Necessity and Feasibility Assessment of Transformation in the New Global Order in the Opinions and Thoughts of the Leader

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Abstract
Since the Islamic Republic victory, the leaders of the revolution have consistently emphasized that the revolution's Islamic nature has sparked significant transformations in the regional and international order. Grounded in religious beliefs and values, the Islamic revolution has drawn upon Iran's rich cultural, political, and social background, making it a fertile and productive force for change. The first step towards change was the internal political and social transformation of Iran, culminating in the establishment of the Islamic Republic under the banner of "Revolution in the Name of God." This revolution led to transformations in all material and spiritual dimensions of the existing international system. The Islamic Revolution has invalidated materialistic and atheistic theories that explain and interpret revolutions. It has presented a new interpretation and thought based on unity and spirituality and recognized human dignity and social justice globally. The revolution has demonstrated the possibility of forming a community based on justice and spirituality, revived hope in the Islamic and Arab world regarding the defeat of imperialism and Zionism, empowered the front of truth against the front of falsehood, changed the political map of the world, awakened the Islamic nation, changed the balance of power in the Middle East and the world, and presented a model for liberation movements worldwide. These outcomes have had a significant impact on the material and spiritual structures of the international system. The present study, with a descriptive and analytical method and based on the guidance and intellectual framework of the esteemed Leader, will attempt to describe and explain their perspective of the necessity and feasibility assessment of transformation in the new global order.

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Introduction

The world is in a constant state of change and evolution, occurring in various temporal and spatial contexts. If societal change, transformation, and innovation were unnecessary, then human beings would remain in a primitive state, hindering their ability to evolve in knowledge, attitude, and behavior. In other words, without the capacity for change and reform, humans would be confined within a narrow-minded framework, blocking any path to progress (Haji Amu Assar, 2007 AD/1386 SH: 54). Hence, the powerful rule of the "Principle of Transformation and Change" strongly influences various phenomena of human societies (Miller, Heise, 2003 AD/1382 SH). The concept of the international system is also a human phenomenon and structure, an environment in which international political units operate and their behaviors, orientations, intentions, and desires are influenced. As a dynamic and changing environment, it is not exempt from the rule of transformation (Qawam, 2006 AD/1385 SH: 29).

In the international relations literature, various perspectives have been presented regarding the feasibility and necessity of change in the international system, often in the context of the first debate of international relations between realists and idealists. The two currents of realists and idealists are recognized as the main and dominant theories in international relations, and their approaches to the nature of human existence and its dependent agency differ significantly. There are deep gaps and contradictions in their ontological and epistemological foundations, and for decades their concepts, assumptions, and propositions have influenced world politics[1], leading to crises, wars, and changes that have brought despair and silence to human society (Moshirzadeh, 2009 AD/1388 SH).

Since the formation of the current international system, significant political and social phenomena, such as revolutions, have had a severe impact on the material and spiritual structure of the international system, becoming the pivotal and influential moments that imposed their intellectual and ideological values.

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1. Realists, emphasizing the bad nature of human beings and human societies, view the international system structure as a source of ruthless competition among states to gain, maintain, and increase national power, describing international politics as a conflict-based policy. On the other hand, idealists, with an emphasis on the good nature of human beings and human societies and the belief in changing the type of human beings towards progress and development, while pointing out the anarchic structure of the international system, describe world politics as a cooperation-based policy achieved through human agencies such as international institutions and organizations, thus putting an end to war and conflict in the sphere of international politics.

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The occurrence of the Islamic Revolution during the bipolar system and the ruthless competition among countries to maximize national power created significant changes in the normative and institutional structures of the international system. Imam Khomeini, the founder of the Islamic Revolution, was a comprehensive jurist who presented modern principles of governance and leadership based on religious and juridical foundations. He established the Islamic Republic, which became the source of significant transformations in the ontological and epistemological foundations of the existing international system. Imam Khomeini challenged the logic of the structural framework of the international system and presented a new political discourse based on religious, moral, and Quranic teachings, drawing a clear line against the materialistic view of the main currents of international relations.

In the ideological framework of the Islamic Revolution, values and spiritual and religious symbols have authenticity, and Islam, with its all-encompassing nature, puts the happiness of the entire humanity in worldly and otherworldly domains at the heart of its political, social, economic, and security agenda. The movement towards the evolutionary development of human beings and human society towards transformation with peace and justice is one of the central tenets of the Islamic Republic's mission (Jafari and Zolfaqari, 2012 AD/1391 SH: 330).

Under the leadership of Imam Khomeini, the Iranian people rejected the global hegemonic powers and the bipolar structure of the international system, which mainly served the interests of the hegemonic powers. They simultaneously changed the balance of power in favor of their people, especially the Muslim nations, by demanding a transformation and change in the existing international system. The revolutionary, revisionist, and challenging nature of the Islamic Revolution is exemplified by Iran's exit from the Eastern and Western blocs and the adoption of a non-aligned policy towards existing political and military blocs.

Therefore, in the ideological school of thought of the leaders of the Islamic Revolution, especially the Supreme Leader, "Transformation in human societies is a tradition of divine non-statics, and the existing international system is not exempt from this divine rule. No society can resist the changes in its surrounding environment." (Statements in a meeting with professors and students of Semnan University, 27/05/1386)

In line with this revolutionary and transformational intellectual framework of the Supreme Leader, they emphasized the formation of a new international order in a meeting held with students and student organizations on Ordibehesht 6, 1401 while analyzing various domestic and foreign issues. They believe that this order is taking shape after the

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era of the bipolar world order and the rise of the unipolar world order. One of its prominent components is the decline of US hegemony.

The Supreme Leader also evaluated the Ukrainian crisis within the framework of the forming new global order, which could bring about complex and challenging political, security, military, and economic trends. In such a new and complex situation, all countries, including the Islamic Republic of Iran, have the responsibility to ensure their national interests and security by comprehensively participating in the hardware and software aspects of this new order. It is evident that a precise and realistic assessment of the components and coordinates of the new global order, the identification of opportunities and challenges for the movement of revisionist and change supporters, and formulating the probable and desirable scenarios for Iran and the Resistance Axis are among the topics that can play an effective and constructive role in promoting Iran's position and situation in the new global order.

The present study aims to describe and explain the necessity and feasibility of change in the international system from the perspective of the Supreme Leader. Assuming the revolutionary, revisionist, and disruptive nature of the Islamic Revolution of Iran and their thoughts and ideas, it elucidates their perspective on the topic.

In the first part of the article, the hegemonic and power-hungry nature of the international system is discussed, along with the ideological and theoretical foundations of the Islamic Revolution's confrontation with the structure of the international system. In the second and third parts of the article, the necessities and feasibility assessment of transformation (transformation strategies) in the new global order according to the ideological school of thought of the Supreme Leader, which is in a way complementary and overlapping with the ideas of Imam Khomeini, are presented.

1. Seeking Transformation and Confronting the Islamic Revolution with the Hegemonic Nature of the International System

The victory of the Islamic Revolution on Bahman 22, 1357, was referred to as a "Revolution with empty hands," "Iran, the soul of a soulless world," a "Revolution in the name of God," and the "First post-modern revolution" by Michel Foucault. This revolution challenged prevailing relations and politics between nations and emphasized values and ideals such as "Justice-seeking," "Independence-seeking," "Supporting the oppressed, and fighting against oppressors," and "Rejecting domination and submission" (whether Western or Eastern) (Qaderi Kangawari, 2014 AD/1392 SH: 227). The Islamic Revolution did not only focus on changing the Pahlavi regime and establishing a new order but rather

regarded the current world system as oppressive and serving the interests of superpowers and set out to change it. As a revolutionary government, the Islamic Republic has a critical approach towards the ideological, institutional, and normative dimensions of the international system, based on the principles of foreign policy enshrined in the Constitution. Therefore, unlike countries that "Preserve the status quo," it is a "Revisionist" country.

According to Kenneth Waltz, a prominent scholar of international relations, the changes brought about by the Islamic Revolution fall under the category of "Systemic" rather than "Within-system" changes, fundamentally altering the nature of the international system. From its inception, the Islamic Revolution challenged the bipolar international system with its strategic slogan "Neither East nor West" and refused to recognize its rules of the game and structure. The Islamic Revolution rejected the bipolar system and based its foreign policy decision-making and orientation on people's rights. Imam Khomeini expressed this idea, stating that "We are equally opposed to both communism and the Western imperialist powers led by the United States." (Imam Khomeini, 1999 AD/1378 SH: 19) This approach has persisted, and the Islamic Republic of Iran has been one of the challengers and opponents of the idea of a new global order based on the hegemonic power of the United States for establishing stability and global order post-Cold War, in both regional and global arenas.

A historical reflection on the international system demonstrates an unjust system that has reconstructed itself in various forms of power. Power can be understood as domination, which prevails among individuals and states in various forms. A system of domination can be seen as a situation in which one or more countries seek to control the fate of other countries and determine the agenda of the international system. The term domination is a significant concept in the social sciences closely related to the concept of "Power." In general, domination arises from power itself because the structure of power is crystallized under the dominator and under their control. Therefore, domination is essentially a command that is accepted by the commanded. In fact, domination requires the exercise of power through a complex set of social relations that encompass social monitoring, rules, and internal constraints to gain acceptance from individuals and groups (Naqibzadeh, 2004 AD/1383 SH: 133-134). These constraints may apply to various historical, social, psychological, and other domains.

In the field of international relations and global politics, domination refers to a country's political and economic control over another country or countries. According to this definition, the concept of domination is

closely related to concepts such as "Imperialism" and "Colonialism." Imperialism, in its simplest definition, refers to a doctrine under which a powerful state, regarding the various historical, political, and ideological reasons, and based on its military and economic capabilities, tends to expand and extend its influence and domination beyond its borders (Hasankhani, 2016 AD/1395 SH: 29). Colonialism, in today's usage, refers to the penetration and interference of powerful states in other countries and territories under the pretext of development and construction, with the aim of exploiting their wealth and resources (Aqabakhshi, Afshari Rad, 2008 AD/1387 SH: 64). It should be noted that throughout history, the concepts of colonialism and imperialism have been closely intertwined, and colonialism is essentially recognized as an act of imperialist powers. That is, it is a power that wants to cross national and ethnic borders and subjugate other lands, nations, and peoples under its control (Ashoori, 2004 AD/1383 SH: 12).

With the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War, as well as the disappearance of the bipolar structure of the international system in the early 1990s, a very suitable ground was created for another superpower, namely the United States, to expand and extend its dominance over the world. From this period up until the present day, the United States, as a center of colonialism, has sought to subjugate other countries under its control through the use of neo-colonial policies. It should be noted that the United States has pursued neo-colonial policies under banners such as globalization, media tools, and slogans of human rights, peace, security, establishing democracy, and freedom. In this regard, Western and American theorists have also tried to theorize, present liberal-democratic values as the only alternative values while assisting in the domination of cultural, political, economic, and social arenas. The introduction of doctrines and theories such as the doctrine of a "New Global Order," the theory of the "Clash of Civilizations," and the theory of the "End of History," all aim to introduce liberalism as the best system of thought and liberal democracy as the most desirable political system. In this context, the Islamic Revolution has been considered one of the most serious threats and challenges to the system of domination and arrogance in the eyes of Western leaders. As a result, the system of domination has utilized all hardware and software capabilities to control and limit the Islamic Revolution.

Regarding the reasons for the confrontation between the system of domination and the Islamic Revolution and the Islamic Republic, the Supreme Leader of the Islamic Revolution has stated that the "Fundamental challenge of the Revolution is that it has presented a new order for humanity. I don't mean that the Revolution came with the

objective of addressing all of humanity from the beginning. No, the Islamic Revolution was Iranian. It understood the issues of Iran and was aware of the need for fundamental changes in Iran. But the language of this revolution and its message was one that could not and should not be confined to the borders of Iran. It conveyed a global concept, a global truth, and a human truth. Through the Revolution, a message was given that when anyone in the world hears it, they feel a sense of attachment to it. 'What is that message?' If we were to express that message in a social and human form in one sentence, it is a confrontation with the system of domination. This message is the Revolution." (Statements in a meeting with the commanders of the Revolutionary Guards, 26/06/1392) Therefore, according to the Supreme Leader, the Islamic Republic is not without an imaginable threat. He has stated that "We must assume that we always have an enemy, and the Revolution is threatened" in this regard. The threat against the Islamic Republic of Iran, which is accompanied by the Revolution and cannot be separated from it, is permanent. There is only one other aspect, which we have rejected, and that is the idea that the Islamic Republic should continue to exist without the Revolution. In that case, it is assumed that we would have no enemies! This is inconceivable at all." (Statements in a meeting with the commanders of the Revolutionary Guards, 19/04/1368)

Therefore, the Islamic Revolution of Iran is a pioneer of the resistance model against the system of domination and a symbol of the forming a movement that has resisted against oppressive systems and demands a more just global order. Accordingly, two patterns of behavioral models can be observed in shaping the new world order. There are behavioral patterns that seek to stabilize the system of dominance and resistive behavioral patterns that resist dominance-oriented systems and seek the formation of a more desirable and just order. Based on this, two categories of behavioral models can be distinguished in foreign policy: acceptance and submission and resistance. The Supreme Leader also describes these two behavioral models in the following statement, "Two behavioral patterns can be distinguished in confronting the system of domination: submission and resistance. Submission encourages the oppressor to be more oppressive. Therefore, there is no other genuine way for nations but resistance." (Statements in a meeting with the head of the political office of Hamas, 13/11/1387)

2. The Necessity of Transformation in the International System and Forming a New World Order according to the Supreme Leader

In the intellectual school of thought of the Supreme Leader, every revolution signifies a fundamental transformation based on a series of values and a forward movement (Statements in Friday prayer sermons in

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Tehran, 23/02/1379). He views revolutions as the origin of various events, such as earthquakes and volcanoes, and believes that "Every revolution, like an earthquake or a volcano, has countless regional and international repercussions and delivers a message for creating its own strategic depth. The more attractive the message of the revolution is, the more people will accept, support, and emulate it. The Islamic Revolution of Iran, whose fundamental advantage was relying on the Islamic worldview, occurred when liberal and socialist movements had lost their attraction." (Statements in a meeting with the clergy, 21/06/1364)

The Supreme Leader, Ayatollah Khamenei, regards the Islamic Revolution of Iran as a new frontier against the oppression and deprivation inflicted upon the suffering and disadvantaged individuals by the inadequate and unsustainable civilization imposed by colonialism. Thus, the slogan "Neither East nor West" of this Revolution signifies the rejection of any injustice and cruelty towards humanity (Statements by the Supreme Leader, 05/11/1385). Some of the global messages of the Islamic Revolution that reveal the necessity of transformation in the existing political and social order from the viewpoint of the Supreme Leader are:

1) The necessity of breaking free from the slavery and bondage of tyranny and escaping from humiliation and lowliness (Statements by the Supreme Leader, 21/08/1359);

2) Turning towards worshipping God and salvation (Statements by the Supreme Leader, 21/08/1359);

3) Rebellion against all evils, corruption, and inadequacies (Statements by the Supreme Leader, 21/08/1359);

4) The reliance of government and political power on abstinence, justice, and truthfulness (Statements by the Supreme Leader, 30/09/1361);

5) The necessity of religious orientation and God-centeredness and returning from the deviant path of the ignorant glory of the science (Message of the Supreme Leader, 20/07/1368);

6) The expulsion of foreigners and enemies of Islam and Muslims (Imam Khomeini's statements on the 10th anniversary of his demise, 12/03/1378);

7) The importance of Muslims worldwide relying on the valuable gem of Islam to maintain their sense of identity and dignity (Imam Khomeini's statements on the 10th anniversary of his demise, 12/03/1378);

8) The Supreme Leader emphasizes the necessity of realizing a pure life which includes material aspects such as daily life, well-being, security, knowledge, literacy, political dignity, economic independence, financial prosperity, and moral aspects such as being faithful, God-fearing,

abstinent, and possessing divine ethics (Statements in a meeting with the people of Sari, 22/07/1374);

9) The framework of the Islamic Ummah is outlined by the Supreme Leader, who emphasizes that the Islamic Revolution and the blessed system of the Islamic Republic shifted attention from the walls and barriers of the Iranian nation to the vast arena of the Islamic Ummah. Our honorable Imam taught us that our gaze should be on the great field of the Ummah (Statements at the meeting of foreign students of the seminary of Qom, 08/03/1389);

10) The Supreme Leader rejects the division and bloc labeling of "Dominating and Dominated," and "Oppressor and Oppressed," as the Islamic Revolution and the leadership of the Supreme Leader are considered a great innovation and transformation in human history, which was registered in the history of mankind by the Iranian nation.

The above-mentioned comments describe the Islamic Revolution as a historic and innovative event, which was a turning point in the history of Iran and the world. The Supreme Leader emphasizes that the Islamic Revolution and the Islamic Republic were both innovations in the history of mankind. According to him, since the start of colonialism, the world has been divided into two camps: dominating and dominated, with countries using their knowledge, force, and deceit to subjugate other nations, resulting in some becoming dominant, and others submissive, willingly or unwillingly. However, the Islamic Revolution and the Islamic Republic broke this cycle of domination, refusing to be dominated or to dominate others (Statements in the large gathering of pilgrims and nearby shrines of Imam Reza (AS), 01/01/1387);

11) The Supreme Leader further believes that political power should be founded on abstinence, justice, and truth, which is a fundamental principle of the Islamic Republic's constitution. According to him, this principle is a significant event in the world (Statements at the meeting of the members of the Assembly of Leadership Experts, 27/11/1379);

12) The Supreme Leader emphasizes the significance of spirituality, religion, and divine ethics in the Islamic Revolution's message. He opines that prioritizing spirituality and divine ethics alongside addressing human needs is crucial, as it aligns with Islam's teachings. According to him, extremism, as seen in Catholic or Orthodox churches or the liberalism in Western societies, is fallacious. Instead, he views the Islamic line as a just and middle path. Justice, which encompasses a universal and inclusive meaning, must be taken into account in all areas, placing everything in its proper place. The human middle path is open-minded and just, as illustrated in the verse "And thus we have made you a middle nation, that

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you may be witnesses upon mankind." (Statements to the commanders of the Air Force of the Army, 19/11/1390 SH)

In conclusion, it can be stated that Ayatollah Khamenei views the message of the revolution as primarily a spiritual one. This message addresses both the material and spiritual needs of humanity, which are often neglected in today's world, where individuals struggle to find purity, love, kindness, and deep knowledge. The revolution aims to establish a system that can meet these needs, and when it penetrates different societies, it brings a sense of spirituality that helps people rediscover themselves. It is noteworthy that the contemporary religious approach, which seeks to expand and develop around the world, is a direct result of the revolution's message (Statement by the Leader of the Islamic Revolution, 14/03/1374).

3. Feasibility Assessment and Transformation Strategies in the New World Order according to the Supreme Leader

As mentioned in the previous paragraphs, the Islamic revolution's victory and the Islamic political discourse constitute a new counter-discourse against the prevailing Western discourse in the region and the world. In essence, the nature and approach of the Islamic revolution have disrupted the existing discourse and challenged the dominant international powers. Additionally, regarding its soft power capabilities, the revolution has laid the foundation for the expansion and dissemination of Islamic ideals. In light of these interpretations, Ayatollah Khamenei proposes the following strategies to bring about a desirable revolutionary transformation in the new global order.

3.1. Constant Confrontation with the Domination System (anti-Sovereignty, Negation of Domination, Dominance and Dependence)

One of the key features of the Islamic revolution's discourse that has made it a critical discourse against the dominant global system is its rejection of domination and submission and its fight against arrogance in general. The revisionist discourse of the Islamic revolution has expelled existing international structures and norms based on the principle of rejecting oppression and emphasized the need to eliminate any form of domination and dependence. Consequently, the Leader of the Islamic Revolution considers international despotism and dictatorship the greatest problem and challenge facing the global community. He views this global dictatorship as a manifestation of international arrogance that monopolizes nations' resources by dividing the world into two poles of power- the West and East (Statements made on the occasion of Aban, 13/08 1371).

Ayatollah Khamenei believes that the victory of the Islamic revolution in Iran is the most significant hope for nations to fight and confront global arrogance. He asserts that "Without a doubt, the most important means of hope for nations in the last ten years has been the victory of the Islamic revolution in Iran, the establishment of a people's government that is neither Eastern nor Western, and the advancement of the policy of resistance against the arrogant powers; these events have given hope to the people of the world, particularly Muslims, and awakened them." (Statements in a meeting with officials and employees of the Ministry of Commerce and Agriculture, 22/12/1368)

According to Khamenei, it is impossible to confront the satanic powers from a position of weakness and subjugation, as arrogant powers do not show mercy to the weak. Therefore, each nation must empower itself and discover its true power through the blessings of belief and action until the end of Mujahidat and martyrdom (Statements in a meeting with the children of the martyrs and cultural affairs officials of the Shahid Foundation, 25/05/1368).

Ayatollah Khamenei emphasizes that the spiritual awakening of nations is the sole force capable of restraining the power of the United States and global arrogance and believes that in the face of the unrestrained and unrivaled power of the United States, the only thing that can stand and resist is the spiritual awakening of human beings, especially in Islamic regions (Statements in meeting with families of martyrs, 17/07/1370).

3.2. Continuation of the Revisionist Principle, Neither Eastern nor Western

The principle of "Neither Eastern nor Western" has been a significant slogan of the revolutionary forces during their struggle against tyranny and oppression, derived from the rejection of US and Soviet Union hegemony during the Cold War era. This principle not only challenges the existing discourse of communist and liberal ideologies but also redraws the boundaries of identity discourse, creating a new discourse identity. Moreover, it elevates the position of non-aligned countries and third world nations while eroding the political status of the superpowers in the bipolar system. Therefore, the Leader of the Islamic Revolution views the protection of independence, national freedom, non-submissiveness, and non-alignment as a fundamental advantage of the Islamic Revolution, making it a role model for nations fighting for their freedom (Statements in a meeting with the personnel of "Shahid Babayi" Airbase, Isfahan, 18/07/1371).

According to Ayatollah Khamenei, the Islamic system's independent nature is the primary reason for major powers' enmity against the Islamic Revolution. The political, economic, social, security and military threats

imposed on the Iranian nation by the hegemonic system aim to undermine their dignity in the face of the dominant global powers. He states, "When we say 'no' to the hegemonic system, it is not in opposition to science, civilization, progress, or the accumulated human experience. It is against power-hunger, greed, oppression, and belittling nations. We said 'no' and stood by it. The Iranian people's steadfastness is a magnificent act, as stated in the Quranic verse: "Verily, those who say: 'Our Lord is Allah,' and then remain steadfast, on them shall be no fear, nor shall they grieve." (Statements in a meeting with a group of university professors, 02/06/1390)

3.3. Continuation of the Seeking Justice, Denying Oppression and Supporting the Oppressed Discourse

The nature and identity of the Islamic Republic of Iran are characterized by liberation from oppression; through the struggle against oppression and support for the oppressed, the Islamic Republic follows the conduct of the Prophets whose plan can be summed up in two words: "Do not oppress, nor be oppressed." This is the primary reason for the Islamic Revolution's popularity and the expansion of waves of idealism in various periods of Iran's foreign policy, ultimately giving rise to liberation movements that follow the Islamic Revolution. Moreover, the internationalization of the identity of anti-oppression along with justice-seeking in the international system has led to the revival of Islamic awakening in the Islamic world. It grants identity to all underprivileged and oppressed individuals as an independent block in the face of arrogant powers (Javdani Moqaddam, 2009 AD/1388 SH: 70). Therefore, the Leader of the Islamic Revolution describes justice-seeking as the main message of the Islamic Revolution and emphasizes the significance of the Islamic Republic's support for all justice-seeking forces. According to Ayatollah Khamenei, "Many justice-seekers, freedom fighters, and fighters against oppression and discrimination in the East and West on all continents of the world have stated that they have learned the message and lesson of justice-seeking from the Islamic Revolution in Iran." (Statements on the occasion of the anniversary of the demise of Imam Khomeini, 14/03/1374)

However, he asserts that the ideal of justice-seeking and right-seeking is rooted in the essence of human beings, and with the occurrence of the Islamic Revolution, a new path has been opened before humanity. The Leader of the Islamic Revolution considers the root of the "Standing" of the Islamic Republic of Iran among nations to be the logic of justice-seeking and anti-oppression. This logic has not ended the hostility of the enemies against the Revolution (Statements at the Shahid Nojeh Airbase, Hamedan, 18/04/1383).

3.4. Emphasizing the Necessity of Integration and Solidarity of Muslim Nations and Islamic Unity

Another fundamental principle of the Islamic Revolution's discourse is the emphasis on unconditional unity and solidarity of the Islamic world. As Imam Khomeini stated years before the victory of the Islamic Revolution, "Our program is the Islamic program, the unity of Muslims is the consensus, the unity of Islamic countries is the alliance, and brotherhood with all Muslim sects is everywhere in the world." (Sahifeh Noor Imam, 1999 AD/1378 SH: 18/221)

In essence, the Islamic Revolution's nature is based on the centrality of the Islamic world in liberating Muslims and the oppressed from the domination of global arrogance by emphasizing their disadvantaged position in the discourse of power. This has sparked a renewed spirit in the body of Islamic and popular movements in the region and transformed political and social equations in the Islamic world.

The Leader of the Islamic Revolution stresses the importance of Muslim unity, stating that the "Motto of pure Islam and the Islam on which the Islamic system is based is that despite differences in beliefs and religious foundations, Muslims must have a unity of purpose, rely on coincidences, and refrain from hurting each other's feelings. This religious culture with its meaning and approach, embodies freedom, justice, democracy, and expands unity in the Islamic world and among Islamic nations, and is one of our fields of struggle that we must strive for." (Statements in a meeting with members of the Assembly of Experts, 19/06/1382)

Indeed, given the central importance of Muslim unity and sensitivity to the issues of the Islamic world and Muslim nations in the political and intellectual system, the Leader of the Islamic Revolution considers the Islamic world as the strategic depth of the Islamic system (Friday prayers sermons in Tehran, 14/03/1378).

3.5. Emphasizing the Principle of Peaceful Coexistence and Fair Relations

In accordance with the principles outlined in the Constitution of the Islamic Republic, the Leader of the Islamic Revolution has always emphasized the establishment and development of political, economic, cultural, defense, and security relations with friendly and non-belligerent governments as a general principle. He believes that the logic of the Islamic system in the international arena is one of "Cooperation and Understanding." The indicators of Islamic interaction and joint action in the world are seen as dignity, independence, immunity against disbelievers, and being "Tough on disbelievers, kind to the believers." (Statements in a meeting with scholars and educators of the Islamic

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Seminary in Qom on the auspicious occasion of the birth of Imam Mahdi (AS), 30/11/1370)

Therefore, the leaders of the Islamic Revolution have always emphasized the principle of mutual respect and the necessity of peaceful and friendly relations with non-belligerent countries based on Islamic and human principles. They prioritize relationships with countries based on the meaningful order, such as the separation of Dar al-Islam and Dar al-Kufr, the principle of loyalty and disavowal, reconciliation of hearts, and rejection of any kind of aggression.

Ayatollah Khamenei asserts, "In the field of foreign policy, we must strive to make it known to the entire world that the motivation and goal of the Iranian nation and government is to take steps towards happiness with its own thoughts, strengths, and will. Our nation has the right to think that with its own mentality, thought, philosophy, religion, and values, it can embark on the paths of happiness and development. In our diplomatic relations, we must rely on this independence and social dignity. We have the foundation of cooperation and understanding with the people and governments of different nations around the world, but not with those who seek to solve all issues relying on their own power, like the United States. We cannot swim in the same flow as them." (Statements in a meeting with the President and members of the Cabinet on the occasion of the Government Week, 02/06/1377)

3.6. Emphasis on People-oriented Diplomacy and Special Attention to the Nations of the World

According to the opinions and thoughts of the founding fathers of the Revolution, Islam and republicanism are the two main pillars of the Islamic Republic system. The Revolution's leaders have always emphasized the necessity of strengthening these two pillars.

Given its Islamic and popular nature and recognizing the people's role in political and social developments, the Islamic Revolution places special emphasis on identifying the people as the backbone of the Revolution's policies and their position in interacting with justice-seeking nations. As a result, the Revolution's discourse does not accept the "State-centered" discourse prevalent in the dominant international system. Instead, it emphasizes a nation-based posture and the expansion of relations with people worldwide in international relations.

This reinforces the movement's nature of the Islamic Revolution's discourse, propelling it from a state-centered discourse to a people-centered and goal-oriented discourse (Javdani Moghaddam, 2009 AD/1388 SH: 71).

The Supreme Leader of the Revolution emphasizes the crucial role and support of the people in all stages of the Revolution. He states that the

"First revolution that began with the people continued with the people, maintaining its stance, path and goals. That is the Islamic Revolution of Iran, which was started in the name of God, for the people, for justice, independence, and freedom - and that path is still ongoing." (Statements made in a meeting with Air Force personnel, 19/11/1383)

The basis of the people's power is human will and faith, and the influential forces in social and political transformations are human will, faith, and human forces. The Supreme Leader recognizes these crucial factors (Statements in a large gathering of mourners in the holy shrine of Imam Khomeini, 14/03/1379).

3.7. Raising Awareness and Awakening the Islamic World

The key to success in the struggle against hegemony, as well as awakening and awareness-raising in the Islamic world, lies in the ideas and viewpoints of the leaders of the Islamic Revolution. Prior to the victory of the Islamic Revolution in Iran, world hegemony had successfully kept people in darkness and ignorance. However, with the blessing of the Islamic Revolution, awareness and awakening spread widely among Muslim, deprived, and oppressed people of the world, enabling them to muster the necessary courage and bravery to resist hegemony and authoritarianism. The Islamic world had passed through a period of weakness and decline following the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, considering the failure to instill Islamic ideals in the minds of Islamic people and statesmen. In addition, there had been widespread propaganda to promote strong tendencies towards Eastern and Western ideologies in the management of Islamic systems. However, the Islamic Revolution brought about greatness for the Islamic world. It introduced the ideology of the Islamic Revolution as the axis of revolutionary forces' actions in Islamic communities, and the Islamic fundamentalist movement became the most influential variable in political and security developments in the Islamic world (Amrayi, 2005 AD/1383 SH).

In this regard, Ayatollah Khamenei also describes the awakening of Islamic nations as the solution to all problems in the Islamic world. He states, "In the face of the rebellious and tyrannical spirit of hegemony today, there is only one factor that can control it and stop this rebellion, and that is the awakening and will of the nations. When a nation is awake, it recognizes its own rights, recognizes the enemy, knows its goals, and decides to stand against it." (Statements of the Supreme Leader, Iran Daily, 08/05/1382)

3.8. The Formation of the World Government of Islam

In the fifth verse of Surah al-Qasas, the Holy Quran states: "And We desired to bestow favor upon those who were deemed weak in the land and make them leaders and to make them the inheritors." This hopeful

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statement reflects a general law for all eras, historical periods, and nations. It is a prophecy about the triumph of truth over falsehood and belief over disbelief, exemplified by the victory of the Islamic Republic. Furthermore, it suggests the possibility of a just and equitable government throughout the world under Imam Mahdi (AS). One of the central aspects of the revolutionary approach of the leaders of the Islamic Revolution is to "Mobilize the people of the world to create a great Islamic government, which is achievable." (Sahifeh, 1999 AD/1378: 21/195)

The Supreme Leader also emphasizes the importance of forming a united community, stating that it is the great aspiration through which all individual and collective perfection of Muslims can be achieved (Statements of the Supreme Leader, Islamic Republic Daily, 23/03/1370).

3.9. Reviving the Political Dimension of Hajj at the Global Level

After the Islamic Revolution, all religious and spiritual obligations of Muslims, including the Hajj rituals, gained significance and meaning. The previously spiritless Hajj transformed into a joyous, political, and meaningful occasion that captured the attention of Muslims worldwide. This transformation has been specifically emphasized in statements made by the Supreme Leader regarding the political importance of Hajj. During the ceremony, he insists that issues concerning the Islamic world should be examined and solutions should be found to address these issues.

The most critical issue facing Muslims involves oppressed nations and their struggle against tyranny, disbelief, and hegemony. Such nations have been victimized by the hands of tyrants, disbelievers, and hegemonies, and are burdened with difficult living conditions. The Palestinian people are a prime example of an oppressed nation. Consequently, the Supreme Leader exhorts pilgrims to examine the most crucial and pressing issues facing Muslims during the Hajj. In his words: "In Hajj, we must examine issues concerning the Islamic world as well as the pressing issues currently facing Muslims. The most important and general issue of Muslims is the necessity of readiness to defend Islam and the collective identity of Muslims." (Message to the pilgrims of the House of Allah, 14/04/1368)

3.10. Promotion and Reproduction of the Components of the General Culture of Nations based on Islamic Teachings

Undoubtedly, culture serves as the foundational basis for political, social, economic, and military aspects of society. Therefore, in evaluating various issues of society, "Culture" should take first priority. This holds true for all human civilizations, including Islamic civilization. The true teachings of Islam emphasize that culture and related issues are fundamental to the religion, and the lifestyle and tradition of Prophet Muhammad and Ahl al-Bayt (AS) further illustrate the importance of

cultural issues in educating and reforming society. Since the establishment of the Islamic Republic, the leaders of the Islamic Revolution have emphasized the significance of cultural issues, advocating a cultural strategy even during the Islamic Revolution itself. According to Ayatollah Khamenei, "From whichever direction we move, we see that we are heading towards culture, and the roads truly end in culture." (Statements of the Supreme Leader, 19/09/1369)

In another insightful statement, the role and importance of culture are highlighted, emphasizing that "Culture is the primary source of identity for nations. A nation's culture can elevate it to an advanced, esteemed, influential, knowledgeable, innovative, technologically advanced, and globally prestigious position." (Statements during a gathering of radio and television managers and employees, 28/2/1383)

Conversely, the weakness of culture is acknowledged as the secret behind the fall of civilizations and their decline (Statements in the meeting with the members of the Supreme Council of Cultural Revolution, 19/09/1373). It is essential not to overlook the role of culture in confronting the enemy, as emphasized by the Supreme Leader: "If we fully embrace Islamic and revolutionary culture, we will not be defeated in military, political, and economic confrontations with the enemy." (Statements of the Supreme Leader, 1983 AD/1362 SH)

Additionally, the independence of a nation cannot be guaranteed without cultural independence (Statements during a meeting with the country's higher education and medical centers' employees and the general public, 15/09/1386).

The most significant discourse innovation of the revolution can be seen as the revival of the inherent soft power capacities within Islam that had been forgotten by Islamic countries and the oppressed people of the world. The identity-building discourse has given Islamic countries and the oppressed the ability to fight against hegemonic powers (Majd, 2007 AD/1386 SH: 104).

Conversely, one of the primary strategies employed by hegemonic powers to penetrate Islamic countries and assert their control over them involves inducing a sense of cultural superiority in the West and cultural alienation in Muslims, ultimately leading them to abandon their culture and embrace Western culture wholeheartedly. The global hegemony fully realizes that eliminating religious and national cultural identity paves the way for domination by foreign culture and cultural imperialism, as well as enabling military and economic domination. For this reason, the leaders of the revolution persistently emphasize the revival of Islamic laws and traditions, as well as cultural and national traditions cherished by the people. They serve as models for the region's countries and the Islamic

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world, preventing foreign domination in economic, political, military, and cultural fields (Dehshiri, 2003 AD/1382 SH: 28).

Ayatollah Khamenei considers globalization and uniformity with the West as the hegemonic system's most critical strategies for maintaining cultural domination worldwide. He emphasizes this, stating: "Today, Western theorists aim to bring back the line of return to the West - the line of returning to the same Western submission. They do so under the guise of a semi-intellectual theory, claiming novelty through the theory of globalization and the theory of discourse change. They suggest that the anti-colonialism, anti-hegemony, and the death to hegemony era are over; the era of justice and the struggle against capitalism has begun, and the era of idealism, patriotism, and political resistance is over. The real goal is this crude and brittle goal, but they seek to mask it under pleasant names such as globalization, transformation, and progress." (Statements during a gathering of students and professors at Amirkabir Industrial University, 09/12/1379)

3.11. Revival of the Islamic Civilization Greatness

Reviving the Islamic civilization and redefining it in a modern context is one of the central themes of the leader's commands. Ayatollah Khamenei has emphasized the necessity of reviving and uplifting the Islamic civilization, highlighting the Iranian nation's capacity to achieve this challenging goal on numerous occasions. While recognizing the obstacles hindering the realization of this vision, he has also provided valuable recommendations and guidelines.

In his statements, the Supreme Leader asserts that the revival of Islamic civilization results from a "Pure Islamic Life," which involves instituting Islamic values and establishing Islamic governance. He states: "Through their steady resistance against enemies, stability in the field of construction, adherence to religious teachings and values, and preservation of their political, social, and national power, the Iranian people offer a lesson to other nations and present a pure and holy life that Allah has destined for Muslim nations." (Statements of the Supreme Leader, Hamshahri Daily, 20/12/1375)

Conclusion

Analyzing political, security, military, and economic trends in the international system over the past decade has led to a realistic understanding of the necessities and requirements for transformation within the current international system. Furthermore, it has brought a clear recognition of the behavior of the hegemonic system in confronting the Islamic Republic of Iran and Axis of Resistance countries. It is evident

that the hegemonic system, led by the United States, is attempting to maximize its share of global power. Since achieving global hegemony within the present unbalanced multipolar system is not feasible, efforts have been concentrated towards becoming a regional hegemon. In this context, the only actor capable of upsetting the balance of regional powers and challenging the US and its allies is the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Strategic successes of the Islamic Republic of Iran during crises in Iraq, Syria, and Yemen are harbingers of Iran's strategic elevation and of the Axis of Resistance's transformation into a regional power within the West Asian region. Nevertheless, Iranian executive and intellectual elites need to take into account the following propositions and realities in analyzing the new global order, identifying its dynamics, and tracking its developments.

A) In the new global order, security concerns and the maximization of national interests serve as the primary foundation of all actors' policies. Priorities include issues such as regional security, international security, insecurity, survival, security-seeking, in achieving security and help-self;

B) The new global order will face significant challenges concerning security constraints. These constraints emerge when each actor's actions aimed at increasing their security paradoxically reduce the security of other actors. As such, actors must accept this reality and attempt to manage insecurity while minimizing its adverse effects. Notably, security constraints can create heightened tensions and conflicts, ultimately providing the necessary grounds for war. As a result, each actor believes that the first strike could grant decisive supremacy during later stages of the conflict;

C) The new global order is akin to a battlefield, with countries fiercely competing to maximize their national interests and power, with little guarantee of trust or cooperation. In such a context, war may not be a permanent feature of the global order, but ruthless security competition will always persist, leading to the possibility of war similar to how rain occurs. As such, insecurity remains a prominent feature of the new global order and is viewed as a normal standard of the international system;

D) Countries and various actors in the new global governance system define the management of insecurity as the reduction of insecurity levels, an increase in the actor's capacity to face security threats, and the selection of appropriate tools to confront adversarial actors' anti-security actions. They are convinced that actors should employ different strategies to manage this insecure space effectively. Examples of such strategies include managing insecurity based on offensive power, defensive power (deterrence), and coalition-building;

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E) Based on an assessment of current realities, the new global order will be established on the basis of a more multi-polar world. The United States, given its decline in hegemony, China as the second most powerful player in military and economic dimensions, Europe as a superpower in its economic and surveillance rights, Russia as a more aggressive actor and a nuclear power, other developing actors in the world such as India, Indonesia, South Africa, and Brazil, and finally, the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Resistance Axis as a unified actor carrying an anti-hegemonic, revolutionary, and revisionist discourse and disrupting the current situation, are viewed as the main and important poles of this new global order. To be more precise, the new global order is increasingly divided between the United States and its allies in the Western Asia region, NATO, Japan, South Korea, and Australia on the one hand and revisionist actors such as Iran and the Resistance Axis, China, and Russia on the other hand;

F) Based on historical evidence, multi-polar systems are highly unstable and prone to major wars. Currently, the United States Department of Defense is concerned about potential conflicts with Russia in Europe and China in the Indian and Pacific Oceans. Moreover, the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Resistance Axis are firmly challenging American interests in the Western Asian region. With these interpretations, the US has initiated a comprehensive, all-sided war against Iran and the Resistance Axis. Currently, it is not challenging to recognize that the conflict between the United States and Iran and the Resistance Axis is a full-scale engagement;

G) In the new global order, military technology is experiencing the "Fourth Industrial Revolution," as new technologies such as artificial intelligence, quantum computing and communications, robotics, hypersonic missiles, and directed energy promise to transform the global economy, societies, and the battlefield;

H) In the regional order of Western Asia, as a subsystem of the new global order, we witness the intensification of interventionist powers' involvement, the change in the pattern of warfare, and the emergence of a kind of proxy war conducted by anti-system groups, given the region's asymmetrical, complex, and turbulent nature, as well as its dynamics of power, geopolitical, geo-economic, and geo-cultural sensitivities, as well as its networked and clustered character. In this regard, the Islamic Republic of Iran supports the resistance movements of Palestine and groups such as Hezbollah and Yemen's Ansarullah, while interventionist powers such as Turkey, Saudi Arabia, the Zionist regime, and Qatar exploit groups such as al-Qaida, ISIS, Jabhat al-Nusra, and ISIS to influence the system;

I) In the new global order, the Islamic Republic of Iran, like any other actor, is compelled to adopt its own foreign policy to safeguard the country's interests and security. Security researchers consider Western Asia one of the tensest regions, regularly experiencing various crises. Therefore, having reliable friends and partners in such critical conditions is essential. The opposition to the United States and the Zionist regime can be viewed as a shared interest between Iran and Islamic resistance movements. The necessity of survival and security in the anarchic international system has led to the alignment of Iran's interests with those of these movements on a common path. The conditions of the international system and the security situation in Western Asia dictate that the Islamic Republic, along with internal balancing, takes the initiative to achieve regional security and defense balancing.

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