

Soleimani's View of the Human Dimensions and Discourse Supplies of the Resistance Front: Thematic Analysis of His Speeches in the Last Two Years before His Martyrdom

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Abstract

The assassination of Lieutenant General Soleimani in January 2020 brought the confrontation between the I.R.I. and the resistance axis with the United States of America and its allies into a new and endless arena, which is considered a paradigm shift for international relations experts. Accordingly, the present study initially searches and explains the image of Soleimani in English and American sources reflected in Google's general search engine and its advanced book search as one of the most referenced and practical tools for achieving general and specialized knowledge in the world. The depiction of him as the leader of the terror front, a threat to the world's security, and the inherent enemy of the West, especially the United States, is evident in Google's algorithm. However, we cannot find the intra-discourse and phenomenological knowledge of Soleimani's thoughts and opinions. Therefore, the present study aimed to evaluate the materials for fulfilling the resistance front and his ideals by examining the Soleimani speeches from 1396 to the time of his martyrdom and the text of his will. To this aim, we will extract and analyse the primary and sub-themes using the TI Atlas software and text coding with the theme analysis method. In this way, at least four main themes in his speech have been identified in the definition of the resistance axis: Individual empowerment, the introduction of the forming resistance front, the supremacy of transnational ideals and the concern of the world community, the hierarchy of the resistance elements and the constructive and long-term social and political effects of resistance.

Keywords: Lieutenant General Soleimani, Resistance, Transnational Front, America, Terrorism.

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Introduction

Few military and intelligence commanders in West Asia can be found who, like Soleimani, are interested in academics, think tanks and media in the West and are personally studied and attacked. Commanders with similar positions have mainly been discussed in their country's organizational form or macro policies. But General Soleimani, with his name and as a highlighted element, has been uniquely targeted and negatively represented by Western sources. Accordingly, the propositions that General Soleimani is known for in the vast literature produced in the West include:

"Leadership of the terror front at the regional and extra-regional level (Soufan, 2018), mobiliser volunteer forces in proxy war at the transnational and international level (Silinsky, 2021), creator and intensifier "Violence" in the region and hindering the stability and peace establishment in it (Azizi, 2020), an undesirable element in the violation of human rights, especially the cause of spreading all kinds of violence against women and children and civilians (Weiss and Hassan, 2016), bad person, criminal, and the devil."²

The depiction and representation of the West, especially in elite and media sources, is a perfect example of continuing Orientalist view of the Islamic world, in which the West, especially America, is indicated in front of Soleimani as the ideal symbol of the Islamic Republic. In this equation, the same colonial formula, America and Soleimani, crystallised in the opposition of good and evil, civilisation and barbarism, light and darkness, freedom and cruelty, rationality and irrationality, security and danger, peace and terror, is shown.

Otherness-making at this level is the same old logic that, according to Tugrul Keskin (2018), portrays the East as a single whole without the develop or differentiate ability so that the other be complete and total for the West and naturally justifies its policies and interventions in the East (103). Bin Laden, Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, and Gen. Soleimani are sold to the audience in this one-size-fits-all package without explaining their positions, ideology, or performance. The result of understanding this equation is only a single perception of America's presence and operations necessity in eliminating this other enemy.

In none of these works there is a reference to the first-hand literature of Soleimani and the statistics of his speech or its comparison with his performance in the field. Therefore, producing such knowledge can be

2. <https://www.cfr.org/blog/campaign-foreign-policy-roundup-killing-qasem-soleimani>

necessary as a narrative against the dominant stream of content production.

The problem of the present study is to investigate and count the central positions or themes of General Soleimani regarding the pillar of resistance, its characteristics and ideals. The present paper will first review the literature produced in the West based on a general Google search about Soleimani, his personality and operational dimensions; then clarify his discourse proportions using the thematic analysis method and Atlas TI software. By accurately understanding the text of Soleimani's speeches as one of the available first-hand sources, quantitatively and qualitatively, it will help to understand the reality of his character and ideals and show its contrast with the image created by the West.

1. Methodology

According to the present paper question, which requires attention to the Soleimani literature in the last years before his assassination, the reflective thematic analysis is used; because this method enables the researcher to put himself in a phenomenological study and systematically enumerate themes (Newton-John et al., 2017 AD: 1822).

The sampled text, which contains the full text of 8 speeches presented from 1396 to the martyrdom and testament of Soleimani, was compiled based on the researcher's access to the full text, with 46,608 words; it was a relatively long text for coding. Therefore, to systematically define and classify the codes, the whole text was entered into the Atlas TI software, where this operation was done and processed.

In the reflective thematic analysis method, the researcher does not need to start his study by referring to a specific theoretical field. They can take their research journey with the study experience, find the words in the social, historical and political context, and understand their meaning-making process (Newton-John et al, 2017: 1822). The reflective thematic analysis method has four steps:

- 1) Familiar with the text and its production context,
- 2) Coding,
- 3) Creating and refining themes and
- 4) Final writing and organisation (Thelwall and Thelwall, 2020 AD: 962).

Simultaneously finding samples and gathering the texts, with study them, its parts were separated based on correlation analysis with high-frequency keywords. Finally, 18,810 words were coded, and the themes were counted in the final file. The first text of the speeches was searched

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with the words of resistance, Jihad, Mujahidat, martyr, martyrdom, enemy, America, terror, and blasphemy, which, based on the research problem, separates itself in the axis of resistance and the other in the axis of terror and blasphemy. Still, with what characteristics, main themes, and sub-motifs can be identified with each of these dualities, we will discuss the discussion and review the research findings.

2.The Image of General Soleimani in the Political Literature of the West

When General Soleimani and his companions were assassinated in Iraq on the direct orders of Trump, the Evangelicals in America called Christians United for Israel sent an email to millions of its supporters praising Trump for this action and quoting Mike Pompeo, the then-US Secretary of State, in an interview with Fox and Friends, called this action "A Powerful Action" that will save an infinite number of human lives.³To understand the discourse of Gen. Soleimani in confronting the resistance pillar against the West, especially America, we should first understand the other side and their understanding representation of Gen. Soleimani. Although briefly, the benefit of this view is that we can understand the social and political context in which General Soleimani's speech and positions are located. Therefore, we will describe the mental atmosphere in the West, especially in America, in four axes:

- 1) Otherness-making a great enemy,
- 2) Contradiction within the discourse in America: Terror of an enemy on the verge of defeat or powerful and deadly?
- 3) Anger from lasting cultural influence, and
- 4) The assassination of an old enemy based on the weakness of the American political-defense system.

Donald Trump's presidency is recognised by America and the world as "Constant Confusion and Chaos," as Hamid al-Bayati, Iraq's representative at the United Nations, mockingly believes in the Trump era: "The power and wealth of America have always relied on having an independent nation, while now the President of the United States is not in control of himself. He constantly rotates from one policy to another, depending on his circumstances' direction." (Al-Bayati, 2020 AD: 124)

Many believe that the decision to assassinate General Soleimani was just as irrational and stupid as he took it at the moment. The assassination of Gen. Soleimani was never addressed with this title in

3. <https://newrepublic.com/article/156166/pence-pompeo-evangelicals-war-iran-christian-zionism>

American sources, and killing was always prioritized over the assassination, and this shows part of the political and legal burden of this subversive operation during Trump's time, which the Americans tried to. Another type of history should be recorded.

There is a vast literature in the West that has targeted the identity of General Soleimani in recent years and has tried to say that Soleimani is not a great and powerful element, from the personal and ideological level to military operations. Interestingly, in the same critical and denying literature, Western writers and media have not been able to express the advantages of Gen. Soleimani as an unseen long-standing enemy, and the description and analysis of the effectiveness of his plans have also been considered regularly. We try to cover this intra-discourse paradox to some extent in this part of the article.

2.1. Otherness-making from a Great Enemy

Western writers are very willing to reduce the entire thesis of resistance, its belief base in Islam, especially Shiism, the motivation of jihadists and the operational and military complexity of their movement in the region to rational, simple and civil formulas.

They intentionally make the role, capability and influence of General Soleimani and the forces under his command appear weak and ineffective, and by generalising and classifying them among a list of terrorists or extremist groups, they present a package to the audience without any differentiation of their dangerousness and ability to be destroyed. In Orientalism literature, always a person, group or phenomenon attributed to the East by Western observers consider to be another or a whole whose decisions are not rational, the ability to progress and develop is not seen in them, and their behaviours arise from abject emotions, a kind of barbarism or uncivilised complex with ancient identity in them, denying the possibility of any conversation (Said, 1978 AD).

The representation of American academics and media regarding the conflicts text in West Asia and the unique situation of Gen. Soleimani is also the same. The think tank of the American Council on Foreign Relations has emphasised in various articles that American sources have called him "A Bad Person," "A Murderer," the "Devil," and "A Very Important Danger to the American Military," which according to Joe Biden, Trump's action to his assassination was like "Throwing Dynamite in an Ammunition Box."⁴ Although in most of these sources, there is no trace of any scientific analysis of the dispute between both

4. <https://www.cfr.org/blog/campaign-foreign-policy-roundup-killing-qasem-soleimani>

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sides, and American-Iranian mutual narratives, which naturally could be the first point of understanding between the parties about the conditions of the conflict and confrontation, and only the absolute and black otherness-making of an eastern enemy is depicted; the ambiguity of his character and understanding is one of the pillars of targeting him. In addition, to blacken the image of a general, his confrontation with the enemy is not enough.

Several sources have tried to portray Soleimani as a suppressive force of global values such as democracy, who, with autocracy and simply maintaining the status quo and the political power of the Islamic Republic, have also suppressed even civil demands in the region. Patrick Cockburn, the famous columnist for the Financial Times and the Independent, who received the Best Foreign Correspondent Award (2014) for his expertise and prominent notes on the Middle East, including Iran and Syria, makes accusations against Soleimani from this point of view, for which he does not provide any objective evidence. For example, he writes that Soleimani has violently suppressed civil and protest movements in Iran and other countries such as Syria, Lebanon, and Iraq (Cockburn, 2020 AD: 5).

In this regard, Steve O'hearn, in the book "Iranian Revolutionary Guards" (2012), introducing General Soleimani, identifies him with the command of the Quds Force, which he considers to have tested forces that are efficient fighters and specialize in training rebels and terrorists (72). they suppress democratic civil demands and lead rebellion and terror.

2.2. Contradiction Intra-discourse in America: The Assassination of an Enemy on the Verge of Defeat or Powerful and Deadly?

In the English language literature of the Google search engine, there is an apparent intra-discourse contradiction regarding General Soleimani: Soleimani is a terrifying enemy shrouded in ambiguity, whose threat is felt on America and its soldiers wherever and whenever. But at the same time, that enemy had been on the verge of decline, weakness and defeat. Like other enemies of America, while doomed to failure, America did not need direct action in this confrontation. After all, the readers of these texts cannot easily decide how a political-military figure like Soleimani should be analyzed in this ambiguous situation.

Patrick Cockburn, in his book "War in the Age of Trump" (2020), argues by the same logic that Trump ignored this old quote with this assassination: "Never stop your enemy amid his mistakes." Referring to the anti-Iranian demonstrations and vandalism in the Iranian consulate in Najaf and Karbala and similar movements in parts of Lebanon, Cockburn considers such actions an indication of the decline of Iran's

power and influence in the region. He believes that if Trump had not ordered the assassination of General Soleimani, his power and influence would have declined (5-6).

At the same time, Western writers and analysts cannot deny or overlook the excellent strength and skill of General Soleimani and his forces. For example, Steve O’hearn, in the same book, Iranian Revolutionary Guard Corps, believes that the Quds Force manages a wide range of activities, including creating intelligence coverage, implementing Iran's foreign policy in countries such as Lebanon, Iraq, Afghanistan, and Palestine, and regulating Iran's relations with certain regional parties like Hezbollah, Hamas and Taliban (2012 AD: 72-73).

Although according to these sources, the Quds Force is small and highly selected, or based on Abbas Milani, the head of the Iran Studies Program at Stanford University, the hand-picked elite of an ideological⁵ corps. Therefore, the circle of influence with the number of people involved in it is a characteristic of the Quds Force, which according to various military experts in the West, ranges from 3 to 50 thousand and, regarding an American security officer, 10 to 15 thousand people (72); playing the complex roles for this number indicates their strength and skill.

In addition, the consistency of General Soleimani's personality is a factor that the West cannot deny. In his book "Imam’s Pioneer: Religion, Politics and Iran's Guards Corps" (2016), Afshun Ostovar states, “Soleimani did not chant. He was talking about an evolving perspective in the IRGC that had the responsibility and the ability to carry it out and advance Iran's agenda beyond its borders.” (205) According to him, General Soleimani entered the power vacuum in the region, such as Iraq after Saddam, the Syrian civil war, and the war with ISIS in Iraq, to show his support for the position of Iran's allies against the enemy in a strategic effort, and supply Iran's strategic goals in the region (ibid.).

Like other writers in the West, Afshun Ostovar tries to show the decline of Soleimani's personality; for example, she suggests that he was about to be removed at various points in time, and his credibility was reduced. In the end, she firmly believes (ibid.), Soleimani's legacy in the region was so pervasive at home and in the field that he could not be easily bypassed. Iran's operations in the Middle East were at his feet. The personal and trust relationships he built over the years are essential.

5. <https://www.nytimes.com/2007/02/17/world/middleeast/17quds.html>

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According to her, he was an exceptional commander who commanded respect and cultivated deep and lifelong loyalty in his men (226).

2.3. Anger from Lasting Cultural Influence

"Respect" and "Loyalty" that Ostovar firmly speaks of (Cockburn, 2020 AD) are two severe factors beyond the common military-security codes that are generally taught in military academies. Still, the study of Western works shows that Soleimani's popularity and cultural influence is, firstly, beyond the Quds forces and, then, inter-generation, which according to Westerners, has fed the cultural propaganda machine of the Islamic Republic. Arash Azizi, the author of the book "Shadow Commander: Soleimani's Global Hopes, the United States of America and Iran" (2020), believes that the Islamic Republic has introduced Soleimani as a "Trans Political Symbol" and a "Man for the People" and his assassination by direct order of Trump and his constant grumbling about this decision has added day by day to the feeling that Soleimani is a symbolic figure.⁶ According to Cockburn, the symbolic dimensions of Soleimani's image are also severe, and not only Iran but Shias, according to him, exaggerate Qassem Soleimani and try to introduce him on the two levels of hero-martyr in the way of homeland and beliefs (Cockburn, 2020 AD: 5-6).

Also, Cockburn believes that Trump's assassination of Soleimani thwarted America's plan to put severe pressure on Iran's government after withdrawing from the JCPOA and inciting people against the Islamic Republic. On the contrary, it caused public favour again. According to him, with civil unrest to protest the living conditions and to increase the fuel prices in Iran, the assassination of Soleimani suddenly led to the cluttering of the streets with people, which in itself meant the restoration of nationalist cohesion and was considered precisely the violation of America's intention.

He emphasises that Trump's decision made even people critical of the spending of funds across borders become supporters of Soleimani's revenge against the same gender that he organised during his lifetime. (6)

Holly Dages, the editor of the Atlantic Council's think tank, also confirms such opinions, with a critical view on the spread of Soleimani's intergenerational culture in Iran and the region and not forgetting his assassination by the American president. By repeating the terror leadership claim of Soleimani, she evaluates Soleimani's legacy in Shia culture; because considers his school is like a religion or a "Sect"

6. <https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/iransource/the-qasem-soleimani-assassination-feels-like-ages-ago-but-iran-hasnt-forgotten/>

that the Shias have crystallized along with Imam Hussain (A.S), "Martyr in Karbala in Iraq." She challenges this cultural extension as a permanent work of Soleimani. She considers it obvious in using him in the naming of streets and squares in Iran and Lebanon, making documentary films, museums, computer games, and photo exhibitions of Soleimani's heroism against ISIS in Iraq and Syria, etc. For the American side, according to her, it means an endless confrontation concerning the missile attacks after the assassination of Ain al-Assad, which is only a "Slap" on the face of America from the revolutionary leader.

Contrary to the domestic political discourse in Iran has much debate about the United States being an enemy or a directable opposition to partnership or friendship, the axis of the resistance and its commander at the time, General Soleimani, has been recognized in America as a definite enemy, a threat to the American army and, naturally, the interests and its national security. Terror by Trump was a wrong and criticized tactic for the possibility of developing the risk or making the game of resistance unpredictable. In contrast and response to the absence of inter-discourse knowledge production from Soleimani, in the next section, we will discuss his view of the resistance pillar, its talent and perspective, and his definition of the enemy.

3. Lieutenant General Soleimani: The Resistance Duality Against the "Enemy" and the Requirements of Its Fulfilment

According to political sociologists, the description and perception of oneself and its coordinates, in contrast to the other or the enemy definition, are crucial for political and military leaders; their decision-making is greatly influenced by this image of themselves and the other in front of them.⁷

According to the codes received from Soleimani's recent speeches and will, what defines resistance and jihad in restoring the rights of Muslim nations against the aggression of a wide range of enemies is very important. Even though he emphasizes antagonism, his insistence on explaining how we, the Muslim countries, are to gain dignity, unity, power, and empowerment from within has taken the majority of his focus in his speech and testament (refer to graphs 1 and 2). Therefore, in this section, following the problem of the present study, the themes of Soleimani have been reflected in the duality of himself (resistance pillar) and the other (enemy). So, sub-themes or phrases of coded sub-

7. <https://books.google.com/books?id=zKrUAQAACA AJ&dq=politicians+perception+self+other&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwjFh7yAxqr2AhVHSvEDHQxvAzsQ6AF6BAgCEAI>

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themes are also explained in two levels of sub-themes and motifs under them in this section.

In defining the nature and positions of the resistance pillar, four main themes have been identified:

Individual empowerment, the introduction to forming the resistance front, the supremacy of transnational ideals and the world community concern, hierarchy in the resistance elements, the social and political effects of resistance. On the other hand, various enemyology, their characteristics and goals identification from Soleimani's view represent their connection and overall picture. In this regard, two main themes have been identified: The Transnational/trans-ideological nature of the enemy and the impossibility of diplomacy for peace.

Diagram 1: Drawing the main themes from the view of Lieutenant General Soleimani in explaining the resistance pillar

Diagram 2: Drawing the main themes from the view of Lieutenant General Soleimani in explaining the enemy.

4. Resistance Base: Humanitarian, Transnational and Strategic

According to those mentioned above, regarding what General Soleimani explained at the end of his noble life, self-knowledge in the axis of resistance had special importance for him. This self-knowledge includes the definition of transnational and global positions from individual micro to macro levels. With this view, regardless of belonging to a nationality, sub-cultures such as ethnic and religious dimensions, gender or any other identity factor can join the ranks of the resistance. The main themes and their subcategories are as follows:

4.1. Individual Empowerment, the Introduction to Forming the Resistance Front

For Soleimani, like other leaders, resistance is a social matter and based on collective implications. Still, resistance, even at its most military level, is not a structure of command and subordinates, generals and soldiers, major generals and submissive, or in other words, a superior and subordinate system.

This discourse is exactly the opposite of the dominant military discourse in the world. As Amelia Hoover Green states in the book "Commander at the Crossroads of Violence and Cost in War" (2018) that: "In the logic of militarism, particularly in the US military, militarism begins with obedience. Obedience to orders, including obscene, arbitrary, immoral, or dangerous, is essential to a combatant's life". He further believes that in such logic, "Violence is a skill." According to his assessment, almost all military personnel in such a system practice violence enough to reach full skill.

In this way, violence for them gradually turns from a military skill into a "Mental and Daily Habit." (30) Therefore, obedience and service at the front are synonymous with practicing such a skill, proving pure obedience to any order, gradually separating from any moral consideration, and emptying one's individuality and social pressure on the soldier. Antagonism, including acts against civilians, especially sexual violence and harassment of women, is considered a proof of the masculinity and strength of the soldier's character.

This is what, according to Green, makes most of the American soldiers face trauma and various mental disorders such as PTSD after a few years (33).

In Soleimani's discourse, the process of building a strong and fighting character in the field is opposite exactly. A person does not empty himself to be a mere obeyed; rather, resistance find meaning by people whose their individuality is established, then their individual choice is standing and stability in the path of transcendental goals.

Therefore, individual empowerment, especially in the family center, with the presence of strong and clear-minded mothers and a suitable educational system, is the first phase in forming the resistance axis. The jihadist element in the resistance paradigm and especially the martyrs as the highest rank in this hierarchy, unlike the military in its global sense, is the most "Emotional" people⁸; and the root of this emotion is the connection of these people to divinity.

At the same time, in Soleimani's discourse, the way of Islam and movement in its channel has created superior motivations, which has made our school⁹ becomes our entire destination. That is, "This [earthly] affection than that belonging [to preserving the school and defending the oppressed as its main doctrine] becomes earthbound."

Therefore, the decision to cut ties, such as wife and child, becomes valuable for a higher social goal that will be discussed. Otherwise, there is no difference between the paradigm of resistance and the dominant militarism paradigm of "fighting-man-valiant warrior" which Dunivin (1997) mistakenly considers as the commonality of all armies. He believes that public respect and sanctification of the warrior spirit and proof of masculinity with physical toughness and violent actions are its main features.¹⁰ Individual training of the resistance forces will

8. <http://www.ihu.ac.ir/index.jsp?fkeyid=&siteid=85&fkeyid=&siteid=85&pageid=8064&newsview=1453>

9. <http://www.ihu.ac.ir/index.jsp?fkeyid=&siteid=85&fkeyid=&siteid=85&pageid=8064&newsview=1416>

10. <http://www.au.af.mil/au/awc/>

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ultimately lead to creating a division whose members' characteristics, according to General Soleimani's estimation, have special human features: "Spirituality, courage, endurance, intelligence, initiative, kindness, honesty, loyalty and sacrifice, etc."¹¹⁶

4.2. The Supremacy of Transnational Ideals and the World Community Concern

The axis of resistance in Western literature is clearly or to a large extent identified with the Shia crescent or the conquest of Shia ideals, which, according to Elizabeth Kendal (2016 AD: 241), all its members, not necessarily, are Shia; Sunni populations, including in Palestine and Syria, are considered part of it. Finally, the possibility of its occurrence in the geography of the "Middle East" or West Asia can be fulfilled as Tim Anderson titled his book *Axis of Resistance: Towards an Independent Middle East* (2020).

Referring to Soleimani's image of the resistance axis draws another version of it: the axis of resistance is international, trans-national, trans-border, trans-religious, trans-ethnic, trans-sectarian, trans-gendered, trans-age and potentially universal.

In a simple definition, the universal is "all inclusive" and transcendent of times and spaces, places. In other words, it cannot be reduced to the structures, logic of power or the cultural context of the ground appears in which. The universal is encompassing and more inclusive than all of these (Ong and Collier, 2008 AD: 10). The axis of resistance regarding the Soleimani has such coordinates:

"The involved nationalities are diverse, including Lebanese, Palestinian, Afghan, Iraqi, Pakistani, Syrian, Yemeni,¹⁴ Muslim, both Shia and Sunni; Christians also have entered and support it."¹⁵¹⁶

1 .<http://www.i.hu.ac.ir/index.jsp?fkeyid=&siteid=85&fkeyid=&siteid=85&pageid=8064&newsview=1392>

1 .<http://www.i.hu.ac.ir/index.jsp?fkeyid=&siteid=85&fkeyid=&siteid=85&pageid=8064&newsview=1552>

1 .<http://www.i.hu.ac.ir/index.jsp?fkeyid=&siteid=85&fkeyid=&siteid=85&pageid=8064&newsview=1397>

1 .<http://www.i.hu.ac.ir/index.jsp?fkeyid=&siteid=85&fkeyid=&siteid=85&pageid=8064&newsview=1552>

1 .<http://www.i.hu.ac.ir/index.jsp?fkeyid=&siteid=85&fkeyid=&siteid=85&pageid=8064&newsview=1449>

1 .<http://www.i.hu.ac.ir/index.jsp?fkeyid=&siteid=85&fkeyid=&siteid=85&pageid=8064&newsview=1485>

Children, teenagers and the young and the old are its membership;¹⁸
¹⁹different groups and ethnic such as Persians, Arabs, Kurds, and
 Yazidis are its members.²¹

Accordingly, in explaining the axis of resistance position, his bearing has been identified with a simple and universal concept: hearing "Every Shout" from "Every Oppressed" and seeing "Every Painful and Oppressive Scene." This simple concept is so human that it doesn't need supernatural justifications and it alone has a huge unifying power; because anyone who lives in any part of geography and history is unlikely to have experienced oppression in layers of their life or the world around them. The examples mentioned in Suleimani's literature emphasize this unifying and cohesive arm; for example, by "brother" addressing " Abu Mahdi Al-Muhandis " as a "Living Martyr" with a history of 40 years of jihad.

Soleimani believes that "He could get the keys to all the weapon warehouses of the Islamic Republic under his control." Non-Iraqi comrades also appeared in the service of the Iraqi people and under the Iraqi flag and flag to support the oppressed and beloved people who have been oppressed for many years and they were oppressed battled along with him in front of Isis.²² Accessing the weapons warehouse and fighting under the flag of another nation is just defeating the oppressor of two thematic elements that basically have no way to be analyzed in modern military literature and are considered outside of its equations.

In other examples, the universal nature of resistance is similarly evident: 13-year-old Hossein Fahmideh or 19-year-old Emad Mughniyeh have achieved the ability to play a key role and inspiration others^{23,24}; as such, the honor of the axis of the resistance is owed to the fathers, mothers, wives, sisters, brothers and children of the Mujahideen

1 .<http://www.iyu.ac.ir/index.j3p?fkeyid=&siteid=85&fkeyid=&siteid=85&pageid=8064&newsview=1453>

1 . *ibid* 8

1 .<http://www.iyu.ac.ir/index.j9p?fkeyid=&siteid=85&fkeyid=&siteid=85&pageid=8064&newsview=1434>

2 .<http://www.iyu.ac.ir/index.j0p?fkeyid=&siteid=85&fkeyid=&siteid=85&pageid=8064&newsview=1552>

2 .<http://www.iyu.ac.ir/index.j1p?fkeyid=&siteid=85&fkeyid=&siteid=85&pageid=8064&newsview=1485>

2 . *ibid* 2

2 .<http://www.iyu.ac.ir/index.j3p?fkeyid=&siteid=85&fkeyid=&siteid=85&pageid=8064&newsview=1453>

2 .<http://www.iyu.ac.ir/index.j4p?fkeyid=&siteid=85&fkeyid=&siteid=85&pageid=8064&newsview=1416>

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and martyrs who passed their loved ones on this way.²⁵ Not understanding this potential of the axis of resistance, a limited part of which has been actualized so far, is a kind of injustice to it. As Soleimani has described this category without mentioning any Iranian elements rather, preferably a Lebanese leader, Sayyid Hassan Nasrullah, like this:

"The oppressed has two dimensions, one dimension is the kind of incident that happens around a person, another is that a person has greatness and strives and does jihad; but someone try to deny his Jihad and efforts. Sayyid is oppressed because he was and is the savior of Shia; Christianity also believes its survival regarding his plan. 'Why did the Sunnis who support Islam and pure Islam, stand with Hezbollah?' 'Why don't many of these spiritual and valuable Sunni figures separate from Hezbollah?' 'What's this?' This is money. 'What is it worth?' Saudi Arabia gives billions.²⁶

Finally, what makes the axis of resistance universal is not related to the opinion and conceptual or abstract dimensions; rather, the experience of living in the contemporary world, from Soleimani's view, will ultimately connect people together. Understanding human tragedies, especially regarding the oppressed women and children, and global terrorism, whether in Palestine by the Zionist regime or by the most dangerous evil tree called ISIS and Takfir, whose huge losses to human society, both Islamic and non-Islamic, are unprecedented and irreparable,²⁷ is the reality that has now faced the citizens of the most peaceful cities in Europe with a dead end. Therefore, these people, even though very late, will realize the necessity of resistance and its righteousness.

4.3. Hierarchy in the Elements of Resistance

Relying on the empowerment of the Islamic nations' members and people seeking truth with the motivation of social reform does not mean the absence of hierarchy or organizational order in the axis of resistance. In contrast, based on the high wishes and lofty ideals of its people, the leadership of this axis is much more complicated than a

2 .<http://www.ihu.ac.ir/index.j5p?fkeyid=&siteid=85&fkeyid=&siteid=85&pageid=8064&newsview=1392>

2 .<http://www.ihu.ac.ir/index.j6p?fkeyid=&siteid=85&fkeyid=&siteid=85&pageid=8064&newsview=1453>

2 .<http://www.ihu.ac.ir/index.j7p?fkeyid=&siteid=85&fkeyid=&siteid=85&pageid=8064&newsview=1434>

military unit in the conventional sense. The most crucial characteristics of this axis leadership, according to the Soleimani, are as follows:

Piety, wisdom, insight and awareness, authority and courage, purity, self-belief and courage in facing apparent dead ends, uprightness, jihad, steadfastness, justice, morality, mysticism and leadership, political and social authority, governance, anti-enmity and enemyology and paternal love with the people's lifestyle as people voluntarily give their hearts and souls to serve him.²⁸

Mentioning and describing these characteristics in the literature of Soleimani does not mean merely theorizing about the image of a superhuman leader, but he tries to restore the historical link in Shia culture in a continuous hierarchy and express the culture of Shia leadership and management. Therefore, the chain of resistance is attributed to the Prophet (pbuh) and his Ahl al-Bayt (AS) with numerous references. In numerous speeches, the focus of resistance during the reformist movement of Ashura is examined.

In contemporary history, Imam Khomeini and Ayatollah Khamenei indicate such kind of leadership that can revive and manage Islam in the form of a political system; but this is not the end of the work. The reproduction of managers in new generations of resistance is a serious concern.

In this respect, management and leadership include a hierarchy from innocent Imam (AS) to leaders in jurisprudence and political authority, such as the Imams of the Islamic Revolution in Iran and Sayyid Hassan Nasrullah in Lebanon, to the Mujahideen with leadership qualities.

Therefore, the youths who sincerely and selflessly accept to be leaders and pioneers with religious vision, they will be placed in this management circle according to their ability and field of action.

Intelligence and innovative acumen, turning challenges into opportunities, taking advantage of opportunities, especially in times of breaking and defeating the enemy, etc., are examples of the characteristics of a growing manager, which causes people like martyrs Bakeri, Hemmat, Emad Mughniyeh or Hojaji to become the same chain accepted by management in the axis of resistance.²⁹

In addition to divine piety and self-knowledge (Jihad Akbar), the key and common factor of the deep motivation of "Serving the People"

2 . ibid 8

2 .<http://www.ihu.ac.ir/index.jsp?fkeyid=&siteid=85&fkeyid=&siteid=85&pageid=8064&newsview=1416>

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connects the different levels of this hierarchy by emphasizing the boundlessness of the people definition.³⁰

4.4. Social and Political Effects of Resistance

Soleimani emphasized on the long-term effects of the resistance and martyrdom culture at the national and transnational social level. He believes that the development of this discourse will first affect the thoughts of the society members; even the word "Ya Hossein" in Soleimani's view gives spirituality to man and every society and a special feeling of freshness and spirituality to the society.³¹As if martyrs and jihadists are inspiration-giving of social ethics, teaching religion, loyalty, and honesty.³²Another effect of this culture in the Islamic world is that the officials in this axis considering their "Intimacy" and choosing the same level of life as the people; even the close understanding of categories such as poverty affects the educational system. From Soleimani's view, education is an "Induction" principle, therefore, for example, accepting the responsibility of the resistance commanders who were the first and foremost in hardships, comprehensively trained the young generation with the same characteristics.

Expanding the sacrifice culture, such as holy defense, leads the society away from the tyranny and towards authentic religious and Islamic values.³³It concluded forming the national unity and cohesion against any tyranny enemy.

Cutting off the enemies hope from national borders and increasing the deterrence power of a nation depends on their readiness to sacrifice, as the first act of martyrs is considered to be "Repelling Danger from the Nation", as the enemy will not "Covet" us and dare to encroach on our territory. It means that areas such as sacred defense have not only achieved military results; rather, has created a culture.^{34,35}

3 .<http://www.ihu.ac.ir/index.j0p?fkeyid=&siteid=85&fkeyid=&siteid=85&pageid=8064&newsview=1397>

3 .<http://www.ihu.ac.ir/index.j1p?fkeyid=&siteid=85&fkeyid=&siteid=85&pageid=8064&newsview=1416>

3 .<http://www.ihu.ac.ir/index.j2p?fkeyid=&siteid=85&fkeyid=&siteid=85&pageid=8064&newsview=1397>

3 .<http://www.ihu.ac.ir/index.j3p?fkeyid=&siteid=85&fkeyid=&siteid=85&pageid=8064&newsview=1416>

3 .<http://www.ihu.ac.ir/index.j4p?fkeyid=&siteid=85&fkeyid=&siteid=85&pageid=8064&newsview=1392>

3 .<http://www.ihu.ac.ir/index.j5p?fkeyid=&siteid=85&fkeyid=&siteid=85&pageid=8064&newsview=1552>

As resistance can be a global discourse, the examples and its unity arenas, independence and dignity are not defined for Soleimani, limited to the border of Iran or Shiism. Therefore, he admires martyr Mughniyeh for his strategic view; because he believed that "If we want to defeat the enemy, we must turn all the Jihadi areas into basic and invincible resistance points against the enemy", there is no difference. It requires strengthening the position of Palestinian and Lebanese jihadist groups against the Zionist regime, or Iraqi Mujahideen against Saddam's Baath.³⁶⁷ The embodiment of this solidarity and togetherness at the level of thinking and logistics is Soleimani's repeated use of the word "Deserving" for the Iraqi army, which was able to defeat the most vicious ISIS with the dedication and effort of its prominent commanders and the interwoven ranks of its fighters.³⁸

5. Enemy: Transnational, Substantive and Irreconcilable Nature

Soleimani's focus on making self-awareness, the axis of resistance potentials and the need to understand the challenges and opportunities facing this axis, in the analyzed texts, has superiority and serious importance compared to the definition of the other, including the enemy; although the enemyology has always been emphasized by him. Accordingly, parts of the texts are dedicated to the definition of the enemy, some examples, characteristics and its goals. The most vital themes analyzed from this view are as follows:

5.1. The Transnational Nature and Ideological Diversity of the Enemy

Soleimani lists different enemies against the axis of resistance, but he does not necessarily limit the list of enemies to this, and add the Baath regime and Saddam, the Zionist regime of Israel, the United States of America, and Saudi Arabia. The enemies of the resistance axis are not defined only at the level of governments as mentioned, but ISIS or the terrorist groups whose transnational dimensions are dominant are also in the list of enemies. However, Soleimani, reminding "American ISIS," does not evaluate them as independent actors.³⁹

In addition, his enemy is beyond local and national identities to the extent that the axis and discourse of resistance are also beyond them.

3 .<http://www.ihu.ac.ir/index.j6p?fkeyid=&siteid=85&fkeyid=&siteid=85&pageid=8064&newsview=1485>

3 .<http://www.ihu.ac.ir/index.j7p?fkeyid=&siteid=85&fkeyid=&siteid=85&pageid=8064&newsview=1552>

3 .<http://www.ihu.ac.ir/index.j8p?fkeyid=&siteid=85&fkeyid=&siteid=85&pageid=8064&newsview=1485>

3 .ibid

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The explanation of Soleimani has emphasized the ideological dimension of the enemy, especially. In this format, people and groups that support liberalism, even "Semi-liberals" or those with hypocritical tendencies, are considered enemies, like mercenaries from the East and the West or supporters of Wahhabism. Although the motivation, level, and form of enmity and endangerment may differ, however, each one of them poses a threat to the axis of resistance, which we will discuss further.⁴⁰

5.2. Impossibility of Diplomacy for Peace

Soleimani describes Jihad especially its armed type, with the enemy in certain circumstances, to explain and analyze the motivation, number, and strategic goals of the enemies of the axis of resistance which depicts the essential challenge between these two: "The enemy who considers killing you oblige,"⁴¹ "Killing you and the more you kill, makes heaven obligatory for him,"⁴² "Considers your chastity as their loot,"⁴³ "The enemy's goal is to destroy your independence, to seize your country."⁴⁴ In line with the reality of the field, he repeats this question in various speeches that in such a situation, "Is there a possibility of diplomacy?"⁴⁵ He insistently believes that "Diplomacy does not work here" in such a situation.⁴⁶ An example of this unsuccessful for Soleimani has been historically experienced in the issue of Palestine:

"Arafat, with tricky negotiation, laid down his weapon. 'Does anyone imagine that the Palestinian nation can dominate its own geography and land and drive out the enemy without jihad and sacrifice?' With diplomacy, 'Is it possible to return Palestine to the Palestinians?' There is no other way except struggle and sacrifice, you have to stop here, and this is the place where you have to sacrifice."⁴⁷

Finally, another sub-theme of this enmity is the use of "Psychological Operations" against the axis of resistance from both outside and inside sources. While Soleimani believes that the resistance is the only way to create dignity and independence, he complains about

4 .<http://www.i.hu.ac.ir/index.jsp?fkeyid=&siteid=85&fkeyid=&siteid=85&pageid=8064&newsview=1434>

4 .<http://www.i.hu.ac.ir/index.jsp?fkeyid=&siteid=85&fkeyid=&siteid=85&pageid=8064&newsview=1552>

4 . ibid 2
4 . ibid 3
4 . ibid 4
4 . ibid 5
4 . ibid 6
4 . ibid 7

a group that hypocritically or compassionately "Instills Fear in society" and in any case, his evaluation of such an action is "Treason."

According to the Soleimani, management of the country requires a delicate balance between wisdom and fear, which is the special task of the leadership and management department in the resistance axis to break the deadlock and connect the sanctity of sacred ideals with "We Can." It is the point that, for example, separated the leadership of Imam Khomeini from the liberal government at the beginning of the Islamic Republic establishment.⁴⁸

The interesting point highlighted by Soleimani is that even today, liberals are aware that the path of negotiation and compromise may not be the answer to the current situation.⁴⁹ Soleimani shows a paradox within the inter-discourse in the value and performance space of liberals: "By describing the track record of brutality and anti-human rights actions of the takfir and terror front carried out by the US and its allies, he creates a kind of challenge to the liberals who support mere negotiation". Some examples are as follows:

The act of suicide in mosques such as the Sunni mosque in Baghdad, the slaughter of large populations of Muslims, the captivity and enslavement of Yazidi women, the killing of women and children in a restaurant in Nasiriyah, 500 kilometers away from the battle scene, the killing of Palestinian children in front of the public and cameras. Referring to the previous examples, Soleimani poses the challenge of minimum adherence to liberal values, including the protection of human rights and the punishment of the savage criminals for the liberal critics of the resistance axis.⁵⁰

Therefore, by proposing this equation, Soleimani ultimately leads the audience to the conclusion that the lack of success that liberals have had in dealing with the realities of the contemporary world may motivate people to return to authentic religious and Islamic values and trust in the revolutionary spirit and the success of revolutionary thinking against liberal thinking. Then, even the firmest believers of liberalism, understanding the reality of today's field, have come to accept that negotiations with the enemy can yield results other than surrender.

4 .<http://www.ihu.ac.ir/index.j8p?fkeyid=&siteid=85&fkeyid=&siteid=85&pageid=8064&newsview=1434>

4 .<http://www.ihu.ac.ir/index.j9p?fkeyid=&siteid=85&fkeyid=&siteid=85&pageid=8064&newsview=1397>

5 .<http://www.ihu.ac.ir/index.j0p?fkeyid=&siteid=85&fkeyid=&siteid=85&pageid=8064&newsview=1485>

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According to Soleimani, it is a driving engine for the unity of our society, which has realized that "Today our path is one of standing".⁵¹

Conclusion

The present study's challenge is to answer a content gap in producing knowledge about Lieutenant General Soleimani. A simple search with the name of General Soleimani in the Google search engine and an advanced book search indicate that in the international community, particularly in the English-speaking countries, there is a stereotype that portrays Soleimani as a global terrorist leader. This image presents him as a substantial threat to democratic values and global human rights, as well as a threat to security, national interests, and the US military throughout the areas under the influence of the resistance front.

In the West, especially America, regardless of the content production sources, including the media, think tanks, and universities, there is a serious agreement and rare consensus in the negative representation of Soleimani, which has turned him and his forces into an enemy deserving of serious confrontation.

A part of this knowledge is also produced by people like Arash Azizi or Afshun Ostovar who have legitimized themselves as persons aware of the culture and political structure in Iran simply by being of Iranian origin.

In other words, in the role of "Native Informants" they produce information, most of which has no scientific validity. Also, the agreement of knowledge with blackness in these sources is free from any phenomenological approach or intra-discourse look at Soleimani and his school that shows this gap can be partially closed by producing alternative knowledge.

The present study used Atlas TI software to process the full text of 8 speeches and the testament of Soleimani and with high-frequency and keywords; it has chosen parts of that general text for coding and reflexive thematic analysis, which can well explain his view about the dual axis of resistance against his enemy. Soleimani's emphasis on strengthening the knowledge about the resistance, its characteristics, ideals and boundaries, in contrast to creating knowledge about the diversity of actors on the enemy front and the substantive gap with it, not only with the interests but also with the existence of the resistance front nations, shows the necessity of institutionalizing this knowledge.

5 <http://www.ihu.ac.ir/index.jsp?fkeyid=&siteid=85&fkeyid=&siteid=85&pageid=8064&newsview=1397>

In the explanation of Soleimani's view of the resistance axis, four main themes have been re-identified. First, unlike other international military commanders, he does not like soldiers who are devoid of self-knowledge and obedient because of that selflessness. Rather, his priority is to raise informed and empowered generations that can choose resistance in the context of pure family and social institutions; the conscious choice to reinforce the culture of sacrifice, honesty and loyalty in the axis of resistance. Also, from his view, the scope of the resistance axis is very wide, unlike the popular literature about the Shia Crescent. Universality is a clear characteristic of resistance because it reflects the shared sense of responsibility to fight against any systematic cruelty and crime in human affairs, those who enter the discourse of resistance at a trans-identity level, can advance to the liberation of transgender people and other marginalized groups. This includes transnational, trans-racial, trans-ethnic, trans-religious, transgender and trans-age identities.

This interweaving of resistance units can help achieve success by providing a regular and hierarchical definition. In the way Soleimani portrays it, from the impeccable Imams (AS) to the authorities, especially Imam Khomeini and Ayatollah Khamenei, although they are the creators and promisers of this axis, as they led the axis of resistance in the real political arena and in deadlocks; but this leadership has many cracks, especially at the level of the field, regardless of nationality, age, etc., links Emad Mughniyeh and Abu Mahdi Al-Muhandis to 13-year-old Fahmideh or young Hajji. Finally, what guarantees the stability of the resistance axis is the educational, social and political philosophy and culture effects, which preserve the communities involved in the resistance with freshness, high standards of social ethics, inner empowerment and dignity despite the restrictions and pressure. In this regard, Lt. Gen. Soleimani describes and explains the identity, pillars, and other goals of the axis of resistance, which is the mighty and aggressive enemy.

According to him, the enemy is not a fixed and determined country or element; in contrast, the enemy can be consisted of a variety of governments, led by the United States, the Zionist regime, and Saudi Arabia, fighters and proxy groups such as ISIS, which rely on money and strengthening others, and poisonous ideologies such as Wahhabism. Ideological diversity of the enemy's resistance, another basis, worries Soleimani, which includes liberals and interestingly what he calls "Semi-liberals." Because they have common interests with the axis of resistance and depression of the world, they cannot be identified as a pure and absolute other from within the axis of resistance. The

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presence of this axis may put its existence in serious danger as it can legitimize certain group and induce a feeling of limitation and inevitability to dialogue or surrender.

This approach is exactly the opposite of the approach of the resistance leaders, who also break the apparent dead ends. The enemy, additionally, for Soleimani does not include any opponent or critic; rather, it is the distinguishing feature of its goals and ideals, which are undoubtedly the destruction, absolute subversion, occupation of lands and division of the areas belonging to the resistance. It reveals a kind of hostile culture in itself; that is the spirit of tyranny and anti-human rights actions, which causes threat to material resources, spiritual heritage and the lives and chastity of people in this axis.

Whether through the presence of the American army or with the mercenaries of ISIS, brutality will bring a result; therefore, Soleimani has not differed between the levels and functions of the enemies. The lack of potential for dialogue and diplomacy with the enemy is a result of years of confrontation; in such a way that its strategic goals are the destruction of the resistance axis, not let to lay down weapons; a clear example is the surrender of Yasser Arafat in the Palestinian experience.

Finally, Soleimani literature suggests that there is a progressing from local to national and transnational levels, as well as from in-group to out-group beliefs regarding religion, ethnicity, and other factors. The basis of which is self-sacrifice and acceptance of collective interests based on opposition to oppression, and its result will be dignity for all, liberation from oppression, and the crystallization of independence for all participants in the discourse and the axis of resistance. Having a meta-geostrategic understanding of oneself and the enemy's identity, which leads to the appearance of the endurance and stability culture against him, also leads to the inevitable provision of honour and geostrategic interests. It is perhaps the simplest form of general expression that extracted in the present study.

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