

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

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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

his earlier sayings in the *Ṣahīfeh-ye Nūr*<sup>1</sup> 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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<sup>1</sup> *Ṣahīfeh-ye Nūr*: 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, *Ṣahīfeh-ye Imām*. [Trans.]

war with international communism just as we are with the world-devouring West under the stewardship of America.”<sup>1</sup>

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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<sup>1</sup> 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 (14<sup>th</sup> Section: Colonization and Superpowers)], p. 400; *Ṣahīfeh-ye Nūr*, 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.<sup>1</sup>

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 trilogy, we will examine below the Imām's viewpoint on the ideal function of the international system.

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<sup>1</sup> *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'awwad*], 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.<sup>1</sup>

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.<sup>2</sup>

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.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> 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: Isti‘mār va Abarqudrat-hā) [In Search of the Way through the Pen of Imām Khomeinī] (14<sup>th</sup> Section: Colonization and Superpowers)*.

<sup>2</sup> Imām Khomeinī, *Wilāyat-e Faqīh*, p. 160.

<sup>3</sup> *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.<sup>1</sup>

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.<sup>2</sup> The Imām thinks of all the superpowers as political gamblers each of which wants to let its own gambling venture prevail its rival superpower.<sup>3</sup> 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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<sup>1</sup> Imām Khomeinī, *Payām-e Istiqāmat: Payām-e Imām Khomeinī dar Dhīḥajjeh 1408 AH/Tūr 1367 AHS [Message of Resistance: Imām Khomeinī's Message in Dhū'l-Ḥijjah 1408 AH/Tūr 1367 AHS]* (Tehran: Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance Publications), p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> *Dar Justijū-ye Rāh az Kalām-e Imām*, p. 367.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 559.

arrogant nature, these superpowers believe in the right to self-determination as solely theirs.<sup>1</sup>

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.<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup>

### **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.<sup>4</sup>

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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<sup>1</sup> *Nidā-ye Haqq (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.

<sup>2</sup> *Dar Justijū-ye Rāh az Kalām-e Imām*, p. 62.

<sup>3</sup> *Payām-e Istiqāmat*, p. 15.

<sup>4</sup> *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.<sup>1</sup>

### **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."<sup>2</sup>

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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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 144, 152, 172, 196, 211, 285, 387; *Wilāyat-e Faqīh*, p. 51.

<sup>2</sup> *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 nafsān illā wus'ahā*<sup>1</sup>) and in times of necessity (from the perspective of *aḍ-ḍurūrātu qabīḥ'l-mahzūrāt*), 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.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Lāyukallifu'llāha nafsān illā wus'ahā*: A Qur'anic injunction which means, "Allah does not ordain to the soul that which is beyond its capacity".

<sup>2</sup> *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."<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Payām-e Istiqāmat*, p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> *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.<sup>1</sup>

#### **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,<sup>2</sup> highlight the unity of expression, oneness of goal, preservation of the bond of brotherhood and cohesion on the basis of *kalimah at-tawhīd*,<sup>3</sup> enhance internal coalition, and shunning away from discord.<sup>4</sup>

### **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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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 166, 259, 389, 593.

<sup>2</sup> Rope of Allah [*ḥablullāh*]: "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.]

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

<sup>4</sup> *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.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup>

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,"<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup>

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".<sup>5</sup> 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."<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 412, 421, 445, 453.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 140, 176, 182, 342, 346, 358, 387, 447, 475.

<sup>3</sup> *Sūrah an-Nisā* 4:141. [Trans.]

<sup>4</sup> *Dar Justijū-ye Rāh az Kalām-e Imām*, p. 52.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 578.

<sup>6</sup> *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.”<sup>1</sup>

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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<sup>1</sup> *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."<sup>1</sup> 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.*"<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 228.

<sup>2</sup> *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,*"<sup>1</sup> friendly relations with non-hostile countries on the basis of mutual respect and cooperation can be established.

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<sup>1</sup> *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.<sup>1</sup>

### **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.<sup>2</sup>

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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<sup>1</sup> *Dar Justijū-ye Rāh az Kalām-e Imām*, pp. 232, 337, 402, 413.

<sup>2</sup> *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.<sup>1</sup>

### **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.”<sup>2</sup>

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*’<sup>3</sup>.”<sup>4</sup> 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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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 432.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 219, 265, 463, 555.

<sup>3</sup> *Sūrah al-Baqarah* 2:171.

<sup>4</sup> *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<sup>1</sup> (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"<sup>2</sup> 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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<sup>1</sup> 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 Mahdi: 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>.

<sup>2</sup> *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.