



The Future of Palestine in Ayatollah Khamenei's Political Thought: An Analysis within the Framework of Constructivist Theory

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Abstract: The issue of Palestine is one of the important and sensitive topics in the thought of the leaders of the Islamic Republic, particularly Ayatollah Khamenei, and indicates that the liberation of Palestine is not merely a political matter but an inseparable part of the identity and religious principles of the Islamic Ummah. The present study aims to examine the future of Palestine from the perspective of Ayatollah Khamenei. In this article, using a constructivist theoretical framework, Ayatollah Khamenei's discourse on the future of Palestine is analyzed. Finally, three scenarios for the future of Palestine are presented: the first scenario, resistance and liberation, which involves the collapse of the Zionist regime and the establishment of an independent Palestinian state; the second scenario, continued occupation and crisis, in which conflicts, the blockade of Gaza, and humanitarian problems persist, and despite resistance, a sustainable solution does not emerge; and the third scenario, imposed reconciliation, which may reduce violence but leads to the weakening of Palestinian independent identity and historical justice. The findings of the study indicate that the only path consistent with justice and divine traditions is the continuation of resistance, the strengthening of Islamic Ummah cohesion, and the implementation of a comprehensive referendum.

Keywords: Palestine, Ayatollah Khamenei, Futures Studies, Zionist Regime, Referendum.

Introduction

The issue of Palestine, as one of the central pillars of the Islamic Revolution's discourse—particularly from the perspective of its leaders—holds a fundamental and strategic position. Ayatollah Khamenei, the Leader of the Islamic Republic of Iran, has repeatedly emphasized that Palestine is the “inseparable part” and the foremost issue of the Islamic world. In his view, discourse on Palestine is not a mere formal matter but entails the liberation of Palestine and the elimination of the Zionist regime.

Decades of international negotiations and agreements—from Bush's “Roadmap” to Trump's “Deal of the Century”—have demonstrated that these paths have not led to freedom and justice, but rather to the continuation of occupation and the weakening of the Palestinian cause. The failure of the conciliatory discourse underscores the necessity of redefining the future of Palestine based on the discourse of resistance.

One of the major shortcomings in existing analyses is the absence of a futures-oriented perspective; focusing solely on the past or present hinders the understanding of transformative trends. Futures studies, by identifying trends and potential scenarios, enable an analysis of Palestine's future from the perspective of resistance. Unlike conciliation, this approach is based on gradual empowerment, shifts in balance, and national and transnational will—a principle repeatedly emphasized by Ayatollah Khamenei.

By stressing resistance, Islamic awakening, mobilization of the Islamic Ummah's capacities, and the rejection of any imposed peace, he delineates a civilizational and hope-inspiring horizon. From his perspective, the issue of Palestine is not limited to geographical borders but is part of the broader struggle between Islam and arrogance; only through steadfastness and the unity of resistance can the Zionist regime be eradicated.

This article, through an examination of Ayatollah Khamenei's intellectual framework, addresses the question of what components define the future of Palestine in his view and how it differs from international solutions. In this process, while reviewing the position of

Palestine within his ideological system, potential scenarios will also be analyzed.

1. Literature Review

In recent years, numerous studies have been conducted on Palestine and the role of the Islamic Republic, each focusing on a specific aspect such as the peace process, leadership policies, or support for resistance. Despite the value of the data and insights provided by these studies, most have lacked an integrative perspective on trends and the future. Therefore, there is a need for research that, by combining ideological analysis and futures studies, both reinterprets the views of the Leader of the Revolution and analyzes potential scenarios and pathways for achieving his objectives at regional and international levels. The table below presents some of the studies conducted in this field:

Title	Author - Year	Main Argument
The Palestinian Future: A Reading of the Interventions	Al-Jarbaawi,) (1992	Since the beginning of the peace process, analyses regarding the future of Palestine have oscillated between optimism toward democracy and pessimism regarding authoritarianism and foreign dependency
Jerusalem and the Future of the Palestinian Cause	Abu Surayh,) (2018	Following the Balfour Declaration, Palestine continues to face occupation, settlement expansion, and Judaization; the normalization of Arab-Israeli relations has weakened its position, yet global popular and academic solidarity provides an opportunity to redefine strategies and strengthen civil society
“Editor-in-Chief’s Note: Unilateral Plans for Solving the Palestinian Issue and the Democratic Plan of the Islamic Republic of Iran: A Referendum among the Indigenous People of Palestine”	Amir-) Abdollahian, (1399	Western plans are viewed as unilateral; the Islamic Republic sees the solution in a referendum among the indigenous Palestinian people

An Explanation of the Supreme Leader’s Views on Supporting Palestine and the Liberation of al-Quds: With an Emphasis on the Statement on the Second Phase of the Revolution	Shafeipour,) (1401	The four components of leadership thought are: support for the ideal of Jerusalem’s liberation, the Jihad of clarification, a referendum for self-determination, and political sanctions against the Zionist regime
The Supreme Leader’s View on the Occupied Territories	Sepahvandi,) (1400	Three axes in leadership perspective are: the illegitimacy of the Zionist regime, the referendum, and support for armed resistance
Resistance and Referendum: Indicators for Solving the Palestinian Issue Based on the Supreme Leader’s Views (With Media Approaches)	& Khosravi) (Pirani, 1399	Two indicators in leadership thought are: resistance and the referendum; these are not in conflict, but complementary, and compatible with international principles
Outlining a Roadmap for the Liberation of Palestine Based on the Defensive Thought of Imam Khamenei	& Goodarzi) (Esmaeili, 1401	The liberation of Palestine is contingent upon adopting a combined approach and smart confrontation with the Zionist regime
Iran’s Sacred Duty: Advocating Palestine in the Face of National Identity Challenges	Nazife Selcen) (Pinar, 2024	The leaders of the Islamic Republic have defined the Palestinian issue as an Islamic and anti-imperialist duty; this approach has influenced Iran’s revolutionary identity and foreign policy
The Political Ideology of Ayatollah Khamenei	(Hovsepian-Bearce, 2017)	Palestine is one of the pillars of Ayatollah Khamenei’s foreign policy discourse; its liberation is part of the ideological identity of the regime; support for resistance and the elimination of the Zionist regime are conditions for resolving the crisis
The Future of Palestine in the Context of Geopolitical and Strategic Contrasts between Iran and Saudi Arabia	(Kohkheil, 1394)	Saudi Arabia’s actions to remove Iran from regional equations will undermine the position of the Palestinian government.

Table 1. Studies Related to Palestine in the Thought of the Supreme Leader of the Islamic Revolution

The distinction of this research lies in the simultaneous application of thought analysis and futures studies; an approach that,

while reexamining the intellectual and political dimensions of Ayatollah Khamenei, employs futures studies tools to analyze trends and possible scenarios, outlining the pathways for realizing his ideas regarding the liberation of Palestine and the demise of the Zionist regime at both regional and international levels. Thus, the political thought of the leadership can be utilized not only at a theoretical level but also as a practical and forward-looking model for policymaking.

2. Conceptual Framework

2.1. Islamic Resistance

At first glance, the concept of resistance refers to the “Islamic Resistance Front” in West Asia; however, the Resistance Front constitutes merely one component of the broader discourse of “resistance.” Resistance, as a discourse under the overarching paradigm of the Islamic Revolution, comprises a set of elements and components, whose central and transcendent point is “Islamic dignity.” (Daneshfar & Naser, 2021). In the political thought and action of the Supreme Leader, resistance is a deeply rooted phenomenon in Qur’anic teachings, Islamic history, Iran’s political-cultural heritage, and particularly the experience of the first four decades of the Islamic Revolution. From this perspective, the present study analyzes and examines resistance as one of the discursive principles of the Supreme Leader in relation to the future of Palestine.

2.2. Referendum

A referendum is a form of voting in which voters express their opinion on a specific issue within the realm of public policy (Haywood, 1389). A referendum is a public action, and on important political, economic, social, and cultural issues, the opinion of the nation may be obtained through a referendum, becoming legally recognized upon the approval of the majority of voters (Alizadeh & Nasiri, 1391). The “referendum” solution regarding the future of Palestine was proposed for the first time by the Supreme Leader of the Islamic Revolution in 2008 (1387 in the Iranian calendar) and was officially registered as the approach of the Islamic Republic of Iran in United Nations forums in 2008. This approach reflects the Islamic Republic’s emphasis on the

direct participation of the people in determining the fate of major regional issues, as well as its reliance on the discursive principles of resistance and the rights of the Palestinian people. Furthermore, the referendum has been considered as a tool for realizing popular sovereignty and enhancing the legitimacy of political decisions within the framework of international diplomacy.

2.3. Dar al-Islam

Among Shia jurists, there are various interpretations and explanations of the concept of Dar al-Islam. In this study, Dar al-Islam refers to a domain in which Islamic law is implemented and a Muslim ruler governs; in such a territory, even if non-Muslim populations are present, they are obliged to accept and submit to Islamic rulings under specific conditions, and the Islamic government bears the responsibility for protecting their lives and property. In contemporary studies, the closest Persian equivalent to Dar al-Islam is “the Islamic world” or, in other words, “Islamic country” (Kalantari, 1375). From the perspective of the Supreme Leader of the Islamic Revolution, the solidarity and support of the Islamic world are considered not only a religious duty but also a strategic approach for achieving the liberation of Palestine. One of the objectives of this study is to elucidate and analyze the affirmative policies and practical strategies for realizing the goals of the Islamic world and defending the rights of the Palestinian people within the foreign policy framework of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

2.4. Political Zionism

“Political Zionism” refers to a historical-political ideal; political Zionism entails the return of Jewish exiles and dispersed communities from various parts of the world to Palestine (Asadi, 1379). Although Nathan Birnbaum, an Austrian-Jewish founder of political Zionism, initially played a key role, his withdrawal from the Zionist Congress effectively made Theodor Herzl the face of modern Zionism. According to Herzl, the goal of Zionism was the realization of national objectives (a Jewish state), whereas Birnbaum emphasized highlighting the importance of national culture within the Zionist movement. Political Zionism was introduced at the First Zionist

Congress and was guided throughout Herzl's lifetime, during which he dominated the movement. Zionism, as a national movement, is directed at a religious group, whereas Judaism, as a religion, is directed at a nation. What Herzl did was take the core themes of Jewish theology and transform them into a political program (Zreik, 2023).

3. Theoretical Framework

Constructivism is an approach that, before being introduced in international relations, was discussed in the sociology of knowledge and in metatheoretical debates across the social sciences (Hadian, 1382). This theory, introduced through the works of Alexander Wendt, emphasizes the role of identities, ideas, norms, and discourses in shaping state behavior. In his article "Anarchy is What States Make of It," Wendt outlines the principles of constructivism as follows: 1) The structure of human societies is primarily shaped by ideas, norms, and symbolic values (not merely by material resources or forces). 2) The identities and interests of actors within these systems are defined based on shared beliefs and rules (rather than inherent characteristics or their nature) (Wendt, 1992).

Unlike structural realism, which considers anarchy and the distribution of power as the primary determinants of state behavior in international relations, constructivism emphasizes that the social reality of this domain is constructed through interactions among actors and their identities. In other words, concepts such as "friendship" and "enmity" or "legitimacy" and "illegitimacy" are not natural realities but the products of discursive and meaning-making processes that shape actors' behavior. Accordingly, the international system does not possess inherent anarchy; rather, depending on cultural and discursive frameworks, it can be either peaceful or conflictual (Leander & Guzzini, 2006).

Identity is a key concept in constructivism because it determines who is considered "us" and who is regarded as "other," and this distinction forms the basis for friendship or enmity, as well as trust or distrust among actors. From this perspective, state behavior and their perception of threats are shaped not solely by material interests but also by the way they conceive themselves and others. In constructivist theory, security threats are not objective, fixed realities;

rather, they are constructed through intersubjective processes and social interactions, including discourse, identity, and norms. In this sense, security is a socially and interpretively constructed phenomenon that actors create through their interactions (Aria, 2025). This theory is highly useful for the present study, as the statements of the Supreme Leader of the Islamic Revolution regarding Palestine directly contribute to the production and reproduction of a “discourse of resistance.” Such a discourse not only constitutes a political statement but also forms part of the collective identity of the Islamic world and the Axis of Resistance. Therefore, constructivism enables us to move beyond material calculations and examine the role of Islamic-revolutionary identity and socially constructed meanings in shaping the future of Palestine, since constructivism regards identity as constructed and emphasizes its endogenous formation through interactions (Rasouli Thani Abadi, 1391).

The research method employed in this study is descriptive-explanatory and grounded in the principles of futures studies. From a constructivist perspective, the future is viewed as the outcome of competing discourses: if the discourse of resistance attains dominance, the resulting future will differ fundamentally from one shaped by the discourse of compromise. Accordingly, the scenario-building process in this research is developed precisely on the basis of this constructivist logic, wherein the future is understood as a socially and identity-based construct.

4. Content Analysis of Ayatollah Khamenei’s Statements Regarding the Future of Palestine

4.1. Historical and Ideological Foundations of the Palestinian Issue

Understanding the future of Palestine from the perspective of the Supreme Leader is not possible without comprehending his thoughts on the significance of Palestine and the imposed nature of the Zionist regime. Therefore, any analysis of the future of this land must begin with a review of why Palestine is important and the historical roots of Israel’s establishment. In this section, rather than providing a retrospective narrative, we aim to offer an analytical framework for understanding current trends and the future of this territory:

4.1.1. Historical and Ideological Foundations of the Palestinian Issue

The Palestinian issue, before being a political matter, is rooted in the religious and ideological principles of the Supreme Leader of the Islamic Revolution; he frames this support within the context of the religious duty to defend the oppressed and confront tyranny, and considers the issue of Jerusalem an inseparable part of the identity of the Islamic Ummah. Thus, in his thought, the defense of Palestine is shaped not based on ethnic considerations or political expediency, but on doctrinal principles such as the obligation to assist the oppressed, oppose arrogance, and safeguard Islamic sanctities.

"Today the Palestinian issue is a painful and deep wound in the body of the Islamic community. The verse they recited about the noble Prophet of Islam says, 'اعزیزٌ علیہ ما عنتہم' – 'What you suffer is grievous to him.' [...] Today the suffering of the Islamic world – whose most prominent part is the Palestinian issue – afflicts the sacred heart of the Prophet; given the condition of the Palestinian people today, the pure spirit of the Prophet in the higher realms of divine creation is filled with sorrow. What is the remedy? Effort and struggle." (Hosseini Khamenei, Statements in the Meeting with the Officials of the System, 1381).

At the same time, he has been able to articulate these deep religious and ideological foundations in a manner compatible with contemporary political language and frameworks, enabling them to be effectively conveyed in the sphere of international relations and regional interactions. In other words, the Supreme Leader has succeeded in presenting religious concepts such as supporting the oppressed, confronting tyranny, and safeguarding Islamic sanctities in a form that is comprehensible and acceptable to today's political actors, international institutions, and even non-religious analysts. This approach ensures that his positions possess both religious authenticity and legitimacy, while also aligning with the logic and language of global politics; thus, the ethical and humanitarian message of defending the Palestinian people, while rooted in doctrinal principles, becomes a discourse that is referenceable and impactful in

international policy. In this way, he has demonstrated that a logical connection can be established between faith and political analysis, ethics and geopolitical realities, which simultaneously provides religious legitimacy and practical function on the global stage.

He presents the Palestinian issue as an exceptional and multidimensional matter. From Ayatollah Khamenei's perspective, the characteristics of this issue encompass four main dimensions: first, the occupation of Palestinian land and the displacement of the Palestinian people (indigenous population); second, the continuation of violence, killings, and oppression against Palestinians; third, the threat to and destruction of sacred sites, including the first Qibla of Muslims; and fourth, the role of the Zionist regime as a political and military base for imperial powers in the most sensitive region of the Islamic world (Hosseini Khamenei, *Statements at the Conference Supporting the Palestinian Intifada*, 1390).

4.1.2. The Sinister Alliance: The Colonial Plan for the Establishment of the Zionist Regime and the Role of Britain and the United States

From the perspective of the Supreme Leader, Palestine is a historical country that has been recognized by this name throughout history. What exists today in West Asia under the name "Israel" is a new, fabricated, and imposed geographical entity on the Palestinian people, established by global hegemonic powers through the commission of the gravest crimes. Among these powers, he identifies Britain as the primary founding state of the Zionist regime and emphasizes that, subsequently, the United States replaced Britain in the role of supporting and guiding this regime: "According to historical documents, the establishment of the Zionist government there [in Palestine] was, more than a desire of the Jewish people, a colonial will of the British government. [...] Therefore, it was not primarily a Jewish aspiration or idea; it was largely a colonial idea and a British concept. Later, when the United States took over the reins of global politics and imperial influence from Britain, this too became part of the legacy of colonial inheritance that passed to America, and the Americans have

made—and continue to make—maximum use of it.” (Hosseini Khamenei, Statements in the Friday Prayers Sermons of Tehran, 1379).

According to him, the United States’ goal in consolidating the occupying regime is to seize control over all aspects of life in the region and to obstruct the Islamic resurgence. On the other hand, the Zionist regime, with American support, seeks to establish a [fabricated] state with a larger population and territory. Against this backdrop, the concept of the “sinister alliance” in his statements becomes highly significant. In this power-driven relationship, the United States functions as the head of global imperial power, while Zionism acts as an agent of political corruption.

It is important to note that the relationship between Zionism and colonialism, whether in its traditional or modern form, is reciprocal and variable. Without the support of imperialist powers, the mass migration of Jews to Palestine, the establishment of the Israeli regime, and its continued existence would not have been possible. Conversely, without this “settler” regime in the region, colonial powers would have faced serious challenges in securing their interests in the area (Kadkhodaie, 2023). However, more importantly, the influence of the idea of Israel’s formation from a European racist and colonial perspective must be highlighted; a logic that manifested itself from the very early stages of Jewish migration to Palestine. As Jamal Badran, one of the pioneers of the artistic and educational movement in Palestine during the mandate period, states: “Israel in the Middle East represents all forms of colonialism—strategic, exploitative, and settler-colonial. The inseparability of Britain and Zionism, as well as the unbreakable link between Israel and the United States, is an undeniable reality (Badran, 1967).”

In his analysis of the Palestinian society at that time, Ayatollah Khamenei goes beyond merely emphasizing the plots and schemes of external enemies and also considers internal neglect and domestic inattention. While acknowledging the efforts made by active Palestinian groups and movements, he views the main current of society as having been negligent and insufficient in addressing strategic issues. In this way, the Supreme Leader demonstrates that confronting the Palestinian issue requires both awareness of external

enemy maneuvers and designs, as well as internal vigilance, cohesion, and active participation.

“At the outset of this problem and the great calamity for the Islamic world, there were lapses and no proper measures were taken to confront this issue. Of course, there were prominent figures in Palestine and beyond who should not have their efforts overlooked – such as the late Izz al-Din al-Qassam, the late Haj Amin al-Husseini, and the late Sheikh Muhammad Husayn Kashif al-Ghita. All of them recognized the danger posed by the existence of a Zionist state and government in this region, warned against it, and engaged in struggles; yet the Islamic world and its responsible actors were unable to properly fulfill their role. Consequently, in the struggle of the Palestinian people against this very dangerous phenomenon, there have been ups and downs over time.” (Hosseini Khamenei, Statements in the Meeting with Participants of the International Conference of Islamic World Media in Support of the Palestinian Intifada, 1380)

4.2. Factors Contributing to the Decline of the Zionist Regime

Ayatollah Khamenei, the Supreme Leader of the Islamic Revolution of Iran, has emphasized the instability of the Zionist regime in his statements. According to his perspective, various factors – including expansionist policies, internal and regional instabilities, and exclusive reliance on military power and foreign support – challenge the long-term survival of this regime. From his viewpoint, the resistance of the Palestinian people and Muslim nations also accelerates the natural process of Israel’s decline.

It is worth noting that the literature concerning the decline of Israel has been examined by numerous scholars, political analysts, and journalists at the international level. Some of these studies have focused on political and economic dimensions, others on demographic and social issues, and yet others on Israel’s security and military challenges. For instance, the works of Gregg Carlstrom and Gershom Gorenberg indicate that concern about the long-term survival of the Zionist regime has also been addressed from scientific and analytical perspectives.

4.2.1. The Steep Slope of Decline: Defeats in the 33-Day and 22-Day Wars

From the perspective of Iran's geopolitics and based on Ayatollah Khamenei's viewpoint, the recent military confrontations of the Resistance forces on the fronts of Lebanon and Gaza are regarded as a tangible manifestation of the asymmetric warfare paradigm and, at the same time, the beginning of a continuous process in the erosion of the legitimacy and deterrent power of the Zionist regime. These events can be analyzed as a pivotal point in redefining the regional balance of power. Previously, the Zionist regime, relying on its qualitative and strategic superiority, had managed to prevail over the coalition of Arab states in earlier wars (up to 1973). However, the experience of the 2006 war with Hezbollah and, subsequently, the 2008 war with Hamas, are considered key strategic defeats that eroded this absolute military superiority and paved the way for a reassessment of that regime's strategic calculations. These defeats were of such magnitude that some Arab thinkers explicitly stated in their analyses: "The army once deemed invincible has been shattered (al-Karbabadi, 1427)".

"The Israeli regime, from the time it was officially recognized by the United Nations – more than half a century ago – until last year, dominated unchallenged, with nothing and no one able to stop it; however, the Islamic Resistance of Lebanon, composed of several thousand youth armed with the weapon of faith, has disrupted the sleep of this regime and its supporters." (Hosseini Khamenei, Statements at the Opening Ceremony of the International Conference Supporting the Palestinian Intifada, 1380).

"Two months before this, another victory for the Muslim ummah took place: the victory of the Palestinian resistance over the Zionist enemy in Gaza, a great and radiant triumph. What victory could surpass this – that an equipped army which once managed, in the years 1967 to 1973 CE, to defeat three large national armies, would labor for twenty-two days and yet fail to force these resilient youths and these faithful mujahideen in Gaza to withdraw or to defeat them?" (Hosseini Khamenei, Statements in the Meeting with the Officials of the System, 1381).

He regards these two wars as the tangible beginning of the decline of the Zionist regime and, in his post-22-day-war message to the Palestinian people, emphasized that if honorable steadfastness continues and deepens, the enemy's future defeats will not only be repeated but intensified. According to this perspective, the Zionist regime has failed to demonstrate sufficient effectiveness in the face of the regional wave of resistance and has been placed in a position that subsequently directs it toward gradual decline and collapse.

"Now, the usurping regime, which for decades presented an intimidating and invincible face with its army and weaponry, backed by the military and political support of the United States, has been defeated twice by the resistance forces who fought relying more on God and the people than on arms and equipment. Despite military training and preparations, extensive intelligence organizations, the unwavering support of the U.S. and some Western governments, and the collusion of certain hypocrites within the Islamic world, the regime has revealed its dissolution, steep decline, and incapacity in the face of the powerful wave of Islamic awakening." (Hosseini Khamenei, Statements at the Fourth Conference Supporting the Palestinian People, 1387).

4.2.2. Terrorism and the Disgrace of the Zionist Regime

Ayatollah Khamenei fundamentally regards the Zionist regime as a clear and tangible embodiment of state terrorism; an assessment that is not merely based on ideological belief, but is derived from a careful analysis of the structural behaviors and historical actions of this regime in the arenas of international and regional politics. In elaborating this concept, he emphasizes that the existence of the Zionist regime was from the outset founded on principles such as "organized violence, occupation, and the physical elimination of the indigenous Palestinian people," principles that occupy a central place in the theoretical conceptualization of state terrorism. From his perspective, since its inception, this regime has employed tools of terror, intimidation, and forced displacement to achieve the goal of expelling Palestinians, and the continuity of its political and security existence to the present day has remained based on this very foundation. Systematic and ongoing

policies, such as the deliberate targeting of civilians, the imposition of an economic blockade on Gaza, the assassination of resistance leaders, and the instrumental use of military power against unarmed populations, are all regarded as prominent manifestations of structural and institutionalized terrorism. On this basis, the Zionist regime is therefore considered not a legitimate state, but a "terrorist state" whose very existence stands in fundamental contradiction to the principles of international law and universal human norms.

"Today, the clearest example of a terrorist state is the usurping Zionist regime. In fact, from the day the vile hand and anti-Islamic, anti-people, and anti-Eastern policies of Britain enabled the Zionists to govern the Islamic land of Palestine, state terrorism also emerged and engaged in acts of terror. [...] Since its establishment until today, the usurping state of Israel has always advanced its objectives through terror and represents the full embodiment of state terrorism." (Hosseini Khamenei, *Statements in the Meeting with Various Segments of the People*, 1373).

He believes that the struggle against the Zionist regime cannot be understood merely within the framework of a political conflict, but rather as a confrontation with organized international terrorism. From this perspective, the resistance of the Palestinian people and support for it, in Ayatollah Khamenei's discourse, is considered a legitimate response to state terrorism and a defense of the Palestinian nation's right to self-determination. According to him, labeling the Palestinian people as terrorists by Western circles is not only a clear injustice to this nation but also reflects the West's logical and argumentative weakness in justifying the crimes of the Zionist regime.

"[The United States] congratulates the Zionist criminal [Sharon] for killing Ahmed Yassin or assassinating Rantisi! What is their justification for this? It is that the Israeli government is defending itself. Amazing! Is this logic any different from that of the world's dictators, who suppress, crush, and torture their own people and opponents? [...] He claims that Israel is defending its existence. [...] Did the world accept this? Not at all. Even the Westerners themselves and public opinion did not accept it." (Hosseini Khamenei, *Statements in the Meeting with a Group of Workers and Teachers*, 1383)

The shortcomings in the foundational reasoning and the inadequacy of logical bases used to justify the actions of the Zionist regime, as a source of tension, have gradually led to the emergence of a discursive dissonance within the political and media axis of the West. This fundamental paradox, which on one hand emphasizes aspirational declarations regarding liberalism, human rights, and democratic governance, while simultaneously providing ideological and political support to the repressive policies and expansionist strategies of the Zionist regime, has increased critical awareness and cognitive suspension among public opinion in Western societies. Consequently, it can be acknowledged that we are witnessing a phenomenon of epistemic maturation and ethical transformation within the social structures of the West; a process which, parallel to the wave of “Islamic awakening” in the Muslim world, has laid the groundwork for a structural critique of hegemonic power structures and media narrative production systems in the West, and has actively initiated a process to redefine overarching positions regarding the Palestinian issue.

“Today, Gaza and Palestine are arenas of Western disgrace. The West, while claiming to uphold human rights, has ignored the greatest and most horrific violations of human rights in Gaza.” (Hosseini Khamenei, Statements in the Meeting with Participants at the Opening of the Gaza Conference, 1388)

“I am writing this letter to the youth whose awakened consciences have compelled them to defend the oppressed children and women of Gaza. [...] I want to assure you that today the situation is changing. A different fate awaits the sensitive region of West Asia. Many consciences around the world have awakened, and the truth is becoming apparent. The resistance front has grown stronger and will continue to strengthen. History is also turning its pages. Besides you students at dozens of universities in the United States, universities and people in other countries have also risen.” (Hosseini Khamenei, Letter of Ayatollah Khamenei to Students Supporting the Palestinian People at Universities in the United States of America, 1403).

The summary of this approach indicates that, in Ayatollah Khamenei’s analysis, the terrorist nature of the Zionist regime is not

merely a political label, but a logical conclusion derived from the analysis of its power structure, practical behavior, and ideological character. In his view, an entity founded on expulsion, massacre, racial discrimination, and repression, and which sustains its existence through continued expansionist and violence-driven policies, cannot be defined within the framework of legitimate international states; rather, it must be recognized and confronted as a classic example of state terrorism.

4.2.3. Rotten from Within: Internal Crises

“Be certain that the Israeli regime is rotten from within, and the current generation is in no way prepared for sacrifice or selflessness to preserve it.” (Hosseini Khamenei, Statements at the Opening Ceremony of the International Conference Supporting the Palestinian Intifada, 1380).

“Let governments know that relying on the Zionist regime will bring security to no state; security cannot be achieved by depending on the Zionist regime, because, by the decisive decree of God, the Zionist regime is collapsing, and God willing, it will not endure for long.” (Hosseini Khamenei, Statements at the Ceremony of the 36th Anniversary of the Passing of Imam Khomeini, 1404).

Collapse is a condition in which a society loses its supportive systems, including political, social, economic, cultural, and identity structures, and consequently falls apart. This situation may occur in the short or long term (Kakadzefoli, 1402). This phenomenon is typically the result of a combination of internal and external pressures, including economic inequality, institutional corruption, environmental crises, social tensions, and managerial inefficiency. Some scholars argue that the Zionist regime, due to structural internal pressures, social and economic discontent, ethnic-religious tensions, and political constraints, is at risk of relative or gradual collapse. However, the existence of these notions does not imply the inevitable collapse of the Zionist regime; as the Egyptian thinker Abdel Wahab Al-Messiri states, many societies can persist in a crisis state for decades or even centuries, provided that no external factor challenges this condition (al-Misiri, 2001). From the perspective of the Leader of the Revolution, the potential collapse of the Zionist regime is likewise

contingent upon the intervention of external factors. In the following, two major characteristics indicating the susceptibility of the Zionist regime to collapse will be presented:

4.2.3.1. Political Situation

In recent decades, the governmental structure of the Zionist regime has grappled with a complex tangle of internal structural and functional challenges, which have directly impacted the stability of democratic institutions, social cohesion, and the configuration of its foreign policy architecture. A phenomenological analysis of this situation indicates that three independent variables play a central and decisive role in explaining this epistemic instability: first, the erosion of governance efficiency and chronic cabinet instability; second, the deepening and institutionalization of far-right tendencies within the decision-making body; and third, the emergence of a crisis of authenticity and quality in political leadership.

Political instability, as a chronic characteristic of the regime's political system, stems from its multi-party parliamentary structure and the lack of a stable consensus among political forces. Repeated elections, the formation of fragile coalitions, and successive governmental collapses all reflect the system's weakness in producing stability and long-term decision-making. This situation has not only disrupted effective governance but has also eroded public trust and reduced the efficiency of civil institutions. The severity of these issues is such that Isaac Herzog, President of the Zionist regime, during protests against judicial reforms, declared that the regime is on the verge of "social and constitutional collapse" and urged political factions to refrain from any form of violence, particularly against government employees and elected officials (Sharon, 2023).

On the other hand, the rise of right-wing tendencies within society and the political structure has intensified since the 1990s. The growth of religious-nationalist movements, stricter policies toward Palestinians and immigrants, and the increasing influence of far-right parties in cabinets all indicate a shift in the political discourse. Pali Bronshtein, in *Polarization and the Hidden Center of Israel*, addresses the polarization crisis in Israeli politics and the marginalization of a

large segment of the population with moderate views. According to him, the issue, which he terms the “bloc pattern,” highlights the reality that despite the multiplicity of political parties, the government structure effectively operates as two rival blocs, and the wide diversity of political perspectives is weakened under the dominance of severe polarization (Bronstein, 2025).

The paradoxical interaction between political structural instability and the intensification of right-wing ideology has fueled a cycle of self-perpetuating crises within the governmental system of the Zionist regime. Repeated elections, unstable coalition-building, and severe polarization have not only weakened governance stability but have also eroded social capital and public trust. Although the current conditions (resulting from the war) have temporarily placed these gaps in a semi-dormant phase, with the cessation of the threat, the reactivation of these fundamental tensions and the risk to internal security are anticipated. The persistence of this pattern, in the absence of foundational structural reforms and the creation of an inclusive discursive environment, challenges the long-term survival of internal stability within the regime.

4.2.3.2. Social Divisions

The society of the Zionist regime, as a national project based on a multiplicity of identities, struggles with deeply institutionalized social divisions that have continuously affected the overarching functions of political institutions, economic structures, and the concept of national cohesion. These divisions, primarily based on identity axes, differences in social lifestyles, and the unequal distribution of social capital and strategic resources, have severely limited intercultural interactions, the definition of an inclusive collective identity, and the systemic capacity to manage internal tensions. The most prominent manifestations of this fragmentation include fundamental dichotomies such as Jews versus Palestinian Arabs and the paradigmatic conflict between secular and religious segments.

Despite possessing legal rights similar to Jews, Palestinian Arabs in the 1948 occupied territories face structural discrimination across various domains. These discriminations include restrictions on access to land, housing, education, and employment opportunities.

This issue has even permeated the attitudes of different groups toward the “other.” According to a Pew Research Center survey, approximately 50% of Jews in the Zionist regime support the expulsion of Palestinian Arabs from the 1948 territories (Israel’s Religiously Divided Society, 2018).

Within the Jewish community itself, there are also multilayered divisions that go beyond the ethnic dichotomy of Arabs versus Jews. In recent years, the disagreements between Orthodox Jews on one side and secular Jews on the other have become one of the primary axes of social and political tension. Traditional religious groups, adhering to strict teachings in areas such as education, women’s roles, military service, and lifestyle, often conflict with the liberal and secular values of modern Israeli society. Furthermore, ethnic differences among Ashkenazi Jews (of European descent) and Sephardi and Mizrahi Jews (from the Middle East and North Africa) have contributed to the reproduction of social and economic hierarchies within the community. Ashkenazis, who predominantly comprise the economic elite and political leadership, continue to enjoy historical privileges, while many Sephardi and Mizrahi Jews reside in peripheral and underprivileged areas, where feelings of marginalization and injustice are prevalent (Picard, 2017).

As a result, by 2025, Israeli society is confronted not only with a deep divide between Jews and Palestinian Arabs but also with internal layers of religious, ethnic, and class-based divisions. These social fragmentations have weakened national cohesion, intensified political polarization, and exacerbated identity-based conflicts in the public sphere.

4.2.4. The Fulfillment of Divine Promise

In the ideological framework of the Supreme Leader of the Islamic Revolution, the fulfillment of divine promises constitutes one of the most fundamental components of his religious and political worldview. Based on a monotheistic interpretation of history and society, he believes that divine promises are not merely supernatural predictions or idealistic aspirations, but rather definitive laws and immutable divine traditions governing the cosmos and human society.

From his perspective, “divine laws” represent the only path to victory, and anyone who acts contrary to these laws is destined to face defeat (Rafiq & Kheiri, 1401).

While Ayatollah Khamenei believes in “divine laws” and immutable principles governing history, he does not accept a positivist sociological perspective that considers historical developments solely as the result of deterministic and law-bound factors. From his viewpoint, human will and choice play a fundamental role in shaping the course of history, and the fulfillment of divine laws depends on human will, faith, and action, rather than being the outcome of mechanical necessities or historical determinism (Jafarinejad, Zare, & Shafiei Servestani, 1399). Therefore, expecting the fulfillment of divine promises without struggle and steadfastness is considered a deviation from a proper understanding of divine laws. As stated in the Holy Quran: “إِنَّ اللَّهَ لَا يُغَيِّرُ مَا بِقَوْمٍ حَتَّىٰ يُغَيِّرُوا مَا بِأَنفُسِهِمْ”, the realization of promises is contingent upon inner transformation and the collective will of the Muslim ummah.

From this perspective, the future of Palestine, in the ideological vision of the Leader of the Revolution, is not determined solely by material calculations or international balances, but is a process influenced by the faith, will, and collective actions of the Muslim ummah and the resistance forces. If, as previously stated, divine promises in Ayatollah Khamenei's thought represent laws that shape history, then Palestine should be seen as the tangible locus and testing ground of these laws. Ayatollah Khamenei regards the Palestinian resistance as a meaning-generating force and an actualizing agent of divine promises; in other words, the continuation of resistance, the political and social unity of the Muslim ummah, and the preservation of steadfastness are essential elements for accelerating the fulfillment of the promise of Palestine's liberation.

“Today's scene in Palestine heralds the inevitable future that God has promised to the sincere and steadfast mujahidin. The oppressive and cruel Zionist regime – and following it, the policies of America, global Zionism, and reactionary crusaders – should not imagine that by their criminal and catastrophic conduct they will be able to triumph over the Palestinian nation and force it into surrender.

This grievous error will earn its perpetrators, in the future in the future, a severe chastisement.”)Hosseini Khamenei, Message to the International Conference of Imam Khomeini and Support for Palestine, 1381(

4.3. Solutions for the Liberation of Palestine

Ayatollah Khamenei regards the liberation of Palestine as possible only through the independent will of the people of that land, and he rejects any imposed solutions emanating from the West, leftist currents, nationalist movements, or pan-ideological doctrines. Within this framework, the support of the Muslim ummah plays a reinforcing role, and Muslim solidarity functions not as a substitute for the Palestinian will but as a backing for the realization of their rights and freedoms. This perspective identifies resistance as the principal pillar of justice and the liberation of Palestine and underscores the people's right to determine their own destiny.

4.3.1. Resistance

From a scientific and intellectual perspective, resistance can be defined as a discourse, strategy, or doctrine; such a definition allows for viewing resistance from a specific analytical standpoint. In the Islamic Republic of Iran, and particularly from the perspective of the Supreme Leader, resistance is primarily conceptualized as a discourse; therefore, this notion extends beyond purely doctrinal or strategic frameworks. In this view, doctrine and strategy are considered the practical and operational dimensions of the discourse of resistance (Pourhassan & Daneshfar, 2021).

Within this discourse, resistance stands in opposition to compromise and submission to the will of oppressors. From the perspective of the Supreme Leader, any compromise with the enemy signifies a disregard for the principles and rights of nations and ultimately strengthens the front of oppression. Historical experiences have shown that a dominant enemy can never be trusted; by its very nature, it seeks to dominate, humiliate, and suppress the will of peoples, and when negotiation or compromise fails to achieve its goals, it resorts to tools of pressure, threats, and sanctions. Therefore, placing trust in the enemy and accepting its logic is considered a deviation

from the path of dignity and independence. The discourse of resistance is founded on the belief that only through steadfastness, wisdom, and the preservation of internal cohesion can power equations be altered and dependency and domination be overcome. In this view, resistance is not merely a tool to confront the enemy but a means to safeguard the dignity, identity, and independence of nations against deceit and the treachery of hegemonic powers.

“Struggle is the opposite of compromise; in this matter, compromise is treason, and struggle is a duty. Let no one mistake compromise for struggle.” (Hosseini Khamenei, Statements in the Meeting with Participants of the First Islamic Palestinian Conference, 1369).

In opposition to the currents of compromise and submission, the discourse of resistance emerges as an alternative grounded in principles and strategic rationality. From the Leader's perspective, the movement and uprising of Imam Husayn (peace be upon him) can be regarded as the theoretical and historical foundation of this discourse—a movement that stood against tyranny, deviation, and acceptance of the status quo, providing a lasting model of steadfastness on principles and defense of justice. This model was also reproduced in the contemporary period during the Sacred Defense of the Islamic Republic of Iran, where resistance was not merely a military reaction but a social and political action aimed at preserving independence, territorial integrity, and national identity.

Many reproached Imam Husayn (peace be upon him) for his steadfastness. [...] Yet Imam Husayn (peace be upon him) remained patient and was not overcome, and each of those who stood with him emerged victorious in this spiritual and inner struggle. [...] Your perseverance—whether during the Sacred Defense or in other major trials of this country—has enshrined these virtues in our time. [...] People around the world have learned many things from you. Even the mother in Palestine who kisses her child and sends him to the battlefield is one such example. (Hosseini Khamenei, Statements at the Do-Kouheh Military Base, 1381).

4.3.2. Referendum

The Islamic Republic’s referendum plan regarding the future of Palestine represents one of the most central and, at the same time, humanitarian solutions to end a conflict that has persisted for over seven decades. The Supreme Leader first officially proposed this plan in 2008, and subsequently, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, the then-President of Iran, referenced the plan in his 2008 speech at the United Nations (Ahmadinejad, 2008). This plan was formally registered at the United Nations on October 31, 2019.

“Our proposal is a solution fully consistent with democracy, which can serve as a common logic for all global perspectives. The proposal is that all rightful stakeholders in the land of Palestine—Muslims, Christians, and Jews alike—choose their system of governance through a referendum, and that all Palestinians who have endured years of hardship and displacement also participate in this referendum.” (Hosseini Khamenei, Statements at the Fourth Conference Supporting the Palestinian People, 1387)

The foundation of this perspective rests on the principle of “self-determination of peoples,” a principle that holds a clear position both in Islamic teachings and in international law. From the Leader’s viewpoint, a referendum is not merely a political slogan but a practical and ethical strategy for achieving historical justice. He emphasizes that the indigenous people of Palestine (residents of the occupied territories prior to the issuance of the Balfour Declaration) must freely decide on the future political system of their land without interference from settler occupiers. In this view, legitimacy arises not from military power or political agreements, but from the will of the people. The table below provides a summary of the proposed plan:

Executive Mechanisms	Implementation Approach
All Palestinians, including Muslims, Christians, and Jews, have the right to participate in the referendum	Facilitating the return of Palestinian refugees to their homeland
Representatives of the Palestinian people from all religions will play a key role in planning and implementing the plan	Holding a comprehensive referendum among the residents of Palestine prior to the issuance of the Balfour Declaration,

	including followers of all religions, to determine the future political system
A global project to identify and register the identities of Palestinians inside and outside Palestine will be implemented to facilitate refugee participation	Establishing a governmental structure based on the majority vote of the Palestinian people
An international committee, under UN supervision and with the presence of Palestinian representatives, will be formed to implement the plan and address historical, sovereign, and territorial issues	Deciding on the status of non-indigenous residents of Palestine by a government chosen by the majority of the people
An international fund, supported by the global community and under the supervision of the committee, will be established to support the implementation of the plan	*

Table 2. Summary of the Islamic Republic's Referendum Plan on the Future of Palestine

Ayatollah Khamenei considers the referendum to be in complete opposition to Western-imposed plans such as the "Deal of the Century"; these plans constitute crimes against humanity and, instead of ending the occupation, aim to consolidate the dominance of the Zionist regime (Atrissi, 2021). From this perspective, Western solutions are founded on discrimination and the disregard of the rights of the Palestinian people, whereas the plan of the Islamic Republic is based on inclusivity, justice, and humanity. Indeed, this plan neither seeks to eliminate any ethnic or religious group nor pursues vengeance, but rather calls for the participation of all indigenous inhabitants of Palestine in decision-making regarding their political future.

4.3.3. Support from the Islamic World

From the perspective of the Leader of the Revolution, the Islamic Ummah must support the Palestinian people on both material and spiritual levels so that resistance can continue effectively and the rights of the Palestinian nation can be realized. Material support includes financial, military, educational, and infrastructural assistance to the

Palestinian people to strengthen their defensive and social capacities. Additionally, the Islamic world is obliged to reinforce the spiritual resilience and resistance of the Palestinian people through moral and political support. This support encompasses expressing opposition to occupation, raising awareness about the crimes of the Zionist regime, organizing conferences, conducting media and cultural activities, and consolidating unity among Islamic countries. The Leader of the Revolution also emphasizes the necessity of support from the Islamic world for Palestine through a negative approach; that is, even without direct action, Islamic countries can contribute by refraining from any engagement with the Zionist regime, imposing economic and political sanctions, and preventing normalization of relations, thereby placing the Zionist regime in international isolation and increasing pressure on it to recognize the legitimate rights of the Palestinians.

“Above material assistance is spiritual support, because the Palestinians feel that the hearts of the nations are with them. The demonstrations that have taken place these days in the Islamic world were very valuable. [...] These are highly significant; the news about them is disseminated, and the oppressed people of Palestine feel that the nations are standing behind them.” (Hosseini Khamenei, Statements in the Friday Prayers Sermons, 1381)

However, the role of the Islamic world should not replace the independent will of the Palestinian people. Islamic support, whether material or spiritual, should serve only as reinforcement and assist the internal capacities of the Palestinian nation, rather than depriving them of decision-making authority. Genuine legitimacy is achieved only when the Palestinian people vote in a free referendum on their political future and governmental structure. Unity and coordination among Muslim countries can provide a strong backing for resistance and the realization of historical justice, but the destiny of Palestine must ultimately be determined by the Palestinian people themselves.

“Above material assistance is spiritual support, because the Palestinians feel that the hearts of the nations are with them. The demonstrations that have occurred these days in the Islamic world were very valuable. [...] These are extremely significant; the news of them is conveyed, and the oppressed people of Palestine feel that the

nations are standing behind them.” (Hosseini Khamenei, Statements at the Ceremony of the 13th Anniversary of the Passing of Imam Khomeini, 1381)

5. Future Scenarios for Palestine Based on Current Trends

Analyzing the future of Palestine requires attention to the trends influencing the strategic environment of the region and the world. From the perspective of the Supreme Leader of the Islamic Revolution, the future of this land depends on resistance, Islamic awakening, and the gradual collapse of the Zionist regime; however, from a foresight perspective, the realization of this horizon depends on the interaction of several key trends: the intensification of settlement expansion and annexation policies, the continuation of political divisions among Palestinian factions, the expansion of popular and armed resistance, regional geopolitical developments, and shifts in the balance of power within the international system. Within the framework of constructivist theory, these trends are not merely objective realities but discursive constructions that shape the future—a future that will be determined depending on the dominance of one of the discourses of resistance, compromise, or reformist coexistence.

In recent years, the settlement activities of the Zionist regime in the West Bank and East Jerusalem have continued at an unprecedented pace. In contrast, disputes between Hamas and Fatah and the legitimacy crisis of the Palestinian Authority have weakened Palestinian political cohesion. Simultaneously, the pattern of resistance has transformed from a traditional, centralized form to a networked, intelligent, and multi-layered structure; armed resistance in Gaza, alongside civil and digital resistance, has managed to awaken global public opinion. Likewise, the competition among regional powers and the policy shifts of some Arab countries toward the Zionist regime have created a variable geopolitical landscape. At the same time, the increase in global protests against the genocide in Gaza indicates a gradual shift in the global soft power balance, although structural Western support for the Zionist regime persists.

In the first scenario, which represents the most desirable path from the perspective of the discourse of resistance, the Zionist regime, due to political and social crises, military failures, ethnic divisions, and

global pressure, experiences internal erosion and eventually collapses (through external factors). Strengthening the axis of resistance and expanding popular support for it paves the way for the realization of a Palestinian national referendum and the formation of a unified state with a native majority. In this situation, the apartheid system is eliminated, and resistance becomes the dominant regional discourse and the foundation of a new order in the Islamic world.

In the second scenario, which is the most probable, neither side achieves complete supremacy. The Zionist regime, relying on Western support, continues the occupation while the resistance, despite pressures, endures. Periodic clashes, the siege of Gaza, intensified settlement activity, and the humanitarian crisis persist without producing a durable solution. Nevertheless, the continuation of resistance prevents the full consolidation of Zionist dominance and keeps the flame of hope alive among the Palestinians.

In the third scenario, international pressure and war-weariness may push the two parties toward a political agreement. In such a case, proposals such as a two-state solution, a Jordan-Palestine confederation, or a single-state solution with equal rights may be put forward. Although this path could reduce violence, it would come at the cost of preserving the Zionist structural order and weakening an independent Palestinian identity, and from the perspective of the discourse of resistance, it would amount to the reproduction of a softer form of hegemony.

The analysis of future scenarios for the Palestinian issue can be conceptualized within a threefold space of strategic fluctuation: the first path—continued resistance leading to liberation; the second path—perpetuation of the occupation and entry into recurring crises; and the third path—acceptance of a compromise with an imposed coexistence structure. From the standpoint of the ideological paradigm of the Islamic Revolution, the only scenario possessing moral-historical legitimacy and conformity with theological imperatives is the structural dissolution of the Zionist regime and the establishment of popular sovereignty through an all-encompassing referendum. This position is premised on the assumption that, according to the Leader of the Revolution's statements, the Palestinian cause is a divine

promise whose realization requires faithful submission, strategic patience, and the mobilization of devoted struggle among the peoples of the region.

Conclusion

The analysis of Palestine's future from Ayatollah Khamenei's perspective reveals that the Palestinian issue, within his intellectual framework, is not merely a political or security conflict but rather a symbol of the historical confrontation between justice and oppression, and a manifestation of divine laws in the course of human history. Within this framework, the liberation of Palestine is not perceived as a random outcome of shifting power balances but as the result of conscious action, faith, willpower, and the sustained resistance of nations in pursuit of justice. By linking religious teachings with the logic of contemporary politics, Ayatollah Khamenei formulates a discourse in which three core components—resistance, strategic rationality, and religious faith—constitute the complementary pillars for realizing Palestine's desirable future.

From this intellectual standpoint, the collapse of the Zionist regime is not viewed as a sudden event but as a gradual process resulting from internal erosion, legitimacy crises, regional resistance, and global awakening. Accordingly, the "desirable future" envisioned in this perspective refers to the establishment of a unified political system across all of Palestine through a comprehensive referendum—an outcome grounded in historical justice, social inclusiveness, and popular legitimacy.

From a constructivist standpoint, this vision transcends the level of mere political action and can be understood as a process of constructing new meanings, identities, and political order. In Ayatollah Khamenei's view, the future of Palestine is shaped by the interaction of competing discourses, where the "discourse of resistance," through the redefinition of Islamic identity, challenges the "Other" (the Zionist regime) and gradually produces a new political reality. Constructivism clarifies that the decline of the Zionist regime is not solely a material or military transformation but the consequence of shifts in perceptions, identities, and social legitimacy at both regional and global levels. In other words, the future of Palestine in

this framework is a **social and identity-based process** emerging from cultural transformation, rising political awareness, and growing solidarity among regional societies. Within this approach, the future is not the mere product of military or political developments but the result of evolving attitudes, values, and collective perceptions of Islamic societies toward the Palestinian issue.

In addressing its main research question, the present study demonstrates that the realization of a desirable future for Palestine, in Ayatollah Khamenei's perspective, rests upon four fundamental components: first, the continuation of resistance as the central axis of freedom and justice; second, the holding of a comprehensive referendum among the indigenous inhabitants of Palestine to determine their future political system; third, the material and spiritual support of the Islamic Ummah as the strategic foundation of the resistance front; and fourth, reliance on divine traditions and popular will as the driving forces of historical transformation.

These components stand in clear contrast to the prevailing international approaches. While Western initiatives such as the "Deal of the Century" and other reconciliation plans are built upon maintaining the status quo, perpetuating occupation, and disregarding the will of the Palestinian people, the leadership's vision outlines a future whose legitimacy derives not from global powers but from the will of the Palestinian nation and the collective identity of the Islamic world. According to this perspective, a genuine and lasting resolution of the Palestinian issue cannot be achieved merely through shifts in the balance of power, but rather through discursive and identity transformations within nations and the reconstruction of collective consciousness across the Islamic world.

From a policy perspective, reinterpreting Ayatollah Khamenei's political theory provides a comprehensive strategic framework for guiding the actions of the Resistance Front within Palestine and the broader Islamic world. This framework – centered on the discourse of resistance, targeted support for Islamic awakening, the enhancement of Islamic solidarity, and diplomacy grounded in ethical principles – has the potential to internationalize the Palestinian issue and elevate it beyond a regional geopolitical conflict. Ultimately, in the

Leader's vision, the fate of Palestine is not determined by the decisions of major powers but by the level of awareness, unity, and collective perseverance of nations. If history is understood as the arena of divine laws in action, then Palestine emerges as a prominent stage upon which the realization of the Qur'anic promise of divine support ("Indeed, Allah will surely aid those who aid His cause") is unfolding. Hence, the establishment of justice in Palestine is not viewed as a utopian aspiration but as a historical and metaphysical necessity – the realization of which depends on the sincerity and steadfastness of the Islamic Ummah.



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