity of consolidating the pillars of security and stability in the society to achieve the secured future emanating from the nature of the policy of the religion of Islam and linked to its past.[2]

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[1] *Goftemān-e Taqrīb [Discourse on Proximity]* (A collection of speeches delivered on the 6th International Islamic Unity Conference in Tehran), p. 662.

[2] Ja'far Ḥusayn-Nezhād, *Īrān dar Tangnā-ye Jaryānhā-ye Siyāsī-ye Mukhālif [Iran at the Straits of the Opposing Political Currents]* (n.p.: n.d.), p. 145.

The Islamic Revolution of Iran occupies an outstanding status in the contemporary world. For, the hope of millions of Muslims and the downtrodden of the world is pinned on it. This revolution has not confined its focal point of attention merely on the Muslim people of Iran. Rather, it takes into account all people of the world, and this point can vividly be seen in the statements of the Leader of the Islamic Revolution, Imām Khomeinī. In his immortal testament, he thus states:

> O you downtrodden people of the world! O you Muslims and Muslim countries of the world! Rise up and fight for your rights! Do not be afraid of the propaganda machineries of the superpowers and their mercenary agents. Drive out from your lands your wicked rulers who hand over your earnings to your enemies and the enemies of Islam. You yourselves and the dedicated public servants should take charge of the affairs of your country. Gather together, all of you, under the dignifying banner of Islam and fight the enemies of Islam and of the downtrodden peoples of the world. Advance toward the realization of an Islamic sovereign government with so many free and independent republics. If you realize this, the arrogant powers shall retreat to their own places and all the downtrodden people will come to inherit the earth and attain guardianship over it. Looking forward to the day when Allah's promise shall be fulfilled.[1]

Iran and its people, before staging the Islamic Revolution, were completely isolated from other peoples of the world but after the victory of this revolution the doors of contact and communication between the Iranian people and Muslim nations of the world were opened.

This was facilitated through intensive and extensive propaganda efforts and spread of Islamic propagation. Major programs for information-drive were launched. As such, the level of Islamic propagation went high; its scope widened; and encompassed different groups and strata. These responsibilities are shouldered by the Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance, and the Islamic Propagation Organization both inside and outside Iran.

Among the issues to which the Islamic Revolution consequently left a great impact in the world was the Muslims' enjoyment of the Imām's directives on the different Islamic rites. As an instance, the *ḥajj* rituals can be mentioned.

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[1] *The Last Message: Imām Khomeinī's Last Will and Testament* (Tehran: The Institute for Compilation and Publication of Imām Khomeinī's Works, 1998), p. 93. (with slight modification)

Before, the Muslims used to perform the *hajj* rituals with complete negligence of the philosophical essence of the ordainment of this grand annual religious gathering notwithstanding the following description of it in the noble verse of the Qur'an, thus: *"Allah hath appointed the Ka'bah, the Sacred House, a standard for mankind;"*[1] thus, declaring the *hajj* as the most outstanding phenomenon for integration and declaring immunity from the polytheists. This is while in the past no trace of the discussion of the problems of the Islamic world and declaration of immunity from the polytheists could be witnessed, and the Islamic society was experiencing the hardest condition of life on the verge of all-dimensional attacks of the imperialists and Israel.

After the Islamic Revolution, by issuing annual *hajj* messages, Imām Khomeini emphasized, as *hajj* organs, the necessity of attention to be paid by Muslims to the political problems of the Muslim world, to declaring immunity from the pagans and to the duty of the *hajj* pilgrim in connection therewith. Gradually, the great *hajj* congress was acquiring its real form. Each year the ritual of declaring immunity to the *mushrikīn*[2] was observed by tens of thousands of pilgrims from Iran with the participation of revolutionary Muslims from other countries. In the course of a magnificent march, slogans declaring aversion to America, the Soviet Union and Israel as prominent models of paganism and world impiety were sounded and voiced out, inviting thereby the Muslims to unity.[3]

After the victory of the Islamic Revolution, Imām Khomeini... undertook the revival of the social rites of Islam and of the political spirit of the laws of Islam. Along this line, the political-devotional rituals of the Friday congregational prayers and the two great *'īd*s [feasts] of the Muslims were held all over Iran. The preachers and sermonizers in these prayers undertook the discussion of the issues and problems of the huge society of the Muslims within the country and abroad.[4]

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[1] *Sūrah al-Mā'idah* 5:97.

[2] *Mushrikīn*: atheists, polytheists, pagans, etc.

[3] Ḥamīd Anṣārī, *The Narrative of Awakening: A Look at Imām Khomeinī's Ideal, Scientific and Political Biography (From Birth to Ascension)* (Tehran: Institute for the Compilation and Publication of Imām Khomeinī's Works, 1999), p. 209. (with slight modification)

[4] See *ibid.*, pp. 206-207.

The objectives of the Islamic Revolution are never restricted to the confines of its location, i.e. Iran. Rather, they are extended throughout the world, particularly to the Third World, which is deprived in every respect.

The evidence substantiating this claim is the very statements of the founder of the Revolution addressed to the people of the world in his purposeful testament as he says:

> My recommendation and admonition to the nations of the Muslim countries is that they should not pin their hope on the foreign assistances in achieving an objective that can be embodied in Islam and the implementation of its laws. Rather, stand on your own feet and realize this vital affair that will bring about independence and freedom.[1]

The people of the world found out from the trend of the Islamic Revolution that all strata of every nation can contribute in the revolution. For, in Iran the masses of people of every class, ethnicity, and religious, intellectual and creedal groups have contributed therein. This revolution was not confined to the workers. That which Marxism tried to point out in interpreting the Bolshevik revolution in Russia that the revolution belonged to the workers and peasants, in the case of the Islamic Revolution of Iran it was neither a revolution of the bourgeoisies, that which was attributed by Marxism to the French Revolution.

The Iranian revolution was the revolution of the entire people in which all strata of the people such as workers, traders, merchants, religious scholars, intellectuals, and others have their respective contributions. Besides, no political organization or party was supposed to be behind this revolution, which organizationally managed it and could assume its interests and achievements. Rather, it was a popular upheaval in which all the people—man and woman, young and old, weak and influential individuals— have their respective contributions commensurate to their own capability and status. Through their self-reliance and pivotal moves, they were able to bring it to fruition.

In spite of the existence of the military force and the powerful secret police organization named SAVAK, which was the backbone of the Shāh's regime; the aids that this regime used to receive from the foreign imperialists especially America in addition to the experienced apparatus of the regime as well as the abundant political experiences that their heads had; and the massive presence of expert foreign military-political advisers, this victory

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[1] *Şahīfeh-ye Inqilāb-e Islāmī*, p. 39.

occurred. This unprecedented model in bringing to success a revolution urges us to pose this question: what was really the secret behind this mode, which has still caught the attention of the people of the world, astounding and waking them up with respect to the political truths and popular forces, which they had never taken into account.

Islamic Revolution's impact on the contemporary Islamic movements

The Islamic Revolution under the leadership of Imām Khomeinī has had an active influence on the contemporary Islamic liberation movements. The contemporary Islamic movement has left behind significant steps, which would not have been undertaken had it not been due the victory of the Islamic Revolution, making easy the difficulties and removing the hard conditions.

The Islamic movement had no strong base at its disposal for the activities and advancements, and to which to rely on. Thus, it used to undertake its activities and moves clandestinely. From the very day of the victory of the Islamic Revolution in Iran, this revolution has served as the strong base from where the Islamic movement can commence its activity, seek asylum to it and voice out from the media outlets of this base its state of oppression to the people of the world.

The Islamic movement has found in this revolution limpid and inexhaustible fountain from which by the help of God its material and spiritual needs are fulfilled. By the grace of God, every need that the contemporary Islamic movement had, such as material, propagational, approval, counsel, moving force, base, and places of asylum, has been provided in this propitious revolution. Contemporary Islamic movement in any part of the world is always in need of the revolution and the Islamic republic just as the Islamic Revolution and the Islamic Republic cannot remain not in need of this movement in the Muslim world. Certainly, extending of the Islamic Revolution in the Muslim world and exporting its revolutionary values and organizational ideas to that world are done through the Islamic movement.

> Contemporary Islamic movements with diverse sectarian tendencies such as Sunni and Shī'ah are lengthy bridges that connect the Islamic world to the Islamic Revolution and through which the Islamic Revolution makes advancement in its movement and extends itself to the Islamic world...
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> Undoubtedly, the Islamic Revolution will not be capable of performing its Islamic and global mission except by extending to the countries of the

Islamic world, to every village, township, mosque, home and printing house, and to the hearts, consciences and minds.[1]

Imām Khomeinī had a noble position in dealing with the liberation movements of the world. This point can be witnessed in his prudent directives and continuous messages to the leaders of liberation movements. In one of his directives, the Imām says:

> Through a unity springing from their faith and seeking help from the eternal power of God the Muslim nations should drive out these arrogant powers from their own countries. These nations should be aware of themselves, identify the downtrodden and be acquainted with the position of the big powers and the arrogant so as to be able to regain their lost personality and identity; free themselves from the sphere of influence of the satanic propaganda machineries; entrust their nations to the power of God; halt the advancement of the arrogant and keep them in their own place; make them aware of their disgraceful reality in facing the self-reliant people; free the world; and to cut off the hand of the tyrants. O you heroic brothers! O ye who freed their own countries! Make your nations aware and wakeful. Purge their minds of the menacing effects of corrupt propaganda which persisted for centuries and ruined their identity and personality in facing the West and the World Arrogance. Strive to make them forge unity with our Islamic movement as this movement is the movement of all the downtrodden.
>
> Today, the dear Islam is facing unmanly onslaughts of the *kufr*. Before being an Iranian or regional movement, our movement is the movement of all downtrodden of the world.
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> O Muslims of the world! O revolutionary downtrodden! O boundless sea of mankind! Stand on your own feet and defend the existence of Islam, and your nations and countries. Israel took away Quds ash-Sharīf from the hand of Muslims but the governments showed nothing except heedlessness and dereliction...
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> In the way of rendering assistance to the great Islam, we give assent to all the downtrodden and we defend and support them as well as every organization that strives to free its country.[2]

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[1] Muḥammad Mahdī Āṣifī, *Dars-hāyī az Inqilāb-e Islāmī-ye Īrān [Lessons from the Islamic Revolution of Iran]* (n.p.:n.d.), pp. 85, 87.

[2] *Imām dar Rūyārūyī bā Ṣahyunīsm [Imām Khomeinī vis-à-vis Zionism]*, pp. 100-101.

The above statements are clear evidence that Imām Khomeinī has not confined his attention to the freedom of Iran and its people but has also paid attention to encouraging the liberation movements in every part of the world, calling on and urging the Muslims to free their respective countries from the arrogant (powers) so that the downtrodden could be able to assume power and leadership.

The Islamic Revolution occurred, and from the very moment of its inception it announced its solidarity with the downtrodden of the world and did not spare its assistance with respect to their problems. From that moment up to now, it has been their greatest assistant and aid in all vital aspects particularly along their freedom and deliverance. The revolution occurred, making the Muslims aware that arrogance and the arrogant have no place in the luminous Muslim world. The *ṭāghūt*s and arrogant in any form and color they assume ought to be annihilated.

The Islamic Revolution and changing the concept of separation of religion and politics in the world

By invoking hundreds of explicit verses of the Qur'an, the Sunnah of the Holy Prophet (*ṣ*), conduct of the pioneers of religion, and so narrations reported from the Infallibles ('*a*), Imām Khomeinī firmly believed that politics is part of religion. The separation of politics from religion prevalent throughout the past decades of the 20th century and thus took place as a result of the imperialists' propaganda has obviously left menacing impacts on the Muslim world and among the followers of other divine religions.

> Imām Khomeinī regarded the religion of Islam as the doctrine for the guidance of mankind in all stages, dimensions and eras of individual and social lives, and as social and political relations are inseparable parts of human life, in his opinion, the Islam that is confined merely to devotional aspects and individual ethics and bar the Muslims from interfering in their own destiny and in social and political issues is a distorted form of Islam, and in the language of the Imām, it is an 'American Islam'. The Imām has founded and conducted his movement on the basis of inseparability of religion from politics.[1]

The enemies of Islam have invented the idea of separation of religion from politics, advancing many arguments in this context to the extent that the masses of people were convinced of this belief. The enemies alleged

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[1] Ḥamīd Anṣārī, p. 206. (with slight modification)

that every clergyman who distances from political issues will be nearer to the world of spirituality and can better perform his religious duties.

Gradually, these enemies have labeled as futile Islam the authentic and revolutionary Islam, which concerns with all the devotional and political, economic and social affairs, eliminating the pure Islamic mottos and pursuing the reviving of fanatical mottos that are traceable to the time prior to the advent of Islam.

For instance, they replaced the *hijrī* calendar with the monarchial calendar, making corruption and licentiousness rampant everywhere and drawing the young generation to the quagmire of decline and depravity. Suddenly, Imām Khomeinī emerged in the history of Islam, Muslims and Iran as a great man from the corner of the city of Qum. "*And a man came from the uttermost part of the city, running.*"[1] Yes, this heavenly human being and divine man rose up; was reared and became aware of his time under the auspices of the heavenly revelation.

He was a brave, strong and cheerful man who assumed the leadership of the *ummah*. The spirit of God was imbued in him. Like Jesus ('*a*), in his own turn he appeared in the spiritual world thereby brought to existence the revolution.

Although the history of Iran bore witness to revolutions against dictatorial and despotic rulers whose leaders have been clergymen and religious scholars or at least have active participation in it, due to their lack of total concordance with the message of Islam or distance from the goal of establishing Islamic government these revolutions turned unsuccessful. In this revolution, meanwhile, the leader laid down the foundation of his objective in overthrowing the monarchial regime and establishing the Islamic government.[2]

Imperialism isolated the clergymen and religious scholars. It was done under the pretext of separation of religion from politics. Everyday, the imperialists used to sing the tune of the religion's not being in need of the clergy, or sow the seed of hypocrisy and discord among the children of a nation. However, the existence of spiritual and religious force among the people used to abort the imperialist designs throughout history.[3]

After the Muslims were kept aloof from religion and abandoned the laws and ordinances of the Qur'an as well as the Sunnah of the Prophet (ṣ), the enemies of Islam from the East and West staged a psychological war on

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[1] *Sūrah al-Qaṣaṣ* 28:20.
[2] *Az Wilāyat-e Faqīh tā Ḥukūmat-e Mardumī [From Guardianship of the Jurist to the Popular Government]*, pp. 1-3.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.

them, inculcating in their mind the idea of separation of religion from politics arguing that the two are in contradiction to each other and reconciliation between them is impossible. This is while the truth of the matter is something else.

In the immortal charter of the revolution, His Eminence Āyatullāh Sayyid 'Alī Khāmene'ī thus states:

> One of the extremely blasphemous phenomena of the present era is the very separation of this world from the hereafter, material life from worship, and religion from politics.
>
> Unfortunately, the years of Muslims' negligence and their distance from the Qur'an made the distorter hands successful in instilling false ideas on the minds under the name of religion... and in spite of the availability of proof and evidence substantiating the concordance of religion and politics, we can still witness individuals who sing the tune of the religion's separation from politics as well as those who believe in this idea, which is repugnant to Islam...
>
> It is clear that the tune singing the separation of religion from politics is composed by the same enemies of religion who have received a blow from the vibrant and live Islam. Through this weapon, they want to expel religion from the arenas of life in order to singly take control of the life issues and destiny of the *ummah* and thus no more afraid and dreadful of anybody.[1]

However, the pure Muḥammadan Islam views politics as an inseparable part of religion, calling on all the Muslims to engage in, be aware of, and understand politics. This is the same thing that the Muslim nations must always learn from their jurist leader.[2]

> The Imām highlighted the menace of the notion of separation of religion from politics which is coined and launched by the imperialists.
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> In a bid to annihilate religion and beguile the Muslims, they undertook this move so as to easily plunder the assets of Muslims, and this is the same thing that we witness today in the Islamic world.[3]

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[1] *Manshūr-e Jāwidāni-ye Inqilāb [Immortal Charter of the Revolution].* pp. 14-17.

[2] *Ibid.,* p. 19.

[3] *Negāhī beh Bu'd-e Ma'nawī-ye Inqilāb-e Islāmī-ye Īrān [A Glance at the Spiritual Dimension of the Islamic Revolution of Iran].*

Victory of the Islamic Revolution notwithstanding the internal and external threats

As what has been stated earlier, the history of Iran has witnessed many revolutions against dictatorship, despotism and colonialism such as the Constitutional Movement or the oil industry nationalization but all of these revolutions were doomed to failure due to inattention to the noble mission of Islam and distance from the objective of establishing the Islamic government.

> The basic characteristic of this revolution, which distinguishes it from other movements that have taken place in Iran during the past hundred years, is its ideological and Islamic character. At the conclusion of the Constitutional Movement against despotism and the anti-colonial movement relating to the nationalization of the oil industry, the Muslim people of Iran learned from this costly experience that the clearly basic reason for the failure of these movements was their lack of an ideological basis. Although the Islamic line of thought and the leadership provided by militant religious leaders played the main and essential role in these movements in recent history, nonetheless, the struggles waged in the course of these movements floundered due to departure from genuine Islamic positions. Hence, under the leadership of the eminent *marji' at-taqlīd*, Āyatullāh al-'Uẓmā Imām Khomeinī, the alert conscience of the nation realized the necessity of pursuing an authentic Islamic ideological course in its struggles. This time, the militant *'ulamā'* of the country, who, in conjunction with committed intellectuals and writers, had always been in the vanguard of popular movements, found new impetus through his leadership.[1]

> This revolution was characterized by two outstanding features, i.e. the absolute leadership of the Imām in this movement and its Islamic character motive along with the Islamic slogans it upheld from the beginning, and the specific objectives it determined for itself, and thus, opening a new chapter in the *jihād* of the Iranian people before the people of the world whose fruit is known to all as the 'Islamic Revolution'.[2]

One of the fundamental issues that served as the main bastion of the new system and bestowed vigor to the Revolution in overcoming all the problems, obstacles and sinister propaganda, was the drafting of the Constitution, which was ratified by the absolute majority of the Iranian people and determined the future programs and strategy of the country.

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[1] *The Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran* (Tehran: Islamic Culture and Relations Organization, 1997), pp. 1-2.
[2] See Anṣāri, p. 27.

The enemies of the Revolution both inside and outside the country, who did not witness it, were displeased at the success of this revolution as a revolution which has been led by a jurist. For, the astute leadership of this jurist was responsible for the collapse of the edifices of despotism and imperialism as well as the destruction of the *ṭāghūṭī* regime's palace. This is the very principle that brought to existence the Islamic government, and like a formidable fortress against the influence of the enemies of the revolution, Islam and the Muslims, it will remain durable and resilient.[1]

The Islamic Revolution faced various types of threats from both within and without Iran. For instance, the event in 1989 [1357 AHS] of the anti-revolutionary elements' setting on fire of wheat crops, agricultural products and granaries, which were all the products of the sweat and toil of the farmers, took place whose aim was to render a blow to the Islamic Revolution.[2]

The victory of the Islamic Revolution in Iran was an outcry that took away sleep from the eyes of the enemies of Islam and made them understand that the Muslims are alive and determine themselves their own destiny. The victory of the Islamic Revolution and the awakening of the Muslims opened a new chapter in the confrontation of Islam with the West since the beginning of the call of Islam, and the conquest and victories of the Muslims. This revolution is a destiny-making event.

As this blissful revolution has entered a new era, its impacts and influence of the highest order can be actively seen on the arenas of Islam as well as in the domains of politics and *jihād*. It changed in favor of Islam most of the so-called fixed principles and accounts of political equations in the region and the world, and thus, as it has been said, making possible the impossible and transforming possible into impossible.

It is no doubt that given the premature image it assumes, this Islamic revolution is something that is greater than an aspiration in our contemporary life. Indeed that which we dreamt of performing in a long period was fulfilled by God, the Exalted, in a one and a half year period in a popular and all-embracing genuine revolution in the land of Iran under the leadership of an octogenarian descendant of the Most Noble Messenger (ṣ) whose signs of his blessed countenance calls to mind the companions of the Messenger of

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[1] *Az Wilāyat-e Faqīh tā Ḥukūmat-e Mardumī*, p. 3-4.

[2] Sayyid Muḥammad Ḥusayn Beheshtī, *Iqtiṣād-e Islāmī [Islamic Economics]* (n.p.:n.d.), p. 15.

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Allah (ṣ) who shouldered the sublime mission of Islam with determination, resoluteness, faith, and certainty of the promise of the God.

The fulfillment of this sublime aspiration on the life of Muslims, i.e. the reestablishment of the Islamic government, happened in a short period through a comprehensive revolution, and thus, uprooting the foundations of the oppressive and tyrant government and like a volcano, making the ground to explode under their palaces and thereby setting up the blessed government of Islam after a long period.[1]

This revolution was planted on soil and firmly sprouted, which caused its resilience and endurance up to now. As the revolution emerged from the land of a subtle and untenable civilization, through the violent storms that the arrogant of the world will incite against it can possibly be uprooted and thus annihilated within a short period.

Yet, the Islamic Revolution was an outburst in a hard and solid base and relying on a potent civilization, which was able to withstand against all storms and typhoons, and it is still resilient and enduring.[2]

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[1] *Dars-hāyī az Inqilāb-e Islāmi-ye Irān*, p. 72.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 83-84.

Four Upheavals in History
Status of the Islamic Revolution and the Historic Role of Imām Khomeinī in the Contemporary World

Fīrūz Dawlat-Ābādī

With the advent of the Industrial Revolution and the expansion of relations among countries of the world, transnational and regional dependency of countries on one another gradually increased. Subsequent to the rivalry among great industrial powers then emerging in Europe, a new division in their essential formation appeared. Domination escalated and promoted to the extent that military occupation, formal colonization and ordered appointment formed the principal structure of international relations in its conception at the time. On one hand, throughout the period of influence of the said transformations the relations among countries became more complex and intense everyday in such a way that the ruling class in the countries under domination becomes more durable and firm commensurate to its compliance with the wishes of the dominant powers. On the other hand, the periodic movements for independence and struggles of the nations for deliverance from domination, though succeeded in shaking the then evolving order in the world, were incapable of effecting fundamental and infrastructural changes in the structure and operation of the international relations. As such, cleavage among the countries became wider everyday. Due to this further fragmentation, the power and capability of the backward countries to exert influence in important international issues diminished.

During the initial years of the twentieth century, the world bore witness to two fundamental transformations in international relations. First, the share of the backward countries in important international decisions decreased. Second, the strategic rivalries among the European countries intensified. The intensification of these rivalries finally led to the occurrence of two world wars, the Second World War in particular. Amid the dire consequences of the Second World War, the world witnessed the appearance of a new order

foreboding the bipolar system arrangements under the leadership of America in the Western camp and the ex-Soviet Union in the Eastern camp. This important and historic event, which set up new design of the world politics, had some ensuing outcomes:

First, the unknown countries of the Third World as subjects were transformed into role players in the relations of the rival independent variable poles.

Second, such a trend could inevitably tone down zeal for independence among the countries of the world.

Third, the technical concept of 'independence' turned to mean a sort of dependency on one of the power poles and keeping aloof from the other pole. This statement does not mean denying the endeavors of the national and religious leaders of the diverse countries in the world, rather, the point is we should know that none of the abovementioned events led to the presentation of an independent doctrine in the international system. Even the steps undertaken in India were not a model for revolution in other countries. It is because the leadership of Gandhi had no movement and motive for the export of revolution in itself. Secondly, in view of the constant traditions, culture and civilization of India, it had utmost emphasis on the creation of a political-populist structure based upon passive and seclusion-oriented individualism innate in the Hindu tradition. In the end, negation of one of the two main poles of power in the East and West was the objective of political endeavor of the humanist Hindu society.

In the same vein, the struggles of the Maoist peasants (village versus city) in China were in the first place not in pursuit of the realization of independence of the countries in the world. Secondly, more than consolidating the anti-Western capitalism front in the world, it became a factor in creating cleavage within the leftist camp of the East. Due to incapability in its political and international choices, it was initially isolated from among the leftist and radical groups and then it became weak in the global level.

As a result, in a brief study of the historical developments in the political systems and units of the world and the expanding relations among states particularly after the first Industrial Revolution, French Revolution, American independence, and the dominance of the colonial system in the world, the more it was nearer to the twentieth century and the First World War, the chance of coming into existence of sovereign and steadfast countries against the wishes and inclinations of European industrial countries was less and rare. Such was the state of affairs until finally, with the victory

of the Bolsheviks in 1917 in Tsarist Russia; the formation of the former Soviet Union; the fundamental transformations in many geopolitical regions of the time; the outbreak of the Second World War; and the powerful rise of America in the political scene of the world, the inclination for independence in many Third World countries commenced. Yet, apart from what have been said earlier, the existence or establishment of a government independent from the wish of the superpowers was no longer possible in practice. Of course, as stated earlier, it did and does not suggest the absence of transformation in the world of politics. For, we have been witness to the ostensible independence of so many countries. We have seen various movements of nationalist and non-nationalist, religious and secular genuine forces. Nevertheless, what is important and the point of this article is as follows:

First, none of the struggles led to the creation of sovereign political units especially in the initial part of the twentieth century;

Second, in case of the existence of inclination for independence, it was still incapable of creating a sovereign political unit vis-à-vis the superpowers;

Lastly, with the absence of an experienced and independent model for revolution and achieving independence, the developing countries were wandering only within the circuit of dependency on one pole to another. The world indeed became the chessboard of the superpowers. The disappointed and disillusioned intellectuals and revolutionaries were on the verge of surrender.

In this tortuous, long and winding journey, in terms of the importance of geopolitical regions the world was subjected to profound transformations and necessarily assumed a particular form for itself. On account of the importance of a region for one of the two powers, its possible influence there exacerbated while control of a region became important. In terms of management in those regions, in view of the importance of countries, they appointed more dependent personnel office.

In broader dimensions, among these regions the Persian Gulf was identified as the most important region of the world and Iran among the countries of the region as the most important country existing in the Western bloc. In substantiating this hypothesis, it is enough for us to review the distant and recent past accounts of our country (Iran) from the time of the coming to power of the Ottoman Empire in Turkey up to the time of the disintegration of the former Soviet Union. A historical study shows that during these long years among the Third World countries, there has not been any country as much as Iran in involvement in the international conflicts and developments. The more precise meaning of this statement in the world of

politics is that if in any part of the world the possibility is ever imagined of the occurrence of revolution and establishment of a government independent from the dictate and approval of the superpowers, in view of its geopolitical importance in the region, its neighborhood with the main rival of the West (i.e. the erstwhile Soviet Union), and its dominance in the Persian Gulf and Strait of Hormuz region in the most complex era of international relations throughout human history in the most strategic region of the world and in the most important Third World country for the Western bloc and America, in the case of Iran, which was named as the gendarme of the region and "island of stability,"[1] even to imagine revolution was impossible.

With such a conviction, it can indeed be said that Imām Khomeinī did not stage a revolution in Iran. Rather, he made an outburst, which in his own words, was "an outburst of light"—a great outburst that only the great prophets of God were able to do so throughout history. After a five-century stormy period in which the scroll of ecclesiastical authorities was complex in the West while the pure Muḥammadan Islam was isolated from the political scene in the East, he again introduced religion, labeled by Karl Marx as "the opium of the masses", as the most pivotal factor in the movement of nations in the political scenes of the world.

He transformed religious beliefs into factors of great ardor and sensational resurgence in a country and in face of a government that had undoubtedly the most dependent political structure on the West in the contemporary history of Iran. What Imām Khomeinī had done did not end here. In fact, he achieved a greater success. He offered a model for the independence of nations in the world, and not a model for dependency. It was a task, which none of the prominent thinkers and statesmen of the world was capable to perform, and it was accomplished through the reliance on, and use of, the most forgotten instrument in the world, i.e. 'faith'. He planted a sapling which no storm can be able to uproot. By relying on this weapon and reviving the love for martyrdom, he became the only individual at least in the past two centuries, who formally and openly humiliated all the heads of *kufr* in the political scene, pushing to the ground the arrogance-tainted nose of the West. The dominance of his discourse cast a shadow on most thinkers. Zbigniew Brzezinski borrowed from the Imām's message to Gorbachev the idea of the breakup of the Soviet Union. In imitation to him the Pope brought

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[1] US President Jimmy Carter told the Shāh in Tehran on January 1, 1978: "Iran is an island of stability in one of the most troubled areas of the world. This is a great tribute to you, Your Majesty, and to your leadership and to the respect, admiration and love which your people give to you." *New York Times*, January 2, 1978.

politics again into the Christian world. Above all, through him Islam began to experience a new spring. He set up a revolution, which in the words of the Supreme Leader of the Islamic Revolution, Āyatullāh Sayyid 'Alī Khāmene'ī, is "not known in any part of the world without his name". With the exception of the prophetic mission of Moses ('a), the Interlocutor with God, more than two thousand five hundred years ago, Jesus Christ ('a) two thousand years ago, and finally the Muḥammadan outburst of light fourteen centuries ago, no other event and revolution in the world is comparable to his revolution with respect to substance, value and profundity. The only difference among these outbursts of light is that the great prophets ('a) attained this important achievement through revelation [*waḥī*] and inspiration [*ilhām*] in the case of the Imām. For, he was nourished by the school of the Messenger of Allah (ṣ) and the Infallible Imāms ('a). His revolution was a successful attempt to restore the authentic Islam and invite the people of the world toward this truth. The theoretical sources of political-religious thoughts of that great and sagacious sage can be known amid the Qur'anic verses, and the words and tradition of the Messenger of God (ṣ) and the Infallible Imāms ('a).

The greatest mission of the thinker of the present time and particularly the Islamic theological seminaries is—through a meticulous study of the stances and directives of that great sublime model—to revive the illustrious early period of Islam and guard the light of guidance that he set ablaze.

Idealism and Realism in Foreign Policy
from Imām Khomeinī's Viewpoint

Muḥammad-Riḍā Dehshīrī

One of the theoretical questions on the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran as a teleological system is the settlement of contradiction between idealism and realism. In resolving this important issue, various solutions such Islamic internationalism, practical government of Islam thesis, *umm al-qurā* tenet, rules of capability [*wus'*] and gradualism [*tadarruj*], and linear theory have been offered. Although these ideas have slice of the reality and truth, having embarked on theorizing on the basis of mental conceptions, they have not succeeded in resolving the point of controversy. What can help the researchers on this important issue is the understanding and discernment of the thoughts of the architects of the Islamic Republic of Iran's foreign policy, especially that of the Great Leader Imām Khomeinī. Therefore, while elucidating the realistic idealism model in the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran by taking inspiration from the words of the great Imām, the present paper endeavors to reconcile ideal goals and national interests as two seemingly contradictory elements.

Along this line, initially there is an attempt to state the features of realism and idealism. In such a way, the blended model of 'realistic idealism' (and not 'realist idealism') would be taken into account. Then, finally, statements of Imām Khomeinī as substantiation to the claim of the author will be quoted.

Preliminary remarks

Realistic idealism model in foreign policy

Realistic idealism model can be regarded as a type of institutionalism, which apart from stressing on institutionalized pacifism, considers making use of power in protecting the welfare of humanity. In such a way, it

endorses some dimensions of both realism and idealism. Since elucidation of this model necessitates knowledge of the two schools, realism and idealism, we will initially analyze the said theories. Thereafter, we will present the blended theory.

Realist model in international politics

Emphasizing the ideas such as national security, national interests, national goals, balance of power, geopolitics, geostrategy, national power and capability, *quid pro quo*,[1] national borders, secret diplomacy, and *realpolitik*,[2] the realist model can be studied from three perspectives: its intellectual insight and theoretical principles, outlook on the structure of the international system, and viewpoint on the function of state in the international politics.

1. Intellectual insight and theoretical principles of the realist model

By 'intellectual insight' we mean the dominant principles in the realist viewpoint on the nature of man, outlook on politics, and the relationship between the state and international system, to which we will explain below:

a. Based on the realist school, pugnacious motive and instinct exist in the nature of man. Hobbes' insight on "man as the wolf of one another" is true on the wicked, self-conceited and egoistic essence of man. Thus, through the pessimistic viewpoint on the nature of man and the viewpoint of "war of all against all," it can be regarded as a sort of Social Darwinism and conflictual dimension of international relations.

b. The realist viewpoint views politics as the art of possibilities, which adheres to rationalism and empirical positivism. As the state is rationalist, it should strive to enhance its power and interest simultaneously and persistently. As an empirical positivist, it tries to explain the present world by keeping in view the past experiences and concepts.

c. The realist viewpoint on the state-international system relationship emphasizes the pivotal role of the state; the necessity of preserving the essence of country as the most important primary and permanent goal of

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[1] *Quid pro quo*: something for something; something given or taken as equivalent to another, often as retaliation; the action or fact of giving or receiving in this way. In diplomatic negotiation, it implies a willingness on both sides to make mutually acceptable concessions. [Trans.]

[2] Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Theories des relations internationales* (Paris: Montchrestion, 1994), pp. 40-62.

the system; and the distinction between high politics and low politics. In view of the external dimensions of national security, it acknowledges the separation of domestic politics and foreign policy.

2. Outlook on the structure of the international system in the realist school

In this viewpoint, the international system is regarded as heterogeneous, conflictual and chaotic in which the states are the principal and superior actors. Thus, it can be explained in two dimensions: (1) the international milieu and (2) outlook on the states.

a. International milieu as chaotic

In this viewpoint, the international milieu, in terms of power relations, is the process of change. Owing to the existence of lawlessness and disorder in the world and the absence of a powerful pole that could impose order on its members, a kind of anarchy and chaos is prevalent in the international relations.

b. State-centric view

This viewpoint considers the states as the players or superior players in the international relations. It examines the sacred egoism of the nation-states as the principal units of the international system. While stressing on the discordance and heterogeneity of the states' interests, it tries to preserve potential power and make use of actual power.

3. The realist view on the function of state in the international politics

While emphasizing the competitive and consequently conflictual function of the international system, the realist viewpoint sanctions both the defensive and offensive steps in realizing international stability and peace. Thus, after examining the realist view particularly on the function of the international system, it is worthy to deal on foreign policy of a state in such a system.

a. Competitive-conflictual function of the international system

This viewpoint regards international relations as a struggle for survival, and dispute, conflict and struggle for the acquisition of power in an environment full of tension and contradiction among the interests and objectives of the states. It is based on this conviction that in view of the absence of understanding and concordance among interests and objectives of

the political units as well as the existence of unequal distribution of power among the states, a sort of law of the jungle and Darwinism is prevalent in the international system, in which case whoever is capable has survived.

b. Confrontational foreign policy

As it views security as a zero-sum game, the realist viewpoint highlights the inevitability of strife, and the legitimacy and importance of using force, violence and war as means to achieve political ends, attain national objectives, promote national interests, and consolidate the supremacy of state. It upholds these points as the main solution for the realization of the international peace, order and stability.

Idealist model in international politics

Emphasizing the ideas such morality, pacifism, ideo-strategy, transnational objectives, internationalism, normative theory, order based upon legal authority and stabilizing pressure of world public opinion, collective security, disarmament, and open diplomacy,[1] the idealist model can be studied from three perspectives: its intellectual insight and theoretical principles, outlook on the structure of the international system, and viewpoint on the function of state in the international politics.

Intellectual insight and theoretical principles of the idealist model

The idealist school adheres on the purity of the nature of man, normative and prescriptive viewpoint, and preeminence of the world community over the states, whose explanation is as follows:

a. The idealist viewpoint maintains an optimistic outlook on the essence of man and human nature. It gives particular consideration on the lofty ethical principles of man, acknowledging responsibilities on the rights of man.

b. While viewing politics as the art of necessities, i.e. world peace and good governance, the idealist viewpoint adheres on the normative and prescriptive outlook—normative as it stresses on ideology and morality while prescriptive in the sense that based on real norms and values, it prescribes ways to achieve world peace.

c. Concerning the state-world system relationship, the idealist viewpoint stresses on the preeminence of the international society consisting of democratic states. It holds that it is in the absence of threat and the

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[1] Voirs Philippe Braillard et Mohammad Reza Djalili, *Les Relations internationals* (Quesais-je no. 2459) (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1990), pp. 11-18.

existence of guarantee in the international level that domestic security can be realized. Thus, it emphasizes regional and international security as complementary of national security, acknowledging the link between domestic politics and foreign policy.

Outlook on the structure of the international system in the idealist school

In this viewpoint, instead of international system, it considers what Hedley Bull labels as the 'international society', which possesses harmony and is devoid of conflict. This ideal-type society can be analyzed from two perspectives: (1) international milieu and (2) transnational insight.

Peaceful international milieu devoid of centrifugal forces

In the idealist viewpoint, on the basis of norms the international society offers common processes, rule of the international laws and rights, ethics and legal equilibrium, and harmonious and ideal system in which war and violent conflicts are shunned while peace and stability anchored on order, authority and law prevail.

Transnational view

The idealist viewpoint endeavors to organize anew the international life in a voluntary manner on the basis of international law and organizations, multilateralism, and internationalism, maintaining that making use of international institutions eliminates the ground for rivalry and conflict, facilitates the principles of cooperative international behavior, and fulfills the realization of international peace and security. Therefore, the international society has preeminence over the nation-states.

Idealist viewpoint on the function of state in international politics

While keeping in view the peaceful function of the international society based upon international institutions, the idealist viewpoint lays emphasis on peaceful foreign policy and parliamentary system. In connection with this, it is worthy to examine the function of the international system and the type of foreign policy of the nation-states.

Peaceful nature of the international society

The idealist viewpoint holds that in view of the burgeoning of communications and interdependence among countries there is the possibility of extensive integration and coordination among the states as well as the peaceful settlement of disputes. Thus, with the prevalence of norms in the

international society such as the disadvantage of using force, reduction of armaments, avoidance of supporting aggressors and international disarmament, there will be the possibility of realization of peace and stability in the international system.

Peaceful foreign policies of the nation-states

By treating security as equivalent to non-zero-sum game, the idealist viewpoint maintains that in case of realization of international society free from threat and fear of the states of the vital values being in danger, the states will resort to peaceful means to attain their legitimate objectives. By putting aside the differences and the renunciation of the use of force in solving disputes, they will reveal their intention to the support for preventive diplomacy in preventing the spread of crises, wars, rivalries, and disputes.

The realistic idealist model in international politics

As this model exerts direct influence on the objectives and interests, on one hand, and the methods, means and ways, on the other hand, of foreign policy, it is a sort of manifestation of the idea of "unity in diversity". In other words, it utilizes numerous methods to serve a single value while morality and legislation are located along with power and national interests. Adhering to ideas such as interest-consciousness, blending of truth and reality, fusion of geostrategy and ideostrategy, linking domestic and foreign policies, negotiation and persuasion while warning and intimidation, peaceful and hostile methods, attractive and repulsive instruments, spiritual and material as well as mental and actual power, national and transnational objectives, and institutionalism and rule of gradualism, this model can be analyzed from three perspectives: its intellectual insight and theoretical principles, outlook on the structure of the international system, and viewpoint on the function of nation-state in the international politics:

Intellectual insight and theoretical principles of the realistic idealism model

The 'realistic idealism'[1] school stresses on the distinction between the instinct [*gharīzah*] and disposition [*fiṭrah*] on the essence of man, politics as the art of making possible the necessities, and the interaction between the nation-state and the international system, as will be explained below:

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[1] See Sayyid 'Alī Aṣghar Kāẓimī, "Ārmāngerāyī va Wāqi'gerāyī dar Siyāsat-e Khārijī [Idealism and Realism in Foreign Policy]," *Majalleh-ye Siyāsat-e Khārijī [Foreign Policy Journal]* 11, no. 4 (Winter 1376 AHS), pp. 989-1000.

Distinction between instinct and disposition on the essence of man

While possessing a pure and Godly natural disposition [*fiṭrah*], man can be under the influence of carnal desire and sensual instincts, and be overcome by greed for power. Thus, rebelliousness and pugnacity are counted among the instincts that deviated from the pure human nature. This viewpoint holds that relations among states, be they concordant, competitive or hostile, have a nature between good and evil. Both the national institutions and international organizations have crucial contribution to let the international system incline from the evil to good or from the worse to bad.

Politics as the art of making possible the necessities

As a motto needs a supporting power, morals and ideals must be pursued on the basis of rational standards, knowledge of the geopolitical circumstances and understanding of the national and international milieus. Thus, apart from the fact that "the world should be designed the way it ought to be and be seen the way it is," while laying emphasis on idealist worldview, it gives utmost importance on the adoption of calculated policies based on caution and discretion. While stressing on resorting to logical methods, and rational and legitimate ways, a realistic idealist should also assess the pros and cons of the utilized methods. Neither the utopian idealist nor the absolute realist can solve the difficulty of the overall policies of a country in the arena of foreign relations. A realistic and idealist statesman should determine his objectives and ideals by taking into consideration of the realities toward his ideals. In attaining them, he should know very well the facilities and limitations in the utilization of the instruments and methods.

He should always look forward and make many scores in the political games. He should make up for the shortcoming of a certain period at another opportune time. Through prudence, caution, moderation, and liberality, he should provide the necessary facilities for the realization of the ideals needed by the global society, i.e. peace and morals. While applying the power of reason, thinking, and contemplation, as well as refraining from simple-mindedness, a realistic idealist should be familiar with the approaches needed for the realization of morality and other normative ways in order to succeed in blending rationalism and normativism.

Interaction of the nation-state and the international system

This viewpoint maintains that in as much as the nation-states can be able to realize peace in the international society, the norms prevalent in the international system can also offer international peace and stability.

Therefore, while acknowledging the link between domestic politics and foreign policy, it holds that the pacifist ideals should not only be institutionalized in the international system but it should also be internalized within the societies. In other words, the people-government relationship and the realization of participatory and pluralist social system, apart from causing stability and solidarity in the society, also provide the means of facilitation of cooperation among states in the international society. Concordance of culture and social values with the international rules and vice versa manifests institutionalism in both minor and major levels while leading the international society toward peaceful coexistence of the nation-states.

Outlook on the structure of the international system in the realistic idealist model

The realistic idealism model endorses a cooperative structure of the international relations, maintaining that mutual respect and cooperation between the states is the proper way to ensure international peace and security. In this connection, we will initially describe and examine the outlook of this model on the international milieu and then its confederationist insight:

The international milieu based on peaceful coexistence

This viewpoint stands on the proposition that perennial rivalry among the nation-states and removal of the borders dividing the countries for the attainment of a single global society cannot be treated as fundamental solutions that guarantee international stability. Cooperation in the international milieu on the basis of multilateralism, implementation of the norms and common processes for the national interests of each of the states can offer peace, security and justice. Although this viewpoint considers the attainment of peace and tranquility based on peaceful coexistence as a significant assistance to humanity, it nevertheless deems justifiable to resort to war and use of force for the defense of life, property, chastity, and freedom and independence of a country. It reckons tolerance of different systems with various ideologies with each other as the basic principle in the realization of peaceful coexistence in the international relations.

Confederationist insight on the relationship between the nation-state and the international system

This viewpoint, which chooses the middle solution between legal order and chaos, holds that a sort of gradualism in the realization of a universal

system should be considered. Thus, neither the borders dividing the countries on the basis of individualism can be accepted as inviolable nor a world devoid of national borders be acceptable. Therefore, the solution is its middle way, which considers a sort of confederation among the nation-states that upholds a single law and common principles such as justice, felicity and monotheism. In this manner, a kind of adjustment and understanding among the nation-states on the basis of principles of sense of neighborhood, mutual relations, and prudence will be realized. In other words, while accepting the nation-states as the short-term solution for the realization of a just government in the entire world, it lays much emphasis on regional and transregional cooperation or confederation as the mid-term solution.

Realistic idealist viewpoint on the function of state in international politics

While considering the intermediary nature[1] of the international system, it emphasizes on cooperative policies as the solution between union and confrontation. In this connection, it is worthy to examine the function of the international system and the nation-states' type of foreign policy:

Peaceful-coercive function of the international system

This viewpoint maintains that although war and dispute among the nation-states could possibly draw the international system toward conflictual function, the societies' law-abidance from within and without, and their belief on the necessity of preserving the status quo as prime necessity just like the effort to create reform or relative reform on the function of the international system would make them avoid dispute. In other words, the necessity of coexistence and cooperation in a society composed of states, law-abiding system based upon legitimacy of the nation-state system, and finally the practical obligations for multilateral relations lessen the rivalry among states. Based upon horizontal-vertical law, the cooperation among states on the regional and transregional level leads to coexistence among them on the international level as well as to international peace and security.

Interest-oriented foreign policy

This approach makes a nation-state adopt constructive patience and waiting in foreign policy. In other words, amid its anti-colonialism and xenophobia, it would not commit an action that will diminish its reputation

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[1] Intermediary nature: peace-seeking in tandem with the legitimate use of force.

and increase the others' propaganda against it. Thus, while being cautious in its declarations and actions, and taking into account the political, moral and humane consequences of its actions, it tries to identify the priorities in attaining the long-term goal while keeping in view the opportunities, feasibilities and limitations. At the same time, it considers the interests of the national as well as global society. In such a way, it could take part in the realization of the collective aspiration for lasting peace.

Second remarks

Realistic idealism in foreign policy from Imām Khomeinī's viewpoint

At the outset, by taking a glance at Imām Khomeinī's conduct, one can witness a blending of idealism and realism on his approach to foreign policy. His endorsement of the steps taken by the students following the line of the Imām in taking over of the American embassy; stress on the necessity of *jihād* during the sacred defense (against the Iraqi invasion) and consideration of which as the obligation of all without concern for its consequences; issuance of the edict sentencing to death Salman Rushdie without fear of the subsequent severance of relations with Europe; emphasis on supporting the liberation movements; and the announcement of the last Friday of the fasting month of Ramaḍān as the International Quds Day, the global day of the downtrodden's struggle against the arrogant powers for the liberation of Bayt al-Muqaddas from the clutches of the Zionist usurpers all speak of the idealism of that great man. His stress on the necessity of defending the limits and boundaries of the Islamic faith in such a way that it would not be overshadowed by the support for the Lebanese Muslims and declaring that "The way toward Quds passes through Karbalā"; acceptance of the UN Security Council Resolution 598[1] by considering the domestic and

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[1] The UN Security Council Resolution 598 called for both sides (Iran and Iraq) to stop fighting, withdraw to the prewar border, and submit to an international body to determine responsibility for the war. It also provided for international help in reconstruction, for determination and condemnation of the guilty party in the war, and for payment for reparations by that country.

With the utmost reluctance, Imām Khomeinī agreed to end the war on the terms specified in the Resolution, comparing his decision in a lengthy statement issued on July 20 to the drinking of poison. Any notion that the acceptance of a ceasefire with Iraq signaled a diminution in the Imām's readiness to confront the enemies of Islam was dispelled when, on February 14, 1989, he issued a *fatwā* calling for the execution of Salman Rushdie, author of the obscene and

international conditions and circumstances as well as the interests of the Islamic Iran's society; castigation of the nine deputies of the Islamic Consultative Assembly (the Iranian Parliament) who had posed questions to the then Iranian Foreign Minister concerning the MacFarlane affair known as the 'Iran-Contra' or 'Iran-gate' affair;[1] and his emphasis on the necessity of furnishing all material and spiritual power and of making use of armed and propaganda capabilities in facing the arrogant powers are indications of realism of that great Imām. However, what can be inferred from his statements and actions is that he was a realistic idealist. Even in cases that seemingly indicate his idealism or realism, elements of these two approaches can be noticed. Now, keeping in view this point, we will analyze the manifestations of realistic idealism from Imām Khomeinī's foreign policy viewpoint. In line with this, it is expedient for us to distinguish between theoretical foundations and practical principles in foreign policy.

Theoretical foundations of Imām Khomeinī's thought on foreign policy

In connection with the theoretical principles of foreign policy from Imām Khomeinī's viewpoint one can point to the link between the domestic policy and foreign policy, blending of geostrategy and ideostrategy, rationalism and at the same time ethicism, anti-oppression and fusion of spiritual power and material power. The description of each of them is as follows:

The link between foreign policy and domestic politics

While stressing on the internal and external link, Imām Khomeinī used to give importance on the internal unity of expression to enhance the external

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blasphemous novel, *The Satanic Verses*, as well as those responsible for the publication and dissemination of the work. [Trans.]

[1] Iran-Contra Affair: American political scandal of 1985 and 1986, in which high-ranking members in the administration of President Ronald Reagan arranged for the secret sales of arms to Iran in direct violation of existing United States laws. Profits from the $30 million in arms sales were channeled to the Nicaraguan right-wing "contra" guerrillas to supply arms for use against the leftist Sandinista government. This, too, was in direct violation of US policy. The chief negotiator of these deals was Lieutenant Colonel Oliver North, a military aide to the National Security Council. North reported his activities initially to National Security Adviser Robert C. McFarlane, the council's head, and subsequently to his successor, Vice Admiral John M. Poindexter. The sale of arms to Iran was initiated at the suggestion of the Israeli government with the dual goal of bettering relations with Iran and of obtaining the release of American hostages held in Lebanon by 'pro-Iranian groups'. North was instrumental in setting up a covert network for providing support to the contras, with its own ship, airplanes, airfield, and secret bank accounts. [Trans.]

resistance in the same manner that he believed as influential the just function of the international system in the protection of national interests of a country.

"It is you who should cooperate with the government; the government alone cannot manage this war. It is you, the nation, that are present in the scene and it is you who should cooperate with the government."[1]

"If such a unity of expression with such a lofty goal emerges in these countries, in these vast countries of Islam, it would be a great power, which no power or superpower can be able to confront."[2]

"Be strong and behind one another; let the government and the nation be together; the nation should back up the government; the government should be at the service of the nation. Let the people participate in all affairs."[3]

Keeping in view this viewpoint, Imām Khomeinī believes that in case of cleavage between the nation and the government, the Muslim states will be subjected to the superpowers' pressure:

"Why the Muslims in every part of the world are under the pressure of the government and superpowers...? The problem of the Muslims is the Muslim governments."[4]

This viewpoint also forms the foundation of expediency in the thought of Imām Khomeinī. Concerning the Iran-Contra affair, he castigates nine members of the parliament by saying, "*ayna tadhhabūn* [Where are you heading for?]." He states,

> In such a vital issue in which you are supposed to go hand in hand and to prove to the world that we are united, our unity has turned to be so. At a day of the unity week why do you want to sow discord? Why do you want to sow discord among the officials of the government? Why do you want to create two groups? What's the matter that is leading you to somewhere? *Ayna tadhhabūn* [Where are you heading for]?... I hope you reconsider the issues... consider yourselves, consider your power, and not break this power.[5]

Geostrategic and ideostrategic blending

While acknowledging the necessity of preserving the Islamic ideals and values, he emphasized at the same time the protection of the Islamic country. Thus, while stressing on protecting the foundations of Islam ("It is a religious

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[1] *Saḥīfeh-ye Imām*, vol. 15, p. 101.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. 7, p. 198.

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. 20, p. 56.

[4] *Ibid.*, vol. 13, p. 83.

[5] *Ibid.*, vol. 20, p. 162.

obligation for you to defend Islam"[1]), he used to insist also on defending the Muslim countries ("If one would be negligent... and through the mass mobilization, which by the will of God, the Exalted, no power can confront it, one would not be prepared to defend the Islamic country, he has led himself and his country to corruption through his own hands[2]).

It is by acknowledging this source of the absolute power of the Eternal Essence of God, the Exalted, that Imām Khomeinī deemed it necessary to furnish material and spiritual powers along the way of achieving divine objective:

"Rest assured that the epicenter of power which is God, the Exalted, extends His favor to you."[3]

"The source of the power of the Iranian nation is the reliance on God."[4]

"We should be ready [to defend the country and Islam]. One manifestation of being ready is that they should be ready with powers—whether power of the individuals or other powers."[5]

The combination of the two bases of the Islamic government's foreign policy, i.e. the protection of Islam and the Islamic country, as the fusion of 'Islamicity' and nationality has been summed up from Imām Khomeinī's viewpoint in the term, 'duty of moderateness or caution'. As he says,

"The defense of Islam and the Muslim countries is an affair, which in times of danger is a religious, divine and national duty."[6]

Notwithstanding his insistence on the necessity of ideostrategic consolidation, while considering the protection of Islam in Iran as the pole of the Islamic world, Imām Khomeinī used to highlight the defense of the Islamic country of Iran as the most important principle of necessity and priority:

"Now, there is a very important duty, which is above all other duties and obligations, i.e. the protection of Islam in Iran."[7]

"If Islam is realized in Iran, the same will naturally happen in other countries."[8]

"We should strive, which is also our national duty as well as our divine duty, to strive to protect our country."[1]

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[1] *Ibid.*, vol. 19, p. 216.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. 12, p. 159.

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. 19, p. 172.

[4] *Ibid.*, vol. 16, p. 202.

[5] *Ibid.*, vol. 12, p. 240.

[6] *Ibid.*, vol. 12, p. 159.

[7] *Ibid.*, vol. 17, p. 383.

[8] *Ibid.*, vol. 18, p. 108.

"Protection of the Islamic Republic is a divine duty for all."[2]

It is on account of this viewpoint that Imām Khomeinī reckons on the protection of Iran, being the most preeminent duties, as the necessary step toward the liberation of Quds. By acknowledging that "The way to Quds passes through Karbalā," he emphasizes the primacy of protecting the *umm al-qurā*:

> "We want to liberate Quds but without the deliverance of Iraq from the control of this sinister (Ba'ath) party, we cannot do so. We deem (the liberation of) Lebanon as ours (our duty) but the prerequisite for liberating Lebanon is the liberation of Iraq by us. We should not neglect the prerequisite and just tactlessly proceed to the stage after the preliminary, spending everything we have therein and let (the regime in) Iraq consolidate itself.[3]

Thus, he reveals the superpowers' conspiracy of internationalizing the war while highlighting the necessity of confining the conflict within the disputed territory:

> Internationalization of the conflicts in war; the creation of an atmosphere of pressure and artificially made political trends; propaganda and diplomatic moves against the Islamic Republic of Iran in the world; military and non-military inventions in the Persian Gulf; exacerbation of the problems and disagreement; and the presentation of misguided and futile analyses cannot preclude us from achieving our objective of ousting Ṣaddām and the Ba'ath Party of Iraq, and punishing the aggressor.[4]

Fusion of rationalism and moralism

While calling upon the people and officials of the Islamic government to vigilance and insight, Imām Khomeinī urges them to be on guard against deviation from the ethical principles. These two main thrusts in foreign policy, viz. abidance with the dictate of reason and moral values have decisive role in the achievement of national interests and ideal objectives.

In the opinion of Imām Khomeinī, moralism means abidance with the innate principles of human beings and the universally accepted customs, which all nations must comply with.

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[1] *Ibid.*, vol. 14, p. 445.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. 20, p. 78.

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. 20, p. 332.

[4] *Ibid.*, vol. 16, p. 415.

"We neither practice tyranny nor want to tolerate so."[1]

"The nation of Islam follows a school whose program can be summed up in two formulas: 'Neither oppress nor be oppressed'."[2]

"The essence of this revolution has been Islam, Islamic morality, human ethics, and rearing of human beings based on the criteria of humanity."[3]

"No regime is as compliant as Islam with ethics and human values."[4]

On the contrary, the enemies declare the Islamic system as outside the moral standards, saying:

"In violation of all international treaties and in defiance of human moralities, this person committed aggression against us and against our country."[5]

"It is meaningless for the Islamic government of Iran to sit on the peace negotiation table with a government having no belief in Islam and human morality."[6]

"It is this West that will annihilate the foundation of human morality."[7]

"The crimes of the tyrants are beyond the human nature."[8]

"Are they not the superpowers of our time and the bid idols that call on the people of the world to obey, worship and prostrate before them, and imposing themselves to the latter through force, money and trick?"[9]

"If power falls on the hands of the unrefined persons, it is dangerous."[10]

Thus, Imām Khomeinī calls on the officials concerned with the foreign policy of Iran to be vigilant and wakeful, and use reason in dealing with the opportunistic measures of the great powers, stating:

"The wolves are sitting around Iran, wishing to have the opportunity to devour it. It is you who are supposed to protect it."[11]

> Now that we are prey to the wolves of the world and all of them want to prey on us, we have to make use of reason, prudence, pen, truth, and

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[1] *Ibid.*, vol. 14, p. 81.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. 14, p. 68.

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. 14, p. 54.

[4] *Ibid.*, vol. 14, p. 65.

[5] *Ibid.*, vol. 14, p. 84.

[6] *Ibid.*, vol. 18, p. 68.

[7] *Ibid.*, vol. 8, p. 80.

[8] *Ibid.*, vol. 18, p. 87.

[9] *Ibid.*, vol. 18, p. 206.

[10] *Ibid.*, vol. 18, p. 155.

[11] *Ibid.*, vol. 18, p. 160.

everything, and help one another so that the tasks would be done; we have to help one another so that the country could be able to manage itself.[1]

"We should not let Iraq remain in its place and muster its power, or others to help it and strengthen its borders. Thereafter, it would again conduct a surprise attack on us."[2]

While heeding to vigilance on unconsciously falling prey to the trick of the great powers, Imām Khomeinī dissuades the Muslims from naivety, saying:

It is our primary duty and that of our Islamic Revolution to shout to the entire world: 'O those who are in slumber, O those who are in complacency! Awake and look around as you have been situates beside the traps of the wolf. Stand up as this is not a conducive place! We also have to shout! Rise up at once as the world is vulnerable to the hunter.[3]

Along this line, during the affair of summoning of European ambassadors from Tehran due to Imām Khomeinī's issuance of death sentence to Salman Rushdie, the Imām warns all officials of the Islamic government of refraining from naivety, declaring:

In such circumstances, it is not expedient for us to pursue extensive relations and contacts for the enemies could possibly think that we were so dependent on and interested with their presence such that amid the insult on our religious beliefs and sanctities we will remain silent. They still believe on this, analyzing that in our policy, principles and diplomacy we should reconsider our stance; that we have to discharge, and not to repeat our past mistakes. They believe that the harsh slogans or the war has made the West and the East pessimistic toward us and consequently made the country isolated. Accordingly, in case we act realistically, they will reciprocally deal with us humanely, while observing mutual respect to our nation, Islam, and the Muslims. This is an example that after the publication of the blasphemous *Satanic Verses* God wants it to happen at this time. Through which the world of vanity, arrogance and barbarity would reveal its real image so that you would refrain from simple-mindedness; not attribute everything to our own mistake, mismanagement and inexperience, and totally understand that the problem is not a product of our mistake but due

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[1] *Ibid.*, vol. 14, p. 178.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. 16, p. 353.

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. 21, p. 89.

to the commitment of the world-devourers in annihilating Islam and the Muslims.[1]

And finally, they have to consider that "Through the power of thinking and decision-making, you would move forward with strength and you are victorious."[2]

Negation of arrogance

Basing on the Qur'anic verse, *"Allah will not give the disbelievers any way (of success) against the believers"*[3] and the principle of *nafyi sabīl*, Imām Khomeinī urges the Muslims to struggle against all forms of arrogance particularly colonialism and Zionism, saying:

> One of the important principles is that the Muslims must not be under the domination of the unbelievers. God, the Blessed and Exalted, has not given to any of the unbelievers way of dominance over the Muslims, and the Muslims must not accept this dominance of the unbelievers.[4]

"Our duty is to fight oppressions."[5]

> I ask the beloved people of Iran, and the military and police forces to stand up with revolutionary patience and fortitude as well as power and resilience against the conspiracies of the World Arrogance, and be certain that victory is with those who patiently persevere.[6]

"The will of the nation... is to cut off the hands of the foreigners from interfering in the affairs of the country and from pillages."[7]

It is based on this insight that he dissuades the Muslims from seeking refuge in the lap of one of the domineering powers to protect themselves from the evil of another domineering power. By highlighting the wolf-like attributes of the superpowers, he thus expresses:

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[1] *Ibid.*, vol. 21, p. 291.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. 10, p. 363.
[3] *Sūrah an-Nisā'* 4:141. [Trans.]
[4] *Ibid.*, vol. 16, p. 34.
[5] *Ibid.*, vol. 12, p. 306.
[6] *Ibid.*, vol. 21, p. 57.
[7] *Ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 262.

"The Muslims... should not go to the lap of one to protect us from the other. No, they are all wolves and devour you all. You should protect yourselves."[1]

Along this line, Imām Khomeinī considers it the duty of all Muslims to struggle for the liberation of Quds ash-Sharīf against the usurper Zionism, which emerges out of the backing of the World Arrogance, saying:

"It is the duty of all Muslims to liberate Quds and to cut off the wickedness of the cancerous gland (Israel) from the Muslim terrotories."[2]

> I ask all the Muslims of the world and the Muslim governments to join together to sever the hand of this usurper and its supporters. I call on all the Muslims of the world to select as Quds Day the last Friday in the holy month of Ramaḍān—which is itself a determining period and can also be the determiner of the Palestinian people's fate—and through a ceremony demonstrating the solidarity of Muslims worldwide, announce their support for legitimate rights of the Muslim people.[3]

"We must liberate Palestine; we must liberate Quds."[4]

Combination of spiritual and material powers

While emphasizing the spiritual and moral features of powers, particularly its ideological dimensions, Imām Khomeinī considers it necessary to make use of material powers especially arms and propaganda. He deems it the interests of the Islamic society to be equipped with both the spiritual and material weapons. Apart from stressing on the necessity of strengthening the Islamic country in all dimensions, he gives priority to the spiritual power, saying:

"We want it to be a strong country; we want it to be country having a powerful system."[5]

"It is Islam that can strengthen our spirit and subsequently our body would be strengthened also."[6]

"Just as you are striving to strengthen your body, strive also to strengthen your spirit. It was the power of spirit and faith that made you overcome the satanic forces and the *ṭaghut*."[1]

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[1] *Ibid.*, vol. 13, p. 82.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. 5, p. 186.
[3] *Ibid.*, vol. 9, p. 267.
[4] *Ibid.*, vol. 15, p. 519.
[5] *Ibid.*, vol. 6, p. 18.
[6] *Ibid.*, vol. 7, p. 542.

"These material things follow the spiritual ones. The stronger these spiritual things are, the stronger also you would become."[2]

"We are inspectors of the way and we need to use the available powers."[3]

"All your strengths must be gathered in one path. Your mental as well as non-mental strengths must all traverse along a single path."[4]

"It is the spiritual strength that makes man victorious no matter how plenty his equipments would be."[5]

"The power of faith triumphed over these powers."[6]

While indicating the decisiveness of power, saying: "If we have only power, we will annihilate all the arrogant,"[7] the Imām emphasizes the centrality of the power of God, the Exalted, as the source of all powers. He used to reckon as effective such a power that would be used along the divine power and by invoking the fountainhead of existence:

"It is you who move with the power of God that is powerful. To be few is not a problem; strength of the faith is the important."[8]

"Rest assured that the source of power which is God, the Exalted, favors you. The other powers are flimsy. It is the power of God that endures and it is God who has promised that should you help Him, He will make you victorious."[9]

"Power comes out of paying attention to God, the Blessed and Exalted, and the unity of expression."[10]

"The source of power of the Iranian nation is the reliance on God."[11]

Reliance on machine guns and tanks, and negligence of God, the Omnipotent, and the soldiers of God lead the human beings toward the abyss of perdition and ignominy. Those who consider the key to victory to depend on being equipped with satanic apparatus, while not accounting for the belief in the unseen and God, the Omnipotent and... not understanding

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[1] *Ibid.*, vol. 8, p. 374.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. 16, p. 323.
[3] *Ibid.*, vol. 9, p. 549.
[4] *Ibid.*, vol. 11, p. 118.
[5] *Ibid.*, vol. 6, p. 347.
[6] *Ibid.*, vol. 11, p. 348.
[7] *Ibid.*, vol. 6, p. 499.
[8] *Ibid.*, vol. 18, p. 439.
[9] *Ibid.*, vol. 19, p. 172..
[10] *Ibid.*, vol. 11, p. 528.
[11] *Ibid.*, vol. 12, p. 267-272.

the power of faith and yearning of martyrdom, would face catastrophic defeat and earn the divine wrath.[1]

Practical principles in foreign policy from Imām Khomeinī's view

Now that we understood the late Imām's viewpoint on the theoretical foundations of foreign policy, it is expedient to explore his suggested approaches and methods to realize those principles. In regard to this, the Imām emphasized policies such as institutionalized pacifism, mutual cooperation, legal-power balance policy, authorization of the legitimate use of force, and confederalist policy on the unity of the Islamic world.

Institutionalized pacifist policy

Imām Khomeinī believed that Islam has established the principle on peace-seeking but does not consider it beneficial the realization of this important ideal without predicting the necessary arrangements and guarantees for its implementation. Thus, pacifism can lead to the realization of permanent peace and stability in the world if the nations would abide with the agreements among them as well as the international customs, having practical obligations on the necessity of observing the human principles and rules. Similarly, Imām Khomeinī was of the opinion that peace will endure in the form of negating selfishness and spiritual transgressions as well as attainment of secure environment. As such, in case the source of disputes and differences, i.e. selfishness turns into Godliness mankind will experience peace, tranquility and stability:

> The Holy Prophet (ṣ) wanted... to create Godliness among the people and to initiate attention to the light. If it is created, all these disputes in the world will be removed. If all prophets were gathered in one place, they will never quarrel with each other. Assuming that all the saints and prophets come to the world now, they will never have any dispute. It is because dispute belongs to selfishness, and it will be found in the carnal desires of man.[2]

"All these disputes in the world... all of them come from this transgression of the soul."[3]

By emphasizing that Islam is the peace-loving and tranquility-seeking religion, Imām Khomeinī stresses on the observance of a series of principles and rules for the realization of permanent peace, saying:

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[1] *Ibid.*, vol. 15, p. 394.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. 11, p. 380.

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. 20, p. 267.

"Islam wants everybody (to live) in peace and tranquility."[1]

"Everybody wants all of mankind to live in peace, prosperity and brotherhood."[2]

"Our noble nation... on the basis of the Islamic teachings, is peace-loving and justice-oriented."[3]

"We want to have peace and tranquility among all countries."[4]

"The Muslim nations... seek pacifism and peaceful living with all states and all nations."[5]

"We wish for the world peace established on the basis of the nations' independence, non-interference in each other's affairs, and observance of the territorial integrity of the countries in the region."[6]

Owing to these conditions that hostile and adverse environment in which pacifism is not institutionalized take advantage of the sacred term, 'peace' as a pretext at the hands of the war-mongering and domineering superpowers. It is in such an environment that permanent peace will not be realized, and the Islamic government should take steps in stopping the prevalence of this trend so as to achieve a peaceful environment free of tensions.

It is in such an inharmonious environment that Imām Khomeinī thus expresses:

"Peace between Islam and unbelief is meaningless."[7]

"Garbed as 'pro-peace' they (the wicked ones) are actually the number one war-mongers."[8]

"The claimants of peace and humanitarianism are exerting their utmost effort in kindling the flame of sedition and war in all places especially in Iran."[9]

"World peace and prosperity depend on the annihilation of the arrogant (powers). So long as these domineers are on the surface of the earth, the downtrodden cannot get their inheritance, which God, the Exalted, has granted to them."[10]

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[1] *Ibid.*, vol. 18, p. 363.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. 11, p. 406.

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. 13, p. 256.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 261.

[5] *Ibid.*, vol. 16, p. 47.

[6] *Ibid.*, vol. 11, p. 153.

[7] *Ibid.*, vol. 14, p. 163.

[8] *Ibid.*, vol. 19, p. 235.

[9] *Ibid.*, vol. 18, p. 469.

[10] *Ibid.*, vol. 12, p. 144.

As such, the precondition of permanent peace is that the chaotic, hostile and inharmonious environment based upon suspicion and lack of confidence on the relations among countries is not prevalent. This is the reason why Imām Khomeinī opposes international organizations, which are in pursuit of consolidating the position of the war-monger powers and of imposing peace that is acceptable to the expansionist and domineering powers. He says:

> The Security Council, all of those (similar councils and institutions) are at the service of the superpowers to manipulate the other countries. Thus, they grant the right of veto to themselves, and every issue that is against their wish is sidetracked. Definitely, they themselves are basically at the service of the superpowers... We have such a suspicion of the superpowers that if they raise a rightful issue, our conviction is that they have raised it expediently in order to beguile the people.[1]

> We live at a time the destinies of the oppressed nations are at the hand of the criminals on whom savagery is dominant. The world at our time and similar to it is afflicted with governments in which nothing rules except the law of the jungle. We are at a time in which instead of being punished and chastised, the criminals are lauded and endorsed. We are living at a time when so-called 'human rights' organizations are protectors of the prime criminals' iniquitous interests, and patrons of their and their agents' tyranny.[2]

Therefore, permanent peace will be realized when the international organizations take a step in upholding the equal rights of all nations. In such a way, law-based and concordant system would reign supreme throughout the world.

Mutual cooperation

Imām Khomeinī used to stress on the maintenance of peace, security and justice through a cooperation based on mutual respect while considering peaceful coexistence among the nations based upon tolerance of each other's beliefs and compliance with the agreements as rendering assistance to the humanity in attaining tranquility. For, the obligation of nations to observe the regional and international common rules and institutions can lessen tension among the states while dialogue and the logic of talking can eliminate misunderstanding.

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[1] *Ibid.*, vol. 13, p. 190.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. 17, p. 500.

Thus, this policy that involves a combination of globalism and regionalism facilitates the necessary ground for the adaptation and adjustment of interests of the nations. In this connection, while emphasizing on shunning confusion in the relations with non-hostile countries, Imām Khomeinī regards the foundation of Iran's foreign relations to be based upon dialogue and mutual respect as he states:

"We will engage in a dialogue with all nations of the world on the basis of the maintenance of freedom and independence of the country."[1]

"The foreign policy of Iran with all states is based upon mutual respect."[2]

"The future government will be neutral with respect to all states, behaving equally with all states so long as there would be good mutual relations."[3]

"Relations that are based upon mutual respect will be established, God willing."[4]

"That which is the object of the Islamic teachings is peaceful coexistence throughout the world."[5]

It is anchored on such a viewpoint, i.e. mutual relations, that Imām Khomeinī underscores cooperative regional institutionalism, saying:

"We ask the regional states… to strike a blow on the seditionists and world-devourers by sympathizing and collaborating with the Islamic Republic."[6]

> We know that the wellbeing of all countries, especially the neighboring countries of the region, lies on… a country that wants to extend brotherhood with all Muslims of the world, formally acknowledging and implementing the brotherhood that God has granted, provided that they behave peacefully.[7]

> We have reminded the regional states that we do not want to wage war with you. We are not as (you imagine) that once we acquire power, we will viciously interfere in another country. Although we are among the most powerful states of the region… we want to establish brotherhood… with all Muslim countries especially those that are in the region.[8]

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[1] *Ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 509.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. 5, p. 467.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 423.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 470.

[5] *Ibid.*, vol. 18, p. 95.

[6] *Ibid.*, vol. 20, p. 99.

[7] *Ibid.*, vol. 16, p. 158.

[8] *Ibid.*, vol. 16, p. 391.

Legal-power balance policy

While believing in furnishing material power such as arms and propaganda to balance the power of the arrogant powers, Imām Khomeinī used to consider an indispensable affair the necessary legal mechanism to harness the domineering powers. In this connection, statements of the Imām indicate blending of legal and power balance, such as follows:

At this sensitive moment, the Islamic Republic and the dear Islam have been under the propaganda onslaught of the mass media attached to the great powers and their agents... You and I and all followers of Islam must be equipped for the sake of our own right with this incisive weapon of the day, introducing the true image of Islam and the Islamic Republic to everybody inside the country and abroad particularly.[1]

Firstly, never will it happen again in the world that through the use of force [the nations would be dominated]... Secondly, all superpowers are engaged in confrontation with each other; this is guarding that; that is guarding this... For this reason, God protect... such nations as the great powers would adopt play-off policy with each other and could be able to mistreat any of them—"O Allah, preoccupy the oppressors with other oppressors".[2]

Of course, in some instances Imām Khomeinī emphasized the necessity of legal balance. By stressing on the disarmaments of the superpowers on the basis of international standards, he considered it an approach based on reason and prudence:

"So long as these unworthy armed entities do not disarm themselves, the work of man will lead to nowhere. The prophets also came to disarm these unworthy and fool armed entities."[3]

"In its general sense, 'independence' in all its dimensions refers back to the downtrodden of the world, and the human-devouring and world-devouring superpowers will be disarmed."[4]

Apart from this, Imām Khomeinī lays particular emphasis on the balance of power based on the declared and implemented deterrence, saying:

Progress and evolution of the industries and instruments related to the defensive power of the country are among the essential and prime

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[1] *Ibid.*, vol. 16, p. 370.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. 9, p. 183.

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 297.

[4] *Ibid.*, vol. 12, p. 265.

objectives. In view of the nature of our revolution, we should seriously consider the probability of another aggression of the superpowers and their servants at any time and hour.[1]

"Our being prepared should be such that those are entertaining the idea of attacking would be afraid; your enemies should be afraid of your strength."[2]

"It is hoped that all of you would protect the limits and boundaries of the country with (utmost) power, strength and greatness."[3]

"In accordance with the criteria of the Book (the Qur'an) and the Sunnah, you have to exercise authority."[4]

"While having power… you have to show your strength."[5]

"By propagating the Islamic culture, you have to counter the lies-dissemination campaign of the foreign mouthpieces."[6]

"You propagate for the sake of God as propagation is an important affair. Just as propagation for the arrogant and tyrants is harmful, it is useful or even more for the downtrodden."[7]

On the other hand, Imām Khomeinī stressed on the necessity for the downtrodden to balance the power of the arrogant in order to gradually facilitate the ground for the predominance of the downtrodden. In his view, Quds Day can be considered a preliminary step for the realization of this important condition:

> Quds Day is a global day… It is the day of the downtrodden's confrontation with the arrogant… It is the day when we should take out all the downtrodden from the clutches of the arrogant… The Muslims should come to their senses; they should realize the powers that they possess—both material and spiritual powers.[8]

"We beseech God, the Exalted, to make the Muslims prevail over the corrupt superpowers."[9]

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[1] *Ibid.*, vol. 21, p. 158.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. 12, p. 240.
[3] *Ibid.*, vol. 7, p. 87.
[4] *Ibid.*, vol. 8, p. 257.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 380.
[6] *Ibid.*, vol. 17, p. 243.
[7] *Ibid.*, vol. 15, p. 322.
[8] *Ibid.*, vol. 9, p. 276.
[9] *Ibid.*, vol. 12, p. 236.

He believed that this balance of power will pave the ground for the universal government of Ḥaḍrat Mahdī (may Allah expedite his glorious advent), bringing therein peace and prosperity for all people of the world:

> God willing, we will implement Islam as it is in this country and the Muslims of the world will also implement Islam in their own countries, and the entire world will become the Islamic world, and tyranny, oppression and cruelty will be removed, and this state of affairs will become a fertile ground for the advent of the Master of the Age (may our souls be his ransom).[1]

"Waiting for the advent of the Mahdī is waiting for the power of Islam and we should strive to realize the power of Islam in the world and the ground for his advent will be facilitated."[2]

> A movement of the downtrodden and oppressed of the world against the arrogant and tyrants has commenced and is spreading. It is hopeful of a bright future and the promise of God, the Exalted, will become nearer and nearer; as if the world will be prepared for the rising of the sun of guardianship [*wilāyah*] from the horizon of the Holy Mecca and the Ka'bah, the hope of the deprived and government of the downtrodden.[3]

Authorization of the legitimate use of force

On one hand, Imām Khomeinī deems it permissible and needed to use force to resist the aggressors and on the other hand, he tries to lay its foundation on legitimate means. In such a way, order, peace and stability in the regional and international arena will be realized. The late Imām has dealt on this important affair within the framework of the duty to moderateness, i.e. the blending of legitimacy and the use of force:

"Your Islamic and greatest duty requires that you gallantly rush toward the (war) fronts."[4]

"All of us should try to be united against the enemies of Islam and the Muslims, and to do our divine duty."[5]

"Islam obliges you to save the oppressed from the hand of the unbelievers."[6]

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[1] *Ibid.*, vol. 15, p. 262.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. 8, p. 374.
[3] *Ibid.*, vol. 17, p. 480.
[4] *Ibid.*, vol. 16, p. 376.
[5] *Ibid.*, vol. 17, p. 225.
[6] *Ibid.*, vol. 18, p. 157.

"We have waged war for the fulfillment of duty and it has been its end-result."[1]

"There is a public duty and that is, all of us should try with all our strength and power to keep this movement."[2]

"We have no basis that we will triumph; we are only supposed to perform our duty."[3]

"While we have power... we will show (our) capability of those who are corrupt."[4]

"It is incumbent... (on the dear and brave nation) to defend itself with all power and strength."[5]

"We should stand up against them with all power and strength and drive them out from our country."[6]

Confederalist policy on the unity of the Muslim world

While acknowledging the existing national borders as necessary and striving to form a unitary universal government of the righteous as an aspiration, Imām Khomeinī used to emphasize the mid-way policy anchored on the rules of capability [*wus'*] and gradualism [*tadarruj*]. In this connection, he used to accord special attention to the unity of the Islamic world and its adherence to the single values with the aim of opening a third front in the world:

"[During the *hajj*] the Muslims should show themselves as a great force and the third power of the world."[7]

"Now that we are in danger on account of the powers... we should be cohesive for if cohesion comes into being no power can oppress you."[8]

"We are in a single line, along the line of religious brotherhood; as brothers in faith we should strive and move forward for the lofty aspirations of Islam."[9]

"On the basis of their Islamic duty, all the Muslim countries such as Iran should render material and morale support to the developing countries fighting colonialism."[1]

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[1] *Ibid.*, vol. 21, p. 284.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. 7, p. 315.

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. 12, p. 321.

[4] *Ibid.*, vol. 8, p. 380.

[5] *Ibid.*, vol. 6, p. 124.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 485.

[7] *Ibid.*, vol. 21, p. 77.

[8] *Ibid.*, vol. 12, p. 295.

[9] *Ibid.*, vol. 11, p. 352.

While making the Muslims aware of their potential and actual powers such as a large population of over one billion, possession of underground reserves and resources, benefiting from sanctuaries such as the two holy precincts (in Mecca and Medina), and possession of the life-giving teachings of the Holy Qur'an under the auspices of clinging to the Rope of Allah, Imām Khomeinī urges them not to be afraid of, or overwhelmed by, the massive propaganda of the superpowers.[2] By focusing on the necessity of unity among the Muslim countries and its pivotal role, he thus states:

"We wish that the population of one billion of the world (of the Muslims) would be united as such. If they were united, neither the Quds Question nor the Afghanistan Question will remain unsolved."[3]

"Why in spite of the one-million strong population that we have the Zionists could take away our Quds and put other governments under their sway in such a way that if they gather here together, they will compose a big government."[4]

Hence, by laying stress on the policy of unity among the Muslim nation-states, Imām Khomeinī considers it an intermediary stage for the realization of single global *ummah* and the advent of the Master of the Age (may Allah expedite his glorious advent), and thus, prescribing relative sovereignty of the nation-states as the solution between absolute sovereignty of the nation-states and negation of the states' sovereignty.

Conclusion

From the foregoing discussions, Imām Khomeinī can be reckoned as a realistic idealist. While believing in the necessity of reforming the status quo for the realization of his desirable and ideal universal government, he used to acknowledge the preservation of the existing condition based on a law-abiding order as a prime necessity. Keeping in view of his belief in the intermediary nature of the structure and function of the international system, he left behind approaches for the blending of realism and idealism in foreign policy to the concerned officials. On the theoretical dimension, he endeavored to realize this important point by linking foreign policy and domestic politics and the mutual influence of each other; geostrategic and ideostrategic combination; blending of rationalism and moralism; struggle against the domineering arrogant powers for the rise of medium powers in

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[1] *Ibid.*, vol. 10, p. 396.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. 15, p. 290.

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. 13, p. 98.

[4] *Ibid.*, vol. 14, p. 181.

the world; and combination of spiritual power and material power to refrain from one-sided reliance on the violent and dreadful force. On the practical dimension, he profoundly emphasized institutionalized pacifist policy; regional and transregional cooperative policy on the basis of mutual respect and respect for the rights of others; legal-power balance policy; legitimate use of force in case of needs; unity of the Muslim world and union of the Muslim countries as the policy between the noble individualism of the states and globalism devoid of the national borders (which is a kind of confederalist policy, i.e. the states adherence to a common set of laws, territorial transparency and realization of the relative sovereignty of the nation-states). Thus, blending of idealism and realism in foreign policy designing can be explained in two dimensions: psychological-cognitive milieu and objective-operational environment. In this connection, executed-experimental and prescriptive-declarative policies can provide an appropriate model for the officials of the foreign policy of Iran.

"I declare to the whole world with certainty that if the world-devourers would like to stand up against our religion, we will also rise up against all of them. We will not give in unless they were all annihilated. We will either be free or attain a loftier freedom, which is martyrdom. Just as we led to victory the Revolution singly and in complete isolation without the assistance and approval of any country, international organizations and groups, in the war more oppressive than the Revolution we fought and without the help of even a single foreign country, we defeated the aggressors. By the help of God and reliance on Him, we will traverse alone the remaining path full of vicissitudes."

Imām Khomeinī