

## **Decision-Making process in Imam Khomeini's Perspective with Emphasis on the International System**

The subject of this article is “Decision-Making Process in Imam Khomeini’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 influences 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 scientist pays 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 political. The second part deals with the study of some personal features and characteristics of Imam Khomeini on decision-making, which will be briefly stated:

1. The decisions of the Imam are interpretations of the Qur’anic verses, hadiths and Sunnah of the Prophet (s)’ and the infallible Imams (‘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 Imam 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 Imam Khomeini believed in a firm relationship between insights and inclinations. in the Imam’ 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. Imam Khomeini 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 Imam 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.

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]."

5. The importance of morale and spiritual transformation in decision-making. Concerning this, the Imam had repeatedly pointed out the importance of morale in the decision-making of nations and political struggle as well as in relation to the analysis of the Islamic Revolution based on the theory of 'spiritual transformation' 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."

The emphasis of the Imam 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 Imam'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 Imam 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 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.'

### **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 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, goodwill, and satisfaction in the adoption of political decisions is necessary.

### **Imam Khomeini 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. 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 Imam Khomeini 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 Muhammadan 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 Imam Khomeini.

In the initial discussion on Imam Khomeini’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 Imam Khomeini’s viewpoint. Analysts of the international systems include the players, structure, processes, and environment among the main elements and independent variables of the international system.

Imam Khomeini’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 Imam 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 ‘ulama’ 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 Ayatullah Mudarrisi as a member of the parliament stood against the Russian ultimatum, and the parliament also rejected the same through this courageous resistance of his.

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 Imam 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 Imam always pays attention to. Due to their lofty position in the international

transformation and development, they had been always lauded and extolled by the Imam.

“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.”

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. Imam Khomeini 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 Imam's statements, the large countries' opposition, sabotage and military onslaught on the Islamic movement of Iran; the American and Chinese's defense of the Shah'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 present century;' and the actions of the so-called 'Islamic' governments of being close to, and dependent on, Israel and America as well as of assisting Saddam, 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 Imam 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.”

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 Imam'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;' and the aggression and crimes of the aggressor East and the criminal West on the downtrodden nations of the world 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 Imam'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.

In Imam Khomeini'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 Imam 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 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 Imam Khomeini has carefully and meticulously dealt. In his sociological outlook, the Imam 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 Imam 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).

### **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 Imam'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 Imam declares that rules and laws claimed by the players do not represent the 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 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-a-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 Imam 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."

### **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 Imam Khomeini'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 Imam Khomeini, 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, will power, self-esteem, and acquisition of psychological independence by the concerned units in confronting the architects of intimidating structure in the international system and relations. In doing so, the structure of confidence and tranquility would replace the intimidating one.

### **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 Imam Khomeini'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.

### **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.

Concerning the need to acquire power and its application in the political decision-making, Imam Khomeini 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).

The power of the international system players comes from three sources: natural, human and supernatural. The Imam'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 such as uranium, copper, and oil; geopolitical location economic self-sufficiency; strong defensive condition; 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' [ayyam Allah], 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 Imam Khomeini 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.

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.

In his own decisions in the international system, Imam Khomeini stressed on these factors. By stating 'worldly and religious equipments', the Imam emphasizes the material and spiritual tools, instruments and devices, modern military armaments, revolutionary and sacred fury of the nations, and other instruments of applying power. In his view, these material and 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 Imam's decision-making on the scenes of application of the acquired power was the preservation of independence and territorial integrity of the country. Imam Khomeini 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.'

Political and military maneuver, intervention, resistance, insurgency and expansionist pretexts, sedition and espionage, propaganda, elucidation, enlightenment, and others are forms of applying power.

It will be concluded from the sayings of Imam Khomeini 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 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. Imam Khomeini 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 Imam'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.'

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 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 Imam Khomeini'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 Imam in the international scene.

In view of the current qualitative and quantitative alterations, it was clear that the enormous ability of the Imam 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 Imam introduced modern understandings in the domain of decision-making such that the Supreme Leader introduced the present era as the era of Imam Khomeini's prolific thoughts for the nations aspiring for freedom and independence. He said:

This era must be named as the Imam Khomeini's Era and its characteristics are as follow: awakening, courage and self-confidence of the nation's vis-a-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.