

Disarmament, Weapons Control and Defense Diplomacy in the Views and Thoughts of Imam Khomeini

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Received: April 23, 2020

Accepted: June 24, 2020

Abstract:

Ensuring defense and security in the international system of disarmament and arms control is one of the most vital areas at the heart of international policy. Defense and security are so closely intertwined that not only do countries seek to increase their defense and security capabilities in order to ensure their security, but also through which they confront potential and actual threats. Defense and security are very important and basic areas that can create deterrence in the light of which security prevails and the harmful consequences of its absence are prevented. The leaders of any society can play an important role in various matters, especially the country's defense-security strategy. Therefore, since most of the military, defense and security affairs of the Islamic Republic of Iran originate from the ideas of the founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Imam Khomeini; the need for research and study of their ideas in the field of defense and national security is evident. In this article, as necessary, Imam Khomeini's defense-military views and ideas will be discussed, specifically in the field of disarmament and arms control. The main purpose is to answer the basic question: "What was the goal and meaning of Imam Khomeini's approach to disarmament and arms control?" The temporary answer

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is that Imam Khomeini was thinking about weapons of mass destruction, Disarmament, and controlling the conventional weapons of arms.

Keywords: Defense, Disarmament, Arms Control, Mass Destruction and Conventional Weapons

Introduction:

"Security is the main concern of any society and its provision is the special duty and work of every government. In fact, providing a decent life in the shadow of social order is the most basic program and priority of any government and governing institution and even their most important public duty.

Since life in today's societies (for the majority of states) has not only an internal dimension, but also in the light of international life based on peaceful coexistence, the inevitable bond between nations and states, first, a desirable national life must be Consider and follow the consideration of the international environment (including its current situation as well as the rules of the game in that environment). Second, the inevitable link between nations and states has led to the national interests of each state necessarily drawing on the fundamental components governing a common community of states, a "state-centered international community" and, in principle, national goals being drawn in such a way that the pressure from the international environment does not change the scope or type of goals. In the meantime, there are fundamental relations between national order on the one hand and international order, as well as international politics and law, which with full attention to these relations and their mutual relations can be successful policy as a national strategy, whether in general or Developed in specific areas and implemented without serious international obstacles. "Undoubtedly, one of the areas and examples of security is a set of coordinated defense-security measures of each country called " Defense Policy ", which is defined in the general form of its national security strategy." (Saed & Alidoosti; 2001:1)

One of the most important factors shaping the defense policy of any country is the correct knowledge of the type, nature and scope of the impact of potential and actual threats. In this regard, of course, controlling threats and estimating their effects and consequences is an important factor to better understand the threats.



Today, many countries try to use non-coercive, peaceful and low-cost methods such as defense diplomacy and negotiation to achieve their defense policies and based on data from defense interactions, make future defense decisions and formulate more effective and more rational defense policies.(KazemiZand & others ,2020:93)

Disarmament and arms control is one of the issues that has been investigated in the last two centuries, especially after World War II, at the three levels of Nuclear, Chemical and Biological weapons by the United Nations, the United States and the Soviet Union and other countries and the international & Regional organizations.(Sharifi Tarazkoochi & Goodarzi Raouf ; Autumn,2018:153)

Disarmament and arms control is one of the most important and vital issues in the international arena, which is closely related to the country's defense power.

Since military and defense affairs have condign matters of attention, and over the centuries, not only has not diminished in importance, but it has become even more important. Therefore, in terms of coherence and integration of defense and security, governments have realized the role of military and defense affairs and have tried their best to equip military implements as much as possible so the Security can be instated and supplied under the auspices of that.

Therefore, explaining the defense-military ideas of Imam Khomeini is important because as a leader and architect of the revolution, he was also a role model and also as an Islamic thinker, he led the Islamic Revolution of Iran and promoted pure Islamic ideas.

Therefore, the main question is: "What was the goal and meaning of Imam Khomeini's approach to disarmament and arms control?" The temporary answer is that Imam Khomeini was thinking about weapons of mass destruction, Disarmament, and controlling the conventional weapons of arms. To answer the main question of the research, the library method and the journey in the verses of the Holy Quran and the narrations of the Imams (AS) and the total statements of Imam Khomeini have been used.

The main purpose of this article is to develop and explain indigenous defense knowledge in the field of disarmament and weapons control; for this purpose, Imam Khomeini's defensive thoughts and opinions have been selected as the

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basis of analysis as the founder of the Islamic Revolution. The sub-purpose of this article is to create a discourse atmosphere in the scientific community regarding the recognition and attention to the views and ideas of Imam Khomeini, especially regarding defense-security affairs.

1. Conceptology

1.1. Disarmament

Disarmament is the reduction or elimination of some or all of these weapons to end an arms race. It is believed that by eliminating one of the manifestations of a kind of power struggle on the international stage, it can be possible to eliminate the effects of that kind of struggle, namely international chaos and war. (Hans Morgenthau, 1969:630)

Disarmament is based on the idealistic ideas of Kant and Wilson. Article 8, paragraph 1, of the Charter of the United Nations states that the maintenance of peace depends on the reduction of the arms of nations; Article 26 of the UN Charter also states that one of the most important conditions for peacekeeping is the use of measures and contrivances to spend the world's minimum human and economic resources on weapons. The disarmament approach is "either complete (complete elimination of weapons) or partial (elimination of a particular type of weapon)." (Richard, 2011: 89)

Anyway, Disarmament approach is to lessen the war and ultimately seeks to create lasting peace and security in the world and to end the war from the realm of the universe by reducing the war armament.

2.1. Arms control

Arms control is the organization of an arms race with the aim of creating a kind of military stability. Arms control means trying to strengthen international peace by increasing military stability (Hans Morgenthau, 1969:630).

Arms control is derived from realism and the performance of the United States and the Soviet Union as the main rivals of the Cold War in the mid-20th century. Proponents of arms control, unlike those who believe in disarmament, who have a pessimistic view of arms, see the role of weapons and military armaments as positive, even in promoting international peace and security.



Arms control is, in fact, an international effort to limit the number and type of weapons, their technology and supplies, their development or use. Countries involved in arms control have not been for the sake of idealism, but to improve their own security. In fact, this approach, unlike the previous approach, which seeks the complete elimination of war, seeks to reduce the risk of war and, if necessary, to remove the danger of war extensively from the scene of international relations so that human beings can continue to live together peacefully. But in the event of a war, this approach will inevitably seek to reduce war-based destruction and reduce the effects of unnecessary suffering.

3.1. Defense Diplomacy

Defense diplomacy is a concept in the form of power that proved deterrence with relying on hard and soft power capacity in the framework of foreign policy and defense policy convergence, without using hard and offensive tools, and it can also set up & predispose the elevation and upgrades of the cryptographic goals in Defense and military policy.

Actually the Defense Diplomacy is a peaceful application of defense resources to achieve positive results in the development of bilateral and multi-dimensional relations with the outside world and other countries, in other words, Defense diplomacy as an ad-aid element of foreign policy tries to help to achieve the country's supreme goals. (Alidoosti, Shahraki & Rahmatipoor ,2019:105)

Defense diplomacy is based on security and expansion and strengthening defense cooperation with neighboring countries and strategic convergence in regional and international fields. Activation of defense diplomacy can play an effective and fundamental step in production and reproduction of national power more than before.

Because defense diplomacy exceeds the maneuver power of the country, and under the auspices of it, According to the convergence of regional and trans-regional countries in the field of security and defense, it develops a common feeling to take more steps in the direction of security-creation.

Defense diplomacy is a tool, through that, governments are striving to use their own privileges and abilities in the defense field for making other countries dependent on themselves, increasing mutual security dependence, gaining trust,

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preventing the incidence of contestation, solving disputations, establishing regional security frameworks and other ways like these. In the current situation, the characteristics of defense diplomacy are considered as one of the tools for identification and legitimization of defense and strategic policy of countries. (Minaee & Hadinejhad, Autumn,2019:9)

2. Defense-Security Thoughts of Imam Khomeini Based on strengthening relations with Muslims and defending the oppressed people

Imam proposed strengthening relations and defending the oppressed people as an inviolable plan in the strategy of the Islamic Republic of Iran. And has defended it for many periods of time and during his lifetime. The defense of the oppressed stems not only from the Imam but also from the teachings of the Qur'an. And the Imam, as a culminant Islamic jurist at his time and as the defender of Islamic-Qur'anic ideas, considers this important thinking, necessary and insists on it. The Imam does not realize this could be possible to happen, Except in the shadow of strengthening the relations between the Islamic lands and the political alliance between the oppressed countries and even the just countries and defenders of free thought from which it is impossible to deviate.

The founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran describes how the real defense of the world's Muslims and the oppressed is as follows: “Be aware, O Muslims and the oppressed of the world; The system that has been established for you, for your growth and development, for the happiness of your world and the hereafter, for the elimination of oppression and plunder from the oppressed of the world, and for human edification and cultivation, and for the freedom and independence of your countries, by God Almighty, are Divine systems. The highest of which is the Islamic system.” (Sahifa Imam,2006, Volume 15: 240)

Elsewhere he says so: “Today, we see the prospect of the Islamic Revolution in the world of the oppressed more than ever. And a movement that has been started and is spreading by the oppressed people of the world against the arrogant and powerful, and it makes hope for a favourable future and brings the promise of God Almighty closer and closer. It is as if the world is preparing for sunrise.” (Sahifa Imam, 2006: Volume 17: 480)

“We support all the oppressed everywhere and we want the oppressed to overcome all the oppressors.” (Sahifa Imam, 2006, Volume 19: 94)



Imam believes that Islamic systems that are proud to have the emblem of Islam, as well as awake and fair countries and societies with thought and wisdom that support free thinking and they do not ask for any share from any group, They must join hands to help the oppressed everywhere in the world in the circle of illegitimate power of countries that falsely claim to respect human rights and to get rid of this modern oppression.

3. Imam Khomeini's military-defense viewpoints and opinions

Explaining Imam Khomeini's defense-military ideas is important because he was a creative role as the leader of the revolution and as the commander-in-chief, and as an Islamic thinker he led the Islamic Revolution of Iran. He has also promoted pure Islamic ideas.

Defense is a fundamental principle in Islamic law and in the principles of jurisprudence, especially in the political jurisprudence of Islam. The important point is that from the Imam's point of view, defense is an obligatory action and it would be possible by using all of the possible facilities; in this kind of circumstances, Defense is a permissible action in which necessity and appropriateness has to be maintained. This means, defense is possible as far as military and humanitarian necessity is concerned and has to be commensurate with the using force; In other words, if a country used military tools with conventional force and at a normal level, the defending country should benefit at the same level too. Most jurists believe that in defense, in addition to the use of the necessary means of protection, other actions that are performed on the basis of necessity and in accordance with the principle of proportionality to the limitation of mutual force are allowed.

The issue of defense in the Imam's thought is not specific to a particular group. Rather, it refers to the general public. "Man, woman, big, small, old, young, just as the human intellect dictates that if someone invades someone's house, the people of that house, whoever it is, defend themselves. If someone invades someone's city, the people of the city defend themselves to protect their own bearing. There are no more conditions here. Everyone must defend." (Imam Khomeini, 2006, Volume 12: 239)

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Imam Khomeini in the discussion of the obligation and necessity of defense, in addition to considering defense as a religious duty and national duty, considers defense as a human right from another perspective.

He says: "There are many things that man does not like. But when it is proved to be true, he sees that his good was in it. We and the Islamic nation have not been and are not belligerent and aggressive, and we did not like this imposed war, and we hated that two groups of the oppressed people, at the instigation of the arrogant powers and the provocation of the United States and the deception of the Ba'ath party, opened fire on each other. But while we are fleeing war, defense is the right of every human being and it is obligatory on every human being to defend himself and to defend his country and to defend his religion. We stand as a defense against these powers." (Khomeini, 2006, Volume 15: 400)

Of course, in Imam Khomeini's view, however, He considers defense as a religious matter that it's impossible to deviate from. But He believes that defense is a rational thing. And the human right to defense is also based on a rationality that is easily provable. And most thinkers and experts see it as a necessity of life and human rights. In other words, nowadays it is called legitimate defense.

Imam Khomeini says somewhere about defense: "Defense is a rational issue. It is a matter that even animals defend when they want to attack. Defense is a natural issue." (Khomeini, 2006, Volume 16: 318)

Defense and jihad have a high and special status in Islamic culture. These two truths will guarantee the life of the Islamic Revolution and the system of the Islamic Republic of Iran; because since its establishment, the Islamic Revolution has always faced and will continue to face the grudges of the enemies of Islam and the Revolution. And the epic of eight years of devotion and self-sacrifice of the proud nation of Iran is a manifestation of this fact and a witness to the role and dignity of defense and jihad. Although, the defense at first glance follows a military attack. But in Imam Khomeini's view, defense is not limited to military defense. Rather, it applies to all areas where the Islamic Revolution is threatened. (Vaqari Dizchegan, 2001: 249-248)

Therefore, in the Imam's thought, defending the necessities and principles is inviolable. And the feeling of duty towards it is not only a national-patriotic duty but also a religious duty. The above issues show the importance of defense and



its necessity in Imam Khomeini's thought. In addition to considering defense as a religious and national duty as well as a rational foundation, he also emphasizes the need for defense education. And He believes that for the survival of the Islamic Republic and the political system, the issue of defense should be looked at specially, and in this matter, the most equipped weapons and the fear of the enemy should be achieved; So under the auspices of it, the enemy is not only afraid of the high power of the Islamic system, rather, faithful forces must be trained for defense in order to confront the enemy if necessary.

Defense in Imam's thought is the defense of man and the values of humanity. His goal in defense was to liberate human beings and to present the idea of Islam in the liberation of human beings. (Haeri Shirazi, 1999: 25)

The issue of defense is a natural principle before it is a religious principle. In fact, man recognizes this natural right and defends himself due to his love of nature and understanding of reasons. (Taheri Khorramabadi, 1999: 32-31)

The Imam considered military defense important. And they used military defense as a strategy and a local policy in line with political goals. In fact, political defense is a continuous and permanent process, with a wide range of areas and different methods, which is sometimes manifested in the form of propaganda and psychological operations, sometimes in the form of political pressures and sometimes in the form of military defense. In fact, military defense is the adoption of a method of political defense appropriate to time and place. (Deputy Minister of Culture and Foundation for the Preservation of Antiquities, 1999: 64-63)

Imam Khomeini's methods and policies in defense strategy are based on the use of the armed forces in an integrated manner with the people's forces. While considering the five important principles of God-centeredness, culture-centeredness, self-belief, populism, unity of word and avoiding division in the armed forces, he advised them to observe discipline, coordination, hierarchy, unity of command and avoidance of partisanship and non-interference in politics. He also ordered and placed the greatest emphasis on achieving greater cohesion of the armed forces. (Alijani, 1999: 123-122) Because defense cohesion lies in the coherence and intellectual solidarity and physiology of the

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military that defect in it, misleads the grand strategy and strategic goals of the armed forces; and therefore it remains barren.

Acquaintance with the situations, conditions of the world and knowing how developments and changes, as well as identifying friends and enemies, is necessary for collective life. Continuity of existence, maintaining stability and security, depends on the degree of ability to understand the conditions and characteristics that govern the world and how to adapt to conditions and situations. This power of identification and self-preservation is the prelude to defending the interests, positions, rights and dignity of the individual and society. Every individual in society and every country in the international arena, to the extent that he has the power to understand and deal with dangers, threats and problems, is equally able to survive, maintain his position, identity, interests and rights. No nation or country has been destroyed throughout history, unless it first lost its defensive power (Mansouri, 1999: 94-93).

1.3. The Position of Disarmament and Control of Weapons in Imam Khomeini's Views and Statements

The international process of disarmament and arms control is an arena of constant conflict between international tendencies and the vital interests of states. It is the conflict of national-vital and security interests of the governments, that has sterilized the nuclear disarmament and arms control system. (Savari va Piri, 2012: 244)

The link between disarmament and arms control to the country's vital national interests and security issues, has led international actors to look at it with curiosity. To reduce the cost to the country and secure the interests of the country if accepted; In fact, this is an international outcome which was the product of the thought of those in power and it is formed in the national interest according to the restrictions that they create for others. Trying to understand this process correctly and logically and its effects can be considered a step forward for the country's security to join it, if necessary, for the sake of higher interests. Otherwise it will not enter.

In Imam's thought, however, software power has a very high status. But we should not overlook the hardware (weapons) approach that he insists on and sees achieving it as an important strategy on the international stage. Weapons were



not rejected in Imam Khomeini's mind. Rather, it has been considered in its right place. For example, in the holy defense against the Ba'athist regime, the Imam saw weapons as a strategic tool. And in his view, being equipped with advanced weapons could change the outcome of the defense in favor of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

According to the jurisprudential-theological school, the Imam believes that as long as the world remains, there is truth and falsehood, and as long as there is truth and falsehood, there is a struggle. Therefore, it can be understood that the Imam considers the struggle necessary until the establishment of the rule of truth and justice and sees it as its long-term strategy. However, Imam relies more on spiritual weapons than material weapons. But this does not mean that he does not pay attention to material weapons. Instead, he pays attention to it and believes that we should be equipped with modern tools. And he even commands self-sufficiency in the military arena so that we do not reach out our hand to foreigners and rely on ourselves. Somewhere Imam says:

"By accepting and implementing peace, no one should think that we are free from the need to strengthen the country's defense and military strength and the development and expansion of the arms industry. Rather, the development and evolution of industries and tools related to the country's defense power is one of the basic and primary goals of reconstruction. And given the nature of our revolution, we must take the possibility of aggression again by the superpowers and their servants seriously at any time and every hour." (Khomeini, ۲۰۰۷, Volume 21: 158)

In general, based on the views of Imam Khomeini (RA), three basic axes can be identified in relation to the issue of disarmament and arms control, which are:

1.1.3. Imam and comprehensive defense policy

In the general atmosphere of Imam's defense thinking, comprehensive defense policy has a special place and status in their political thought. Imam Khomeini, by stating that defense is the right and duty of every human being, group and nation, emphasized the need for solidarity of all classes and empathy of the government and the nation; And He considered the readiness to defend the country and Islam, a necessity of political life, even in the absence of physical war.

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Due to the necessity of mental, spiritual, physical and material readiness, Imam Khomeini (RA) considers the defensive confrontation as a strategy in order to prevent the enemies from invading the Islamic country and He says: “We must be ready to defend the country and Islam. One aspect of getting ready is to be prepared with the power, whether the power of individuals or other powers; as the Holy Quran has commanded. And be prepared in such a way that those who think of attacking and your enemies be afraid of your power.” (Khomeini, 2006, Vol. 12:44)

Comprehensive defense is a form of coordination that can be organized in various political, cultural, social, economic and military sectors against the enemy and with a specific purpose. In fact, each of these sections will be a dimension of the comprehensive defense pyramid. Imam describes a comprehensive defense strategy based on national strength and with the fertilization of the spirit of cooperation and harmony and unity of the word. Only ‘The decision to defend’ is not enough alone. Preparation and Performance are complementary, and their combination is the key to success. The existence of such factors makes the aggressor enemy who intends to attack and aggression in his head, think about the consequences, and he will probably give up on his decision. (Sohrabi, ۲۰۰۶: 140-142)

In Imam's thought, security has a very high status. And with a little attention to his defense statements, it can be seen that security is intertwined with concepts such as peace, progress, peace of mind, growth and excellence. Therefore, from this perspective, it can be said that in order to ensure security, comprehensive and necessary defense must be considered; because the growth and excellence of society depends on security and being away from any threat from external factors. And this leads the Imam towards strategic defense. In such a way that he considers important recommendations based on defense independence, military self-sufficiency and organizational order of the Armed Forces of the Islamic Republic of Iran to create lasting security in the Islamic society.

Comprehensive defense is not limited to the difficult "military" realm. It also encompasses the soft realm of "Defense Diplomacy". Defense diplomacy is part of the national diplomacy strategy. This diplomacy must be based on geopolitical and security interests and relations, that they also stem from the efforts of governments to reform and improve the peaceful security environment,



modernize the military method and strengthen the influence of that country in other countries, that the obvious result of this method is Deterrence. In the form of defense diplomacy, governments establish defense cooperation and provide military assistance to counterbalance or deter enemy or other targets. (Asgari, 2012: 12)

In the field of foreign relations, defense diplomacy is also used as one of the comprehensive defense tools. In today's world, there are various and, of course, specific components to authority on the international stage, that defense diplomacy is one of the important and strategic components. In fact, the activation of defense diplomacy can be an effective step in the production and procreation of national power more than before. In other words, linking defense and military activities with diplomatic activities can demonstrate an interconnected and enormous tool of national power inside the country and abroad. Accordingly, one of the main axes and approaches of the Islamic Republic can be based on strengthening and developing the form and nature of defense diplomacy as a comprehensive defense tool; so under the auspices of that, national interests are served in the shadow of such an intelligent approach according to various mechanisms.

Defense diplomacy is based on recognizing the opportunities of the international environment (regional and global) in order to enhance the country's defense capabilities and deterrence. Transparency, building trust among like-minded actors, forming unions and lasting coalitions, preventing rivals and enemies from resorting to objective means of conflict, are among the schemes exerted at various levels of the country's declared policies. In the meantime, the field of disarmament and arms control plays a vital role as part of defense diplomacy and because of its deep connection to national policies as well as the global normative environment. Diplomacy is not just a way to pursue disarmament (Disarmament through diplomacy); it also emphasizes the areas and components necessary for production and disarmament activities.

Defense diplomacy is considered as strengthening part of the defense sector's efforts in the field of superstructure in rebuilding the country's defense, which has been used as a new concept in the system of the Islamic Republic of Iran and has been emphasized in the formulation of the doctrine of defense and national

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security. For the Islamic Republic of Iran, which is one of the leading actors in supporting equal and universal norms of disarmament of mass destruction, disarmament and arms control are among the axes emphasized in order to achieve the goals and characteristics of defense diplomacy. So that, the presence and active role of institutions influencing this process, defending the rights of developing countries and the establishment of an equal and universal system of disarmament based on negotiation and understanding, has always been emphasized in national strategic documents and the positions of high officials. (Saed, 2011: 55-53)

Disarmament diplomacy and arms control are also part of defense diplomacy, which is a framework for pursuing comprehensive software defense to maintain the country's hardware capabilities in national defense, as well as the use of disarmament against powerful countries that have the power of mass destruction.

2.1.3. Imam's approach toward weapons of mass destruction

However the words "disarmament" and "arms control" are new terms in the military and strategic literature, and is also historically rooted in modern issues of international law, international relations, and international security. But this does not mean that these issues, has been ignored in Imam Khomeini's thought. Rather, he has dealt with such issues with his type of terms and literature. He referred to the issue of disarmament in the context of mass murder in general and on a case-by-case basis. For example, He considers chemical disarmament just in war to be irrational and contrary to the common laws and customs of governments in the international arena, and he has a broad view on this issue. He believes in disarmament of weapons of mass destruction in the level of international genocide.

The reason for this approach can be found in their jurisprudential-ideological views. Because he was against harming nations and civilian groups, especially children, women and the elderly, and so on and for this reason, any act or approach that poses a threat to the security of free nations and governments, in his view, is reprehensible. And it is strongly denied from the Islamic point of view. He accepts the provision of weapons and the strengthening of military and defense. While emphasizing independence in the fields of defense and military and strengthening military and defense tools and equipment, he considers these



matters in order to strengthen and protect the position of national and Islamic security as a social and institutional base of the Islamic State in the Islamic Republic, And to a higher rank; know this as the institution of pure (PBUH) Islam in the present age.

Therefore, he sees strengthening the defense as a means to preserve the life of the country and ultimately the promotion of pure Islam. And of course, in order to achieve this important thing, Imam does not accept any kind of retaliation. Because weapons of mass destruction undermine the integrity of the international community; therefore, steps must be taken to eliminate these weapons, because global security is in serious danger if these weapons are being used.

Based on the approach of the founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran, it can be understood that disarmament in areas such as (nuclear, biological and chemical) and other unconventional weapons that have a high destructive power, has been considered and pressed on. Because the Imam believes we should use weapons for the perfection of humanity. And he believes that it should be used in the direction of human goals, not the goals of a particular individual, group or country. Imam Khomeini says somewhere about the weapon of mass destruction:

“Science and expertise without civilization and education is a calamity that afflicts human beings today. And it goes on to set the world on fire. The rivalry of two superpowers in equipping themselves with modern atomic and nuclear weapons, which originate from evil and carnal principles, has many calamities for humanity, unless a hand comes out of the unseen and saves humanity.” (Khomeini, 2006, Volume 17: 393) Elsewhere, in relation to another type of weapon of mass destruction, he states: “The use of chemical bombs is a violation of international law.” (Khomeini, 2006, Vol. 20:32)

Imam believes that such an action is against logic, reason and humanity. And the perpetrators must be punished. Although, the Imam was not optimistic because he knew that the global bullies were equipping their assistants. And naturally, they defend them as far as their interests require. In fact, it can be said that Imam (ra) is thinking of disarmament somewhere and elsewhere to control weapons that is based on human values and national interests; therefore, it can be

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concluded that the Imam had a disarmament attitude towards weapons of mass destruction and an arms control attitude towards conventional weapons.

3.1.3. Imam's approach to conventional weapons and defense needs of the country

The idea of defense and security is a vital, historical and civilizational necessity for mankind. Therefore, having advanced weapons is a tool to ensure the security of any country. The defense policy, especially the arms and security policy of each country, is designed according to the regional and international threats that arise from the regional and international security environment. And policymakers try to formulate defense-security policies according to the definition of perceived threats to deal effectively with threats. In Imam Khomeini's thought, not only weapons and having modern weapons are very basic and important; rather, having military readiness and placing the country in order to provide weapons and self-sufficiency in military affairs is one of their defense principles that cannot be violated.

Imam Khomeini (RA) says somewhere: "Given our revolutionary nature, we must take seriously the possibility of re-aggression by the superpowers and their servants at any time and at any hour." Imam, not only did not suffice to this extent, but also introduced self-reliance, i.e. "military self-sufficiency strategy" as the most important factor in the development of the arms industry. (Jafari, 2001: 86-85)

Which is in fact one of the essential factors of defense, and self-reliance in this field produces power for the country.

He also says in a statement: "The most effective way to fight a foreigner is to be equipped with the weapons of religion and the world. And emptying this stronghold and calling for the disarmament of this weapon is a betrayal of Islam and the Islamic state."(Khomeini, 2006, Volume 3: 327) In fact, it can be understood that the Imam does not welcome disarmament as a complete elimination of weapons in all its dimensions. Rather, he believes that in addition to the weapon of religion, there is a need for the weapon of science and the world to defend our lives if necessary.



He says elsewhere: “Try to become as strong as possible in science and practice and rely on God Almighty, be equipped with weapons and goodness.”(Khomeini (RA), 2007, Volume 12: 159)

He also invites to be armed with equipment. This is a sign of His concern for weapons and military armament. Because the country must be equipped with advanced weapons in order to defend the nation, the system and the national interests in the event of an invasion by foreigners. Otherwise we would have to wait for the accident. In Imam Khomeini's thought, modern weapons are meant to the extent that they are only for defense and create deterrence. Not destructive weapons that not only do not provide security but also destroy security and endanger humanity.

Conclusion

The international process of disarmament and arms control is an arena of constant confrontation between governments for security and national interests. Indeed, the deep link between governments' national security and their defense policies and armaments strategies has led them to build capacity in this area; so in the light of that, national security is protected from threats. The international system is an environment of complex competition between states for national interests, and the field of disarmament and arms control, as a subset of it, has a close relationship with the security and national interests of the country. And success or failure in it, affects other areas as well.

The study of Imam Khomeini's defensive views has positive aspects due to his position and at the same time his jurisprudential approaches; and addressing it, can really help the decision makers of the system in micro and macro areas in the decision-making process. Imam Khomeini considered defense as a necessary and obligatory matter. Therefore, in addition to considering defense as a rational matter, He also considered it, a human right and also doing it as a religious and national duty.

In a way, there is a comprehensive defense strategy in Imam Khomeini's political thought which has cultural-social, political, economic and military dimensions; and dealing with defense in the soft and hard arenas has a very fundamental place in this theory, that Incidentally, it cannot be provided without advanced and modern tools. In fact, along with hard work, efforts in the direction of defense

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diplomacy, and under the auspices of that, disarmament diplomacy and arms control can provide national interests and security in the right and logical ways without incurring excessive costs.

Imam Khomeini on the issue of disarmament and arms control; had a disarmament view to weapons of mass destruction (nuclear, chemical and biological) and an arms control view of conventional weapons. He did not think of conventional weapons not only disarmament, rather, being equipped with advanced and modern weapons was considered a necessity of the country's defense authority. And He even orders self-sufficiency in this field.

In fact, this attitude shows the Imam's care for advanced weapons in order to create deterrence under its auspices; so that the enemy does not show greed to invade the Islamic homeland. Therefore, deterrence in the Imam's thought has meaning only in matters of conventional weapons; and nuclear deterrence and other weapons of mass destruction are meaningless and it has no place in his defensive thinking.

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