

## **Idealism and Realism in Foreign Policy from Imam Khomeini's Viewpoint**

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 as Islamic internationalism, practical government of Islam thesis, umm al-qura 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 Imam Khomeini. 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 Imam, 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 Imam Khomeini 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, national borders, secret diplomacy, and realpolitik, 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 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.

## **2. 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,' 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 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 ideostategy, 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' school stresses on the distinction between the instinct [gharizah] and disposition [fitrah] 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:

### **Distinction between instinct and disposition on the essence of man**

While possessing a pure and Godly natural disposition [fitah], 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 simplemindedness, 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 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 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 Imam Khomeini's viewpoint**

At the outset, by taking a glance at Imam Khomeini'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 Imam in taking over of the American embassy; stress on the necessity of jihad 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 Ramadan 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 Karbala"; acceptance of the UN Security Council Resolution 598 by considering the domestic 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; 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 Imam. 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 Imam Khomeini'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 Imam Khomeini's thought on foreign policy**

In connection with the theoretical principles of foreign policy from Imam Khomeini'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, Imam Khomeini used to give importance on the internal unity of expression to enhance the external 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."

"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."

"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."

Keeping in view this viewpoint, Imam Khomeini 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."

This viewpoint also forms the foundation of expediency in the thought of Imam Khomeini. Concerning the Iran-Contra affair, he castigates nine members of the parliament by saying, "ayna tadhhabün [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 tadhhabün [Where are you heading for]?... I hope you reconsider the issues... consider yourselves, consider your power, and not break this power.

#### **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 obligation for you to defend Islam”), 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).

It is by acknowledging this source of the absolute power of the Eternal Essence of God, the Exalted, that Imam Khomeini 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.”

“The source of the power of the Iranian nation is the reliance on God.”

“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.”

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 Islamcity’ and nationality has been summed up from Imam Khomeini’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.”

Notwithstanding his insistence on the necessity of ideostrategic consolidation, while considering the protection of Islam in Iran as the pole of the Islamic world, Imam Khomeini 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.”

“If Islam is realized in Iran, the same will naturally happen in other countries.”

“We should strive, which is also our national duty as well as our divine duty, to strive to protect our country.”

“Protection of the Islamic Republic is a divine duty for all.”

It is on account of this viewpoint that Imam Khomeini 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 Karbala,” he emphasizes the primacy of protecting the umm al-qura:

“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 consolidates itself.

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 nonmilitary 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 Saddam and the Ba'ath Party of Iraq, and punishing the aggressor.

### **Fusion of rationalism and moralism**

While calling upon the people and officials of the Islamic government to vigilance and insight, Imam Khomeini 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 Imam Khomeini, moralism means abidance with the innate principles of human beings and the universally accepted customs, which all nations must comply with.

“We neither practice tyranny nor want to tolerate so.”

“The nation of Islam follows a school whose program can be summed up in two formulas: ‘Neither oppress nor be oppressed’.”

“The essence of this revolution has been Islam, Islamic morality, human ethics, and rearing of human beings based on the criteria of humanity.”

“No regime is as compliant as Islam with ethics and human values.”

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.”

“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.”

“It is this West that will annihilate the foundation of human morality.”

“The crimes of the tyrants are beyond the human nature.”

“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?”

“If power falls on the hands of the unrefined persons, it is dangerous.”

Thus, Imam Khomeini 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.”

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 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.

“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.”

While heeding to vigilance on unconsciously falling prey to the trick of the great powers, Imam Khomeini 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 situated 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.

Along this line, during the affair of summoning of European ambassadors from Tehran due to Imam Khomeini’s issuance of death sentence to Salman Rushdie, the Imam 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 to the commitment of the world-devourers in annihilating Islam and the Muslims.

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.”

### **Negation of arrogance**

Basing on the Qur’anic verse, “Allah will not give the disbelievers any way (of success) against the believers “and the principle of nafi sabil, Imam Khomeini 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.

“Our duty is to fight oppressions.”

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.

“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.”

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:

“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.”

Along this line, Imam Khomeini considers it the duty of all Muslims to struggle for the liberation of Quds ash-Sharif 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 territories.”

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 Ramadan—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.

“We must liberate Palestine; we must liberate Quds.”

### **Combination of spiritual and material powers**

While emphasizing the spiritual and moral features of powers, particularly its ideological dimensions, Imam Khomeini 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.”

“It is Islam that can strengthen our spirit and subsequently our body would be strengthened also.”

“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 taghut.”

“These material things follow the spiritual ones. The stronger these spiritual things are, the stronger also you would become.”

“We are inspectors of the way and we need to use the available powers.”

“All your strengths must be gathered in one path. Your mental as well as non-mental strengths must all traverse along a single path.”

“It is the spiritual strength that makes man victorious no matter how plenty his equipments would be.”

“The power of faith triumphed over these powers.”

While indicating the decisiveness of power, saying: “If we have only power, we will annihilate all the arrogant,” the Imam 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.”

“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.”

“Power comes out of paying attention to God, the Blessed and Exalted, and the unity of expression.”

“The source of power of the Iranian nation is the reliance on God.”

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 the power of faith and yearning of martyrdom, would face catastrophic defeat and earn the divine wrath.

### **Practical principles in foreign policy from Imam Khomeini's view**

Now that we understood the late Imam'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 Imam 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**

Imam Khomeini 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, Imam Khomeini 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 (s) 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.

“All these disputes in the world.., all of them come from this transgression of the soul.”

By emphasizing that Islam is the peace-loving and tranquility-seeking religion, Imam Khomeini stresses on the observance of a series of principles and rules for the realization of permanent peace, saying:

“Islam wants everybody (to live) in peace and tranquility.”

“Everybody wants all of mankind to live in peace, prosperity and brotherhood.”

“Our noble nation... on the basis of the Islamic teachings, is peace- loving and justice-oriented.”

“We want to have peace and tranquility among all countries.”

“The Muslim nations... seek pacifism and peaceful living with all states and all nations.”

“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.”

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 Imam Khomeini thus expresses:

“Peace between Islam and unbelief is meaningless.”

“Garbed as ‘pro-peace’ they (the wicked ones) are actually the number one war-mongers.”

“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.”

“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.”

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 Imam Khomeini 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.

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.

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**

Imam Khomeini 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.

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, Imam Khomeini 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.”

“The foreign policy of Iran with all states is based upon mutual respect.”

“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.”

“Relations that are based upon mutual respect will be established, God willing.”

“That which is the object of the Islamic teachings is peaceful coexistence throughout the world.”

It is anchored on such a viewpoint, i.e. mutual relations, that Imam Khomeini 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.”

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.

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.

### **Legal-power balance policy**

While believing in furnishing material power such as arms and propaganda to balance the power of the arrogant powers, Imam Khomeini used to consider an indispensable affair the necessary legal mechanism to harness the domineering powers. In this connection, statements of the Imam 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.

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”.

Of course, in some instances Imam Khomeini 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.”



“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.”

Apart from this, Imam Khomeini 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 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.

“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.”

“It is hoped that all of you would protect the limits and boundaries of the country with (utmost) power, strength and greatness.”

“In accordance with the criteria of the Book (the Qur’an) and the Sunnah, you have to exercise authority.”

“While having power... you have to show your strength.”

“By propagating the Islamic culture, you have to counter the lies- dissemination campaign of the foreign mouthpieces.”

“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.”

On the other hand, Imam Khomeini 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.

“We beseech God, the Exalted, to make the Muslims prevail over the corrupt superpowers.”

He believed that this balance of power will pave the ground for the universal government of Hazrat Mahdi (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).

“Waiting for the advent of the Mahdi 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.”

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 [wilayah] from the horizon of the Holy Mecca and the Ka’bah, the hope of the deprived and government of the downtrodden.

### **Authorization of the legitimate use of force**

On one hand, Imam Khomeini 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 Imam 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.”

“All of us should try to be united against the enemies of Islam and the Muslims, and to do our divine duty.”

“Islam obliges you to save the oppressed from the hand of the unbelievers.”

“We have waged war for the fulfillment of duty and it has been its end- result.”

“There is a public duty and that is, all of us should try with all our strength and power to keep this movement.”

“We have no basis that we will triumph; we are only supposed to perform our duty.”

“While we have power... we will show (our) capability of those who are corrupt.”

“It is incumbent... (on the dear and brave nation) to defend itself with all power and strength.”

“We should stand up against them with all power and strength and drive them out from our country.”

### **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, Imam Khomeini 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.”

“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.”

“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.”

“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.”

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, Imam Khomeini urges them not to be afraid of, or overwhelmed by, the massive propaganda of the superpowers. 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.”

“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.”

Hence, by laying stress on the policy of unity among the Muslim nation-states, Imam Khomeini 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, Imam Khomeini 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 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.