

Ayatollah Khamenei and Reformism in Iran

Hussain Sadeghi Rad^{*1}, Sayyed Reza Mousavi²

1. M.A. English Language, Shahid Rajaei Teacher Training University, Sanandaj, IRAN.

2. Assistant Professor, Department of Political Thought in Islam, University of Tehran, Tehran, IRAN.

(Received: September 13, 2019 - Accepted: December 17, 2019)

Abstract

The Islamic Republic of Iran, as an Islamic and independent country on the original ideology of Islam, announced freedom of political parties within the Constitution (Act, 26). After the Islamic Revolution victory in 1979, two main political fronts formed, "Principlism Front and Reformism Front." Reformism seems a challenging issue to the Iranian nation as it may appear adopted on the Western ideology. The present study aimed to remove any ambiguity on this issue to help politicians, scholars, and ordinary people. To this aim, the following question should answer: what are Ayatollah Khamenei's criteria for Reformism in Iran? Moreover, the research hypothesis was that Ayatollah Khamenei approves of Reformism in Iran based on some defined criteria. For the analysis, the political thoughts of Ayatollah Khamenei were recorded as written texts which contained the word Reformism and selected and obtained from the following official Website. The collected documents analyzed through Discourse Analysis to elicit and specify the criteria for Reformism in Iran. The results indicated that: Reformism is essential and required, and has to implement in the country; Reformism should be value directed and comply with principles of Islam and the Revolution; the exact definition of Reformism is needed to specify the goals; the Reformism should be organized and controlled from a powerful and aware center according to Constitution foundation; comprehensiveness and concordance, reforms have to implement in all areas in the society synchronically; a tolerable and influential center should control the Reformism to avoid immethodically, and the structure of the Constitution has to protect in Reformism issues.

Keywords: Ayatollah Khamenei, Iran, Criteria, Reformism.

*. Corresponding author: hosadrad49@gmail.com

Introduction

Reformism defined as a political doctrine advocating the reform and change in an existing political or social system or institution instead of its abolition and replacement to improve or correct it (Collins English Dictionary, 2017). Alternatively, a change made to a political and social system, an organization, an institution, etc. to improve or correct it (Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary, 2010).

Eduard Bernstein -a social democrat in Germany- proposed the term Reformism in 1875 for the first time as Evolutionary Socialism. Karl Marx criticized it, who considered the Communist Revolution a required step to society. Revolutionary Socialists quickly targeted Reformism, Rosa Luxemburg opposed the idea and condemned Bernstein's Evolutionary Socialism (Luxemburg, 1900). According to Arthur Koestler (1949), a former member of the Communist Party of Germany continued to consider Evolutionary Socialism as the Social Fascist. Reformism was criticized for trying to improve the conditions of capital because it tries to overcome the economic system of capitalism and to make it appear tolerable to society. According to Rosa Luxemburg, under Reformism, capitalism is not abolished but is, on the contrary, strengthened by the development of social reforms (Hallas, 1973). Parker (2002) argues that improvements are a diversion of energy for socialists and are limited because they must adhere to the logic of capitalism.

Etehadieh (2002) affirms that in Iran, the appearance of parties dates back before establishing parliament. Historically, Reformism in Iran occurred during periods with rises and falls. Shah Abbas, the First (1587-1629), did social and political changes to develop and enhance the current situation but was to the advantage of conservatives. Amir Kabir (1807-1852) also made gradual cultural changes. Reza Shah (1878-1944) made many reforms based on Bernstein's idea. The Iranian nationalist, Dr. Mohammad Mosaddegh (1880-1967), attempted to make fundamental improvements in the country. Still, he, as a Social-Democratic aligned, was against Revolution (Shargh Newspaper, 2007/06/03). After him, Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi again proposed Reformism under the title of The White Revolution or the Revolution between Shah and the people in 1961. Therefore, the past Iranian Reformism did not satisfy the real goals to implement fundamental social, cultural, political, and economic changes in society (Amir Fayaz, 2016).

The Reformism,¹ also called The Second of Khordad Movement, is a political movement that began in 1997, May 23, in Iran with a victory of Sayed Mohammad Khatami in Presidential election. They planned to change the Iranian political system to include more freedom and democracy. The movement has been described as changing the key terms in public discourse: Imperialism, Mostazafen, Jihad, Mojahed, Shahid, Enqelab, Gharbzadegi, etc. (Abrahamian, 2008: 186).

Iran's Reform era believed to have lasted from 1997 to 2005- the length of Khatami's two terms in office (Ebadi, 2006: 180). The difference between Iranian Reformism and the Social Democratic, who founded the Reformism movement, is in the fact that Iranian Reformism does not involve fundamental changes in the political system. Iranian Reformism prefers gradual cultural changes to progressive economic and political reforms.

Reformists insisted on the political development as a primary goal. They reduced the people's demands to some political and intellectual terms, neglected the real needs of the masses, and preferred their grouping interests instead of the mass demands (Kachooyan, 2008, talks).

They believed that the people's votes were significantly for political development (Kachooyan, 2004: 49-50). Finally, negligence of the extremists to the real peoples' needs (Kachooyan, 2004: 49) changed the Reformism into the intellectualism movement and strived to offer their demands instead of the people's (Kachooyan, 2004: 54). In the Reformism government, a thought formed that: Imam Khomeini's ideas put into the historical museums! It means that a theory that considered the Revolution finished (Fayaz, 2008: 13).

However, from the beginning of humankind's creation, there have been two parties: Allah's party (Hezbollah), and Devil's party (Khomeini, 1982, 132). Therefore, along with the man's history, there have been two systems of governance: the Man-made school of governance, and the other is Heavenly-made school of governance. Nowadays, the world runs on these two systems of governance, Islamic or Hezbollah and non-Islamic or secular systems.

Now, Iranian society runs through a dipolar system of parties called Principlism² Front and Reformism³ Front, which may be confusing for

1. Eslah-Talabi.

2. A strict belief in the origin of Islam and Islamic Revolution principles based on Imam Khomeini's ideology without any change in its principles and doctrine, but accepting development and reform in order to accomplish their ideology and agenda.

the Iranian nation. Nevertheless, the challenging issue of Reformism is that it seems adopted on Western ideology. In Islam, there is no such political term to deal with. It may confuse both the intellectuals and the masses in its interpretation as a modern movement and may misunderstand as a secular ideology. To clarify what is legitimate to do for acquiring power in Western society, Islamic principles may be rejected. As a result, the two political thoughts of the secular parties and Islamic parties are in contradiction. Beheshti said that for a healthy society, an association that describes a system of based values is required, not a monopolist one; everyone who holds these values within this association is supported (Beheshti, 1999).

Therefore, there should be a trustful reference to measure the legitimacy and specify a clear framework for Reformism in Iran. Ayatollah Khamenei's viewpoints and thoughts on political and social occurrences are highly influential in the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Islamic world, for he is the leader, protector, and significant jurisprudent (Faqih) of the Islamic Revolution and the Islamic Republic of Iran.

1. The Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the study is to elicit and specify the clear marked criteria for Reformism based on Ayatollah Khamenei's political viewpoints and declarations as a clear-cut benchmark for the activities of this front within the Islamic Republic of Iran. This study removes any misunderstanding between politicians and officials as well as the ordinary people of the term Reformism in Iran.

2. Research Question

What are Ayatollah Khamenei's criteria for Reformism in Iran?

3. Research Hypothesis

Ayatollah Khamenei approves of Reformism in Iran based on some defined criteria.

4. Methodology

For the analysis and answering the research question, the political thoughts of Ayatollah Khamenei through his written speeches, religious

3. A belief to reform and change the political and social institutions to correct defectives corrupts and errors by enforcing and introducing a better method or course of action to give more liberation, democracy, and non-state institutions to people within the Islamic Republic of Iran.

decree, sermons and verdicts recorded as written texts contained Reformism were selected and obtained from the official website of Ayatollah Khamenei.

All the extracts based on Discourse analysis were analyzed to elicit and specify Ayatollah Khamenei's criteria for Reformism in Iran. As single words may convey different meanings regarding their linguistic and situational context, to avoid their misinterpretation, there is a need to study them in their linguistic, cultural, ideological, political, and situational context of production. As Martin (2001: 151) stated, if one does not know what the people involved in a text are doing and do not understand their ideology and culture, they cannot comprehend their text. Paltridge (2012: 2) stated: Discourse analysis also considers how the use of language presents different views of the world and different understandings.

Therefore, the concept of Reformism carefully studied, analyzed, and specified in obtained texts according to its discourse of production. The conversation considered as a unit of the idea after examining the linguistic, cultural, situational, ideological, and social intended production.

5. The Development of Political Parties after Islamic Revolution Victory of Iran

After the Iranian Islamic Revolution, political parties are being free to carry out activities within the Constitution (Act, 26). The political parties have run through periods as to their nature of views and directions within the framework of parties. Therefore, according to the development of the Islamic Republic of Iran, forming political currents and parties run through five periods.

5.1. First Period: The Time of Forming and Stabilizing the Government (1979-1981)

One week after the Islamic Revolution Victory in 1979, the Republican Islamic⁴ Party established. The Platform of this Party was: To protect principles and achievements of the Islamic Revolution, to fight with Anti-revolution Currents, to raise people's awareness, to provide fundamental freedom, to stand against Official Corruption, and to root poverty. Due to coming up disagreement among members of the party in 1986 announced, annul. In 1980, the Islamic Revolution Fighters

4. Jumhoorye Islami.

Organization⁵ formed from a union of Seven Muslim groups. They were against liberal's reconciliation and Anti-revolutions.

5.2. Second Period: Sacred Defense (1981-1989)

After coming up with disagreement among members of the Combatant Clergymen Society⁶ in 1988, its separated members formed the Clergymen Fighters Association. This occurrence is the beginning of developing dipolar arraying of political currents in Iran after the Islamic Revolution victory.

5.3. Third Period: Construction Period (1989-1997)

This period starts after the imposed war against Iran, and the reconstruction of ruins left behind war began. Hashemi Rafsanjani was president of Iran established the Officials of Construction⁷ party.

5.4. Fourth Period: The Reformism Front Period (1997-2005)

In the presidential election in 1997, Saied Mohammad Khatami elected as president of the Islamic Republic of Iran, and a new era in political Currents began. The Reformism Front, also called The Second of Khordad Front, formed referred to the date of a presidential election. Reformism Front holds the essentials thought of: to reform and change, obedience to the law, elitist, to increase conforming of the systems to global norms, to liberate in cultural, political, and economic issues.

5.5. Fifth Period: The Principlism Front Period (2005-2013)

This movement dates back to 1999 in reaction to Reformism Front. They are Revolutionists who believe in the sovereignty of clergymen, protecting the goals and principles of the Islamic Republic, executing justice in all aspects in society, and fighting against imperialism.

6. Ayatollah Khamenei's Viewpoints on Reformism

Ayatollah Khamenei, since 1989 after Imam Khomeini, took leadership of the Islamic Republic of Iran. He has led the country through rises and falls successfully. He fronted and passed the crises that the enemies provided for the country, such as sanctions, rumors, propaganda against Islamic values, and the most terrible conspiracy of the enemy, the Soft Movement. The Soft Movement is, the enemy imposes his doctrine and ideology through technology or supporting Western terms such as Democracy and Reformism in other countries. On special occasions, Ayatollah Khamenei presented sermons and verdicts to make governorship commands or to make the masses aware of the reality and

5. Sazman Mojahedin Enghelab Islami.

6. Jame'eh Ruhanyoon Mobarez.

7. Kargozaran Sazandagi.

verity of the Islamic and Revolution principles. He saved the Islamic Republic of Iran from seditions and calamities through his influential commands effectively. In Iran, the political parties recognized legally to act on Islamic and Revolutionary principles. Ayatollah Khamenei expressed that the Islamic Republic never opposes the existence of political parties, and there is a belief that partisanship if formed on correct principles, does not contradict the unity of our society (Khamenei, 2011/10/16, Speeches in meeting with students of Kermanshah University).

He stated that there are two kinds of parties; one party is to canalize and to train members in order to direct thought of community to political and religious ideology and does not try to achieve power, so this one is good and such parties are confirmed; of course, if these parties come to the field of contest in elections will win (Khamenei, 2011/10/16, Speeches in meeting with students of Kermanshah University).

Moreover, he described the other kind of party as they strive for power and act as clubs to seize power through political mischief, but he did not confirm this partisanship. However, he stressed that if anyone establishes a party from this viewpoint, they are free to do so. (Khamenei, 1998/07/03, Speeches in a meeting with managers of student issues).

Before the Islamic Revolution, the political parties linked to either the West or the East superpowers. They adopted the political or social terms on Secular ideology without any paying attention to the local believes. Ayatollah Khamenei stated that: Before the victory of Islam in Iran, in different countries, groups that wanted to make Reformism their motto took hold to the extremists of Marxism or Nationalism, but nowadays, if you see in Islamic countries, intellectuals, the youth, the clerics, the students of universities and different groups that call for reform, they take hold of Islam. It is the high capacity and capability of Islam. The enemies see these, so they got sensitive (Khamenei, 15 /08/1995, speeches in a meeting held with officials of the government).

He delineated the role of the clergymen in political movements as pioneers of any reform in Iranian country that from a century ago up to now, any reform movement, any social and political combat and every significant change that has happened in Iran, either their leader was clergymen or the clergymen included their leaderships (Khamenei, 01/11/1995, speeches in a meeting held with a group of students and scholars).

Islamic Revolution victory changed believes and ideology in all areas, especially in politics. Parties who thought in the western or eastern doctrine, all collapsed because their basis was on imported thought that had no root in an Islamic society. Imam Khomeini (R.A.) changed those thoughts and did significant reform, i.e., the Islamic Revolution in Iran. Ayatollah Khamenei expressed: His highness Imam of this nation and the Islamic Revolution did the greatest Reformism movement in this country (Khamenei, 17/07/2002, speeches in a meeting held with the officials of the Ministry of Education).

He stressed the importance of the Islamic Revolution as a significant change and preferred the superficial reforms compared to the Principilasm and Reformism in the past. The establishment of Islamic principles was a significant reform that occurred in the Iranian community.

In a meeting held with the scientific mission of Imam Khomeini's Congress, he stated that the election of Islamic State as the title of this congress was both excellent, relevant, and sensitive because the chief goal of Imam was to establish an Islamic state. If we suppose that such a revolution put forth without desiring the government - as Reformism and those things like setting up Justice House and Constitutionalism organizations - no doubt, Imam's act did not cost one-tenth of establishing Islamic Revolution. Eventually, those dynasties went away, and a wing and current of believers came to power. Nevertheless, that act was a thing, and this one is another thing. The importance of Imam's action that we expected to have it accurate assessment was that he proposed sovereignty of Islam (Khamenei, 24/01/2000, speeches in a meeting held with the scientific mission of Imam Khomeini's Congress).

Ayatollah Khamenei confirms the Reformism as essential and intrinsic to the Revolution and is the essence of the Islamic Revolution (Khamenei, 14/04/2000, speeches in sermons of the Tehran Jum'eh prayer). Also, he stressed that Revolution was a significant reform by itself in Iranian country (Khamenei, 14/04/2000, speeches in a meeting held in the Tehran Jum'eh prayer).

Moreover, Ayatollah Khamenei, on confirmation of Reformism stated: Reform is essential for the country, reforms are characteristic of our Revolution and religion. Reform is to be done time by time to do economic justice and for better use of our country sources (Khamenei, 09/01/2000, speeches in a meeting held with the staff and managers of the Islamic Republic of Iran).

Ayatollah Khamenei warns the officials and the Iranian nation that the enemies desire the dispersion and discordance through political tools like parties. The enemy hypocritically supports one party to carry out their mischief plans on the nation as entering the juries' consultants in the field of struggles had much effect. All knew that the rumors, talks, and dipolar told, were void and nonsense. All stand for the flag of Islam. Political groups and the highest officials of the country entered and talked. The different political partisanship in the country, these that they want to name after them; call one, the Left and call the other the Right, call the one extremists, call the other, the reformists; these invented and unreal nicknames, are only for making dispersion among the lines of people. These actions did not affect people's understanding of the official's agreement and the knowledge of the political currents (Khamenei, 30/10/1998, speeches in sermons of the Jum' eh prayer).

The enemy's job is to project doubt and make the situation misty to take advantage for themselves. The enemy does not cause interest in Reformism. The definitive word regarding this issue is one. Reformism is revolutionary, Islamic, and religious, so all the officials of the country, all religious people, and all scholars agree on it. Alternatively, the Reformism is the American Reformism that all the officials of the country, all religious people, and all aware classes of the nation are opposed to (Khamenei, 14/04/2000, speeches in sermons of the Tehran Jum'eh prayer).

The enemies are to define the political terms for Islamic nations on their ideology; they want to illustrate Reformism in their point of view to the countries. The Iranian government does not accept this definition because it is against Islam and Islamic Revolution principles. He stated that from the American viewpoints, reform means opposing the Islamic Republic System, as Reza Khan and Mohammad Reza Shah came to power and proposed reforms based on Americans ideology this, he called American reforms (Khamenei, 09/05/2005, speeches in a meeting held with a group of students of Kerman Province).

He explained the goals and plans of the enemies, especially Americans' expectations from Reformism in Iran that they want Reformists to oppose the Islamic Republic and try to abolish Islamic values in the society. He confirmed that there is one type of thing that the enemy calls Reformism. Americans say that your Hijab should be abolished, the religious and morals borders have to be ruined, the Quran government and compliance of the legislations to Islam -included the Constitution- have to be removed. This means Reformism!?! These are

American Reforms! The Iranian nation has not achieved what they have obtained easily. The Iranian government has gained its independence and political sovereignty, identity, and self-esteem maturity. These achievements have not materialized quickly (Khamenei, 14/04/2000, speeches in sermons of the Tehran Jum'eh prayer).

Ayatollah Khamenei expressed that America clearly announced the Reformism movement in Iran as an anti-Islamic system movement. This collective of brothers and sisters include Reformism title; the Americans do not consider them as Reformists! He regards them as Reformists who do not want the existence of this Wing and the existence of that Wing; they desire to remove the Islamic system. Therefore, the enemy tactically and deceitfully makes friendship with someone who opposes the Islamic regime's basics and wants to do an action. Therefore, what talks to such an enemy? What results in the negotiations may lead to? (Khamenei, 18/03/2002, speeches in a meeting held with the officials of the government).

If some persons come who do not believe in the principal of the values, claim the change, it is apparent what is their intention of the changes! The changes in their view are to change the Islamic system into the non-Islamic system! Their purpose in changes is to remove the name of Islam, the deletion of the reality of Islam, and to remove religious jurisprudence! (Khamenei, 12/05/2000, speeches in sermons of the Tehran Jum'eh prayer).

Ayatollah Khamenei, in reaction to the actions of the foreign media on insurgency of some groups in some Iranian streets, stated that the external systems hastily acted; they soon became pleased and promptly took a position. Those who always claim human rights introduced the rogues, who broke the glasses in the streets, robbed the banks, set on fire the people's cars, and blocked the squares, as Iranian nation and reformists forces! Therefore, it is clear what they meant by Reform! (Khamenei, 30/07/1999, speeches in sermons of the Jum'eh prayer).

Ayatollah Khamenei warns of the Americans' Reformism in Iran and calls for Islamic Reformism. He announced that the real reform in Iranian country is to root the poverty; there should be no discrimination and official and economic corruption, and the Reform that Americans wish to do in this country is apparent corruption. Reformism to the Americans is the abolishment of the Islamic Republic. They want Iranians to put their feet on their Martyrs' blood and to trample their beliefs and religion. They are against every real reform in this country (Khamenei,

27/07/2002, speeches in a meeting held with staff members of Jum'eh prayers).

Ayatollah Khamenei defines Reformism as a movement that began from the rise of Imam Hussein (P.B.U.H.) against corruption in all aspects: financial, treason, dependence, and so on. Imam Hussein (P.B.U.H.) set his goal on the Islamic state to root the corruption and make reforms. What is the improvement? It means abolishing corruption. What is corruption? Crime has types and classes: stealing is corruption, treason is corruption, dependence is corruption, bullying is corruption, a moral deviation is corruption, the financial difference is corruption, making enemy among the insiders is corruption, the inclination to the religion enemies is corruption, being interested in anti-religion subjects is corruption. Everything generates under the auspices of the religion (Khamenei, 12/04/1999, Speeches in a meeting held with a group of the clergymen).

He stressed that reform is essential to the society and the government to improve their defects but based on Islamic principles as a duty and endeavor. The government and the nation have to be Reformists. Still, they should not let the others define Reformism (Khamenei, 27/02/2001, speeches in a meeting held with the students and the professors of Amir Kabir metropolitan university).

He confirms Reformism essential to the country to fight against corruption, discrimination, and poverty but stressed they should comply with Islamic and Revolution principles. He specified the target of the combat against corruption to implement Islamic ideals in society as the goal of this combat is three: one is poverty, the other is corruption, and the last one is discrimination. When combat against poverty, corruption, and discrimination gain its goals, the real Reformism -Revolutionary and Islamic Reformism- achieved (Khamenei, 24/07/2000, speeches in a meeting held with the people of Ardabil Province).

Ayatollah Khamenei explained the real Reformism to the country to fight against poverty, discrimination, and corruption. He believes that the Iranian Revolution was a significant reform to advance the country in all areas. He stated: All jobs of the prophets were to reform as much as they could; this means they had to root corruption in the country, this is the meaning of real Reform (Khamenei, 21/03/2004, speeches in a meeting held with pilgrims and neighbors of Holy Shrine of Imam Reza). Moreover, he stressed that Reformism should be based on combat against poverty, corruption, and discrimination. Every Reformism -in case of real

Reformism- should direct on this issue (Khamenei 17/07/2002, speeches in a meeting held with the officials of the Ministry of Education).

Besides, he explained that the Revolution means a great movement forward, that this movement never stills and continually advances. This advancement is the very Reformism (Khamenei, 12/03/2001, speeches in a meeting held for question and answer in Amir Kabir metropolitan university).

He delineated the features for the real Revolutionary Reformism for this political movement that have to comply with the Islamic rules and basics in rejection of the West or American Reformism as follows: I one hundred percent agree to reform motto, reform in methods, change in approaches, persistence in goals and principles...the reform means that we protect the lofty goals and expressing them explicitly and reconsider our practices. When we did not, and what we had not to do, but we did (Khamenei, 21/09/2004, speeches in a meeting held with members of experts of the council for leadership).

Protecting the principles and reforming methods means Reformism. The Iranian nation does reforms on their policies (Khamenei, 09/05/2005, speeches in a meeting held with a group of students of Kerman Province).

Depression, immobility, and stillness lead to stiffness, petrification, and oldness; as a result, the values lost their capabilities. Oldness leads to demolition. If they want not to generate oldness, the development and mobility must advance. The advancement that is the very one I called on Tasoo'a day The Revolutionary Reformism. If Reformism, improvement, and technology do not comply with Revolutionary values, society would be frustrated. These are those principles. We have to pay attention to benefits; we have not to discriminate between values. Within the values framework, we have to follow changes and advancement earnestly (Khamenei, 12/05/2000, sermons in Tehran Jum'eh prayer).

Ayatollah Khamenei strongly rejected the dipolar system of governance in Iran. In other words, in presidential elections, some claim to be Reformists, and the other claim to be Principlists to take control of power in the country. He distinctly expressed that he does not approve of the quarreling between reformists and the principlists. He believes that these classifications are wrong, the opposite of the principlists is not the reformists and the opposite of the reformists, is not the principlists; the opposite of the principlists is a human being without a principle which is unconcerned and irreligious and the opposite of the reformists is corruption. He believes in principlist-reformist, which has confirmed a

policy of understanding of the basics of Islam, who reforms methodology day to day, new to new (Khamenei, 09/05/2005, speeches in a meeting held with a group of students of Kerman Province).

Ayatollah Khamenei stressed the importance of unity and coordination among the Wings and factions in the country that they should not behave in a way that leads to the enemy infiltration. Despite the difference in vies and viewpoints, they are expected to comply with the Islamic and Revolution principles.

7. Results and Discussion

The analysis of the extracts of Ayatollah Khamenei's speeches, sermons, and commands showed that he confirms the Reformism in Iran as an essential, vital, and continuous movement to the Islamic Revolution. Besides, he considers Reformism intrinsic to the Revolution and essential for the country. Furthermore, he stated that reforms are characteristic of the Iranian Islamic Revolution and religion. Reforms are to be done time by time to do economic justice and for better use of our country sources (Khamenei, 09/01/2000, speeches in a meeting held with the staff and managers of the Islamic Republic of Iran).

The Reformism movement is required to advance and develop the nation. To correct the defects and weaknesses and solve the problems, Reforms are vital in financial, political, economics, education, and so on. He stressed that he is one hundred percent agree to reform motto, reform in methods, improvement in approaches, persistence in goals, and principles. The reform means that the Iranian officials protect the lofty goals and express them explicitly, reconsider their practices, and see what they had to do. However, they did not, and what they had not to do, but they did (Khamenei, 21/09/2004, speeches in a meeting held with members of experts of the council for leadership).

Ayatollah Khamenei differentiates between the two Reformisms. One Reformism is, Islamic, Revolutionary, and constructive; this is imperative. As he stated: The Reformism is revolutionary, Islamic and religious; so, all the officials of the country, all religious people and all scholars agree on it (Khamenei, 14/04/2000, speeches in sermons of the Tehran Jum'eh prayer).

The other Reformism is American, which is Satanic, devilry, mischievous, and anti-Islamic. This one is rejected as he affirms: American [Reformism] that all officials, all believed people and common sense of the nation are opposed to this one (Khamenei, 18/03/2002, speeches in a meeting held with the officials of the government). What is

challenging to the Reformism Movement in Iran, is the case of the ideology and principles of acceptance or rejection of the cult?

Islamic Reformism is the only Reformism that accepted through Ayatollah Khamenei's criteria. Islamic Reformism conforms to Islam ideology and Revolution principles that the values measured to them.

Ayatollah Khamenei specifies essential points for the real Revolutionary Reformism to differentiate between the American and Islamic Reformism. Islamic Reformism expected to include the following characteristics:

1. Reformism is a real essential and required, and has to implement in the country (Khamenei, 09/01/2000, speeches in a meeting held with the staff and managers of the Islamic Republic of Iran);
2. Reforms should be value directed and comply with principles of Islam and the Revolution (Khamenei, 09/01/2000, speeches in a meeting held with the staff and managers of the Islamic Republic of Iran; Ever Flowing Spring, 1379: 23);
3. The exact definition of Reformism is required to specify the goals (Khamenei, 09/01/2000, speeches in a meeting held with the staff and managers of the Islamic Republic of Iran; Keyhan Newspaper, 1379);
4. The Reformism should be organized and controlled from a powerful and aware center having self-possessed characteristic to direct it correctly according to Constitution Foundation (Khamenei, 09/01/2000, speeches in a meeting held with the staff and managers of the Islamic Republic of Iran; Ever Flowing Spring, 2000: 23; Charter of Reformism and Ever Flowing Spring, 1379: 42);
5. Comprehensiveness and concordance, reforms have to implement in all areas in the society synchronically (Khamenei, 09/01/2000, speeches in a meeting held with the staff and managers of the Islamic Republic of Iran; Ever Flowing Spring 2000: 23);
6. A tolerable and influential center should control the Reformism to avoid immethodically (Khamenei, 09/01/2000, speeches in a meeting held with the staff and managers of the Islamic Republic of Iran; Ever Flowing Spring, 2000: 23; Charter of Reformism and Ever Flowing Spring, 1379: 41);
7. The Constitution's structure has to be protected in Reformism issues (Khamenei, 09/07/2000, Speeches in a meeting held with the officials and managers of the Islamic Republic of Iran).

Ayatollah Khamenei's criteria and characteristics for Islamic Reformists in Iran are the following (Khamenei)⁸:

1. They protect the basics, principles, and take precise positions against enemies;
2. They believe in the sovereignty of Islam;
3. They believe in Imam's doctrine;
4. They believe in the independence of the country;
5. They guard the Islamic Republic system;
6. They attempt to solve people's problems;
7. They try to establish justice;
8. They stand against imperialism, especially America;
9. They consider the limits and bounds. Some of the brothers from a wing and an assembly from another wing in parliament or out of it, having different views and tastes and have quarreled, a little of these differences are natural, especially in an Islamic community and free, like our society, is inevitable also is necessary. However, if these conflicts surpass limits, it would be to the advantage of the enemy. In these directional and group oppositions, they should consider the limits (Khamenei, 05/12/1990, speeches in a meeting held with the officials of the government);
10. They stand against the enemy's influence. My today's word and my eternal word to political wings in this country are that in front of the enemy do not behave in a way that the enemy feels to influence the Revolution and enhance its infiltration. If sometimes, I complained of some people or some of the press; it was because they should not behave in a way that gives the feeling to the enemy from this way, they can influence the system and implement their mischievous goals (Khamenei, Porseman Compact Disc);
11. They direct the thought of people correctly. In partisan alignment, there should not be the aim to control power. Although rising to power for a successful party is a natural task. It means in the run-up to an election, you have a party with many fans, and people agree with you; naturally, you could take no side, but the goal of a party should not be to gain power, the goal should be to direct peoples' thoughts to a line of thought that you believe in it (Humai, 2006);
12. They refrain from manipulating the wings and groups.

8. <http://farsi.khamenei.ir>

Reformism is considered both as a prophecy status in Koran and as a sense of directing to lawful acts and interdiction of sinful acts that includes principal Islamic social teachings (Mozafari, 2009: 37).

Conclusion

This study showed that Ayatollah Khamenei confirmed the Reformism's actuality as essential and required for the country's development. Every social and political movement to help the associations, institutions, administrations, and the pillars of the government to improve their capability approved. Reformism as, a common term in political issues in the Islamic Republic of Iran, if defined within Islam and Islamic Revolution principles and basics, includes legitimate political Wings in Iran is accepted. Reformism and Principlism concepts are the essences of the Islamic Revolution; this means that the Iranian Revolution in 1979 reformed the corruption, discrimination, and poverty imposed by the Pahlavi regime on the oppressed people. This Reformism implemented on Islamic and Revolutionary Principlism according to the holy Koran, Islam, and Ahl-al-Beit ideology. Therefore, who claim these terms, as their thinking should bear in mind that Islam first proposed them to combat against corruption. Although they appear as the achievements of Western societies, this idea originates in a misunderstanding of Islamic doctrine's concepts and negligence. Ayatollah Khamenei clearly explained the characteristics and criteria for the Reformism as follows: Reformism is essential and required and has to implement in the country; Reformism should be value directed and comply with principles of Islam and the Revolution; The exact definition of Reformism is needed to specify the goals; The Reformism should be organized and controlled from a powerful and aware center having self-possessed characteristic to direct it correctly according to Constitution foundation; comprehensiveness and concordance, reforms have to implement in all areas in the society synchronically; a tolerable and influential center should control the Reformism to avoid immethodically, and the structure of the Constitution has to protect in Reformism issues.

He delineated the characteristics of Reformist as stated in the following: They protect the basics, principles, and take precise positions against enemies; they believe in the sovereignty of Islam; they believe in Imam's doctrine; believing in the independence of the country; guarding the Islamic Republic system; attempting to solve people's problems; trying to establish justice; considering the limits and bounds; standing

against imperialism, especially America; standing against the enemy's influence; refraining from manipulating the wings and groups, and they direct the thought of people correctly. It suggested that Reformism and Development be studied from Ayatollah Khamenei's point of view.

References

- Abrahamian, E. (2008). *A History of Modern Iran*. UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Alam, A. (1997). *The Basics of Political Science*. Tehran: Ney Publications.
- Amirfayz, A. (2016). *The Concept of Reforms and Reformism in Iran*. www.Ayatemandegar.ir
- Beheshti Husseini, M. (1999). *The Theoretical Basis of the Constitution*. Tehran: Bogh'ah.
- Charter of the Islamic State. (2000). "Reformism." *Ketab e Night, Quarterly*. Vol. 1, no. 4, p. 16.
- Collins English Dictionary. (2017). *Harper Collins Publishers*. Retrieved, August 8, 2017.
- Ebadi, Sh. (2006). *Iran Awakening*, (With Azadeh Moaveni). p. 180. New York: Random House.
- Etehadieh, M. (2002). *The Appearance and Transition of Political Parties*. Tehran: Ney Publication.
- Ever Flowing Spring. (12/05/2000). NAJA Ideological and Political Organization Office. Vols. 14, 23, 41 and 42.
- Fayaz, I. (2008). "Peace and Stability: The Result of the Revive of the Values." *Iran Newspaper*, 27/02/2008: 13.
- Faozi, Y. (2006). *The Social and Political Changes after the Islamic Revolution of Iran*. Tehran: Arooj.

- Hallas, D. (1973). "Do We Support Reformist Demands? Controversy: Do we support reformist demands?" *International Socialism*. Vol. 4 no. 14.
- Humai, G. (2006). *Understanding Contemporary History Office*. Reviewing of Imam Khamenei's Positions and Expectations from Executive Power within the Past 16 Years.
- Khamenei, A. (2019). "The Base of Informing the protection and Publishing Works of Hazrat Ayatollah Al'ozama Sayyed Ali Khamenei Office - The Institute for Research and culture of the Islamic Republic." <http://farsi.khamenei.ir>
- Khomeini, R. (1999). *Sahifey-e-Imam*. 27/12/1982, vol. 17. Arranging and Publishing Works of Imam Khomeini Institution.
- Islamic Republic of Iran. *Constitution*. Act, 26.
- Kachooyan, H. (27/06/2008). *A Talk to ISNA News Agency*. (n.p.).
- Kachooyan, H. (2004). *Exploring Iran's Mysterious Identity*. Qom: Boostan Ketab.
- Khatami, M. (2000). *The Political, Economic, and Security Development*. Vol. 1, p. 113. (n.p.).
- Keyhan Newspaper*. 17/04/2000.
- Koestler, A. (1949). *The God That Failed*. Edited by Richard Crossman. Tenth Edition: pp. 41-42. (n.p.): Bantam Matrix.
- Luxemburg, R. (1900). *Reform or Revolution*. (n.p.).
- Martin J. R. (2001). "Language, Register and Genre, in A. Burns and C. Coffin (e.d.s.)." *Analyzing English in a Global Context*. London: Routledge.
- Mozafari, A. (2009). *Understanding Currents of Contemporary in Iran*. Qom: Zamzam Hedayat

Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary. (2010). 8th edition©. UK:Oxford University Press.

Paltridge, B. (2012). *Discourse Analysis, an Introduction*. 2nd edition, © (n.p.): Brian Paltridge: 2.

Parker, S. (2002). *Reformism - or Socialism? Socialist Standard*. Retrieved June 21, 2015. (n.p.).

"Partisanship from the Viewpoint of Imam and Islamic Republic Leader." 11/12/2012, Thursday: www.hamshahrionline.ir

Porseman Compact Disk. *The Leader Foundation Counseling Office*. Code: 22/1001282232.

"Reformist Charter. Expressions of the Leader to Officials in a Meeting." (19/06/2006; 09/07/2000). *Islamic Advertisement Organization*, pp. 57-58.

Shafeefar, M. (2000). *An Introduction to Thought Basics of the Islamic Revolution*. Qom: Maaref.

"Shargh Newspaper," 2007/06/03.

Zibakalam, S. (2011). *An Introduction to Islamic Revolution*. (n.p.).