

The Sources of Power in Islamic Republic of Iran

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Abstract: The victory of the Iranian nation in its historic revolution through popular uprising of bare-handed masses overcoming an armed to the teeth monarchy supported by all big world powers, caused the falsification of many theories in political science and international relations, and in particular on the pivotal concept of power. The political science as a discipline bound to power and power itself defined in terms of hard-ware elements - such as military force and economic power - suddenly crippled down and the slogan of "blood is victorious over the sword" practically objectified. After its establishment, the astonishing capability of the Islamic Republic of Iran to confront tremendous national, regional and international challenges such as coup d'état, local and regional rebellions, economic sanctions, military aggressions (such as Tabbas US operation)¹, the imposed war of Saddam Hussein and etc, instead of weakening this new political system, all contributed to the promotion of its international standing. Hence, Iran now is being recognized as the paramount regional power by both friends and foes. However, the sources of its power have not stemmed from increase of hard power capabilities but from a new source of power called "Soft Power". This catchy concept was mainly signified following the victory

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of the Islamic revolution and surmounted hard elements of power. This article strives to perceive and analyze sources of this power.

Introduction

The soft power is not a newly constituted concept in political science and has been particularly the case in conflicts of human polities since the early times. It got more prominence following the emergence of Islam and its rapid expansion and overcoming the Persian and Roman Empires. Notwithstanding, the domination of capitalist and materialist philosophies since the 15th century specially in Europe caused the gradual circumvention of soft power by hard power.

In other classifications, the encounter between soft power and hard power are called as spiritual power confronting physical strength or moral strength against material power. The sources of soft power in Islamic Republic of Iran mainly originate from faith and belief in prevalent values of Iran's society.

Although power is a common concept in several fields of natural sciences and humanities (like philosophy or Jurisprudence and so on), it naturally enjoys a special importance and pivotal position in social and political sciences. Scientists and scholars of each discipline have attempted to define the concept of power from specific point of views; some have addressed it based on class stratification, others have explained it in terms of power effects. On political power, certain political sociologists have elaborated the limits of power, and they speak of various shades of power in simple and complex as well as general and specific societies or refer to the institutionalized characteristics of power.

Due to the vast extent and complex nature of power, this concept has usually been approached parochially or just a single aspect or specific type of power with vague and sketchy definition is considered.

Karl Marx explained the power from a classist point of view as: "organized repression of one class against other classes". From Marx's perspective, power can be identified with three characteristics:

First, power has a class-basis representation and always is implemented in terms of inter-class relations. Second, power can never be healthy or legitimate because the manifestation of power in any society *per se* is the symptom of a malfunctioning society and stems from class-stratified society. In a healthy and classless society there is no room for a phenomenon called power. By his definition, power is the sole source of tyranny and repression of a class over another one.

Third, power is representation of relationship between the ruling class and the ruled; although some of Marx's disciples consider the class power as subject to social power, they still explain away political power as class power and imposition of one class over another. (Marx 1976)

Bertrand Russell says: "power can be explained as a drive to creating desirable effects." By this explanation, He concludes that power is a holistic and measurable concept and the amount of individuals' power could be measured through quantitative comparisons providing that people achieve common and desirable effects in different quantities." (Russell 1938)

American sociologist, Talcott Parsons says: "power is made up of generalized capabilities to ensure the implementation of binding commitments by units in a system of collective organization." (Parsons 1967) He further elaborates on two important elements:

First, is the legitimation of the obligations with regard to their positive effects in achieving the social aims harmonious to citizens' beliefs that to a wide extent, is the source of their allegiance. This is a clear indication for "applicability of obligations" mentioned in the definition.

The Second factor for applicability is a governmental agency specifically involved with enforcement both through positive motivations and negative sanctions and punitive measures toward those who fail to comply with their obligations; the first element is not solely efficacious to the citizens' allegiance but it is vindicating and the legal norms must ultimately be grounded in values. (Parsons 1951)

MacIvor considers social power as the ability to subjugate others in any form of social relation. He emphasizes that social power

is the capacity to supervise other people's behavior either through direct imperatives or indirectly and acting in accordance with expediency. (Wrong 1979)

Instead of the word "capability", Max Webber has used the term "opportunity". In his definition: "power is an opportunity generated within the framework of social relations and provides a person with the ability -irrespective of underlying basis of the given opportunity -to impose his will on others despite their resistance." From Webber's point of view, "power is the advantage for one person or a number of persons to impose their will even in the face of resistance by other present elements in the field of action". (Weber 1986)

Maurice Duverger says: "the meaning of power is very broad and vague. For example the head of government is solely a ruler and powerful, an ordinary citizen is merely a subordinate and other people are both rulers and ruled." Therefore, power from his point of view is a relative principle. He continues: "we cannot assume power as an absolute unequal human relationship based on which, a person can force another to obey him, power is rather a special and bounded relationship".(Cox 1985)

Categorization of Power

As it was mentioned earlier, there exists a wide range of definitions for power based on various perspectives. Despite this diversity, from a structural point of view power is split to hard and soft power.

Hard power is an obvious and palpable might like military force and economic capability which may affect the persons' conditions. Hard power is being exerted based on inducement "carrot" and threat "stick" but instances take place in which a satisfactory outcome is achieved without the use of threats or tangible cost. This is called indirect method of attaining the aims and is sometimes called "the other face of power."

Soft Power is the ability to affect and configurate others' preferences. In other words, the soft power in substance is persuasive

and deals with convincing, while hard power is derived from coercion and obligation.²

Leadership cannot be confined to giving orders rather it is the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion so that there would be no need of a "stick and carrot" to move them in your direction. Professor Hamid Mowlana was the first in the West who set out in 1986 to explain and define the phrase of soft power in his book of "Global Information and world communication: New Frontiers in International Relations".(Mowlana 1986) Mowlana defined the soft power as implicit power and introduced religion, values and beliefs, ideology and science as its sources. He also believes that soft power is the underlying foundation of hard power and substantiates its nature.

"Joseph Nye" says on soft power: Soft power is the special attention given to other societies' preoccupation through attraction and a country or society attains soft power when it can utilize information and knowledge in order to settle down differences and take advantage of the conflicts in such a way that would result in getting concessions. Soft power can be achieved through the functioning of media and in disputes it can replace the military pressure and we no longer witness to imposition of force and coercion rather the function of convincing the public opinion takes place via media war. (Nye 2007)

While being exerted through the Media, soft power could bring about long term or even constant effects. This way, soft power can do the same functions more profoundly than once was done by hard power, absent from its negative effects.

"Michel Foucault" believes that there is a sort of hidden (and indirect) compulsion within soft power having hard power properties and often more capable of functioning than the hardest powers are unable of implementing.³

Soft power is neither force nor payment. In soft power, mentality counts as the main basis upon which investments are made. Attraction is being utilized in soft power to create common values while obligations are being accepted as a required task of cooperation to reach all objectives.

Soft Power is related to those capabilities and moral strengths that indirectly affect the others' behaviors or interests through utilization of culture, ideals or moral values.

Soft power is not political advertisement but comprises rational arguments and common values and it influences public opinion outside and inside the country.

Ways of acquirement and maintaining the soft power are:

- Application of internal and external multi-faceted channels of communication;
- To proximate the customs and cultural, social and political ideals in form of universal norms;
- Gradual, sporadic and consistent movement to surmount over the public opinion through popular allied Media;
- To construct universal cultural and intellectual discourses;
- To promote public trust and awareness;
- Planning and dissemination of information on globalization of the local dynamics (globalization of issues);
- Transparency in foreign policy and diplomacy;
- Announcement of programs and executive principles and explanation of perspectives on sensitive global and regional issues and introducing the foundations of foreign policy;
- To establish cultural interactions through the employment of appropriate instruments.⁴

The importance and dexterity of soft power depends more on its sources which are very scarce and superficial in the Western mundane and materialist world. At the same time, the hard power could be outshined and overcome in a sphere in which the power is derived from spiritual sources and mainly rooted in divine and religious faiths and beliefs. This model could exactly define the victory of the Islamic Revolution and ever-increasing authority of Islamic Republic of Iran. Of course this does not mean to neglect the hard power and military force whose deterrence capability is particularly emphasized by the Holy Quran.⁵

The Sources of Power in the Islamic Republic of Iran

1. Divine Grace:

For the followers of Monotheistic religions and the believers of the noble and pure Mohammadian (PBUH) Islam, in particular, the most supreme source of the power is resorting to Godly patronage. They believe as the wayfarers of the divine path in combating against the unbelievers, they are supported by God and his eternal power. In fact they join the infinite ocean of this power like a drop of water which is nothing out of ocean and disappears quickly without a trace but when it joins the ocean it shares this boundless power. Based on Islamic and Qur'anic teachings, the Islamic followers and devotees (Mujahidin) enjoy Godly blessing as a supreme source of power in three ways:

a. As the Guideline for the Devotees (Mujahidin):

Since the holy Quran is divine words all its adherents believe that there is no breach in its promises. The holy Quran underscores that those who fight in the path of God, Almighty ushers them in its own path.⁶ In this noble verse the only provision to enjoy Godly Guidance is moving in the direction of God's path and for the God's sake. Here God demonstrates the paths that ultimately lead to his court and the path gets essence because it culminates to the owner of the path. Therefore, the path signifies the path-holder. When Jihad is in for the sake of God, the Almighty himself will be the guide and protector and there will be no worry or preoccupation for the wayfarers rather it will bring them with self confidence and nerve⁷ to confront the enemies with greater courage and bravery.⁸

b. Divine Occult Assistance

The divine occult assistance and direct presence of Godly soldiers to help Muslim devotees and God believers in their efforts is an absolute fact, although they have considered to be as extraordinary events or heavenly miracles in moments of realization.

In the holy Quran, God reminds of his direct intervention in the battlefield of Jihad in the chapter of Al-Anfal and referring to the Badr battle, points out parts of the events that happened during the battle and says: "Never turn your back to the enemy unless it is a deceptive warfare operation, and beware that you were not who killed them (enemy) but God did, and thou prophet, you did not throw dust upon them but that was the God, and remember the day when you were few and your enemy belittled you and you were horrified but you were assisted under the mercy of God ..."⁹

These verses indicate that in confronting and fighting the enemy, not only the devotees and God believers are assisted and guided by the Almighty, but divine occult assistance is granted to strengthen them in warfare, leading them to victory. That has been the reason whenever the Muslims were few in numbers and inadequate in power against their enemies, the Godly forces have empowered them to overcome the enemy's massive forces.

Hence, the God is mentor, succor, companion and supporter of devout Muslims in their endeavor and battles. During the post-revolution era and during the imposed eight-year war, in particular, as well as 33-day war of the Zionist regime against Hezbollah, time and again we witnessed divine occult assistance extended by Almighty to small number of Islamic warriors in confronting the large masses of enemy. In the Tabass incident and the U.S. humiliating defeat in an operation schemed to rescue the U.S. hostages, nothing less than divine occult assistance played a role and as the late Imam said; "the sands and winds were God's agents in the operation." (Khomeini 1992: 255)

c. Spiritual Edification

The belief (in "God is with the righteous") among Muslim followers of the God's path that almighty is their succor and supporter, boosts the courage in their hearts upon which they never let the fear or hesitation to disrupt their battle.

Therefore, the most important source of power in the Islamic Republic of Iran is the firm belief in Godly indulgence be it in

guidance during combat or in direct intervention or even in support and provision of aid to help Muslims in their victory¹⁰ and there is no violation in God's rightful promise.¹¹

d. Reliance on Popular Support

The unpopular governments which do not enjoy a national legitimacy easily surrender and are brought to their knees under the pressure of domineering powers. But the legitimate governments with strong popular and social ties enjoy immunity against all sorts of conspiracies such as coups, wars, foreign intrigued insurgencies and terrorist actions. The stintless support for Islamic Revolution by the bare-hand masses and deprived classes of people was the sole factor for thwarting various conspiracies, above all the eight-year imposed war of Saddam regime against Islamic Republic of Iran.¹² Whenever people were realizing that the Islamic Republic is facing any threat or danger, they took the scene in groups and repelled the danger by sacrificing their belongings and even their life. It is such a support that strengthened the statesmen in dealing with different enemies.

Short of such a grass root popular support, no political system can sustain against its foreign and domestic enemies. Therefore, next to the blessing of God, the main source of power of the Islamic Republic of Iran has been popular support that is versatile into hard power.

Popular masses have demonstrated their power in confronting the enemy by various forms and manners such as participation in demonstrations, taking part in elections, voluntary enthusiastic support for the battlefronts, mobilization of huge humanitarian assistance in natural disasters and vigilance against the enemies' conspiracies to infiltrate and undermine the Islamic governing system.¹³

The Islamic Republic political system is not based on nationalistic perspectives but on global ideological humane values. Therefore, it quests for the welfare of the humanity and considers the human nature instinctively pure. For the same reason, Muslims and

oppressed nations beyond the Iranian borders and around the world also support and back up the Islamic Republic of Iran.

2. Authority and Leadership

In any conflict as it be military, political or cultural, the role of leadership and command is extremely important and strategic. The leadership takes charge of guiding a movement, setting out the plans and strategizes on approaches to confront the enemy. The relationship between leadership and the people is of particular importance and a strong and legitimate position for the leader among the people would be considered as an important source of power.

Due to their special characteristics, the charismatic leaders have been able to acquire the allegiance of people for a certain period of time. Upon the end of their term, those movements facing a leadership vacuum may end up to a type of entropy. In the Islamic Republic of Iran the leadership is institutionalized under the title of Islamic Jurisprudence or religious authority (Velayat-e-faqih) that provides a religious/political institution enjoying all required elements for a standing efficient leadership.

The method for selection of the leader either by the Assembly of Experts or directly by the people, results in the legitimacy and general acceptance as well as efficient management and prudence. A leader who is well aware of the political and social situation of his time, is simultaneously just and self-restraint against the mundane and concupiscible desires. People consider their allegiance to the leader as a religious act and the same as unquestioning subordination to God and his Prophet (PBUH). Such compliance without hesitation is a source of power per se, that assures the friends and frightens the foes.¹⁴

3. Fearlessness

An overwhelming fear of the enemy or concern for losing possessions and family and even more importantly being fearful of death, are among the most important reasons for defeat in a battle or

front. The fear factor is a serious dilemma in mundane and materialistic societies in which the life is defined solely within the boundaries of the physical existence. They regard the happiness and well-being within the short span of life on the earth.¹⁵

Quite to the contrary, the monotheist societies neither define the life parochially in terms of corporeal existence nor do they find the death as the ultimate ending but the beginning of an eternal life. They do not construe the joy and welfare from compilation of wealth and power ambitions, but solely through proximity toward the Almighty God. This is the reason why they are fearful of nothing except for boundless and heavenly hegemony of the God. Therefore, in their courageous confrontation with the enemy, they are victorious either they kill or get killed, and this results in a power that cannot be resisted through physical tools.¹⁶

The Zionist regime of Israel was founded upon fear-mongering in the region and could manage to defeat its Arab foes on the same basis in multiple wars of 1949, 1956, 1967 and 1973. But when it came to the dedicated and martyrdom-seeking young Hezbollah fighters in their fight against the Zionists, despite their small arms and paucity in numbers, they could overcome the fear and managed to defeat the enemy and make them retreat. Menachem Begin, the then Zionist regime's Prime Minister acknowledging the reality of this source of power in Hezbollah said: "when they (Hezbollah young combatants) are not afraid of death, then what can we scare them of?!"¹⁷

The Palestinian youth relying on Islamic teachings and carrying out martyrdom-seeking operations deprived the Zionists of their sleep. In their first step, they could manage to liberate the Gaza strip and clear the taint of Zionists' presence there without giving them any concessions.

Likewise, and by elimination of the fear factor, the Iranian nation defeated the foreign and domestic enemies through its uprising and resistance, amassing a great power thereupon that terrifies its enemies.

5. Patience, Persistence and Endurance

Patience and persistence are the main and determining factors in conflicts and confrontation. Those invincible human beings and communities who do not retreat or yield to the pressures of enemy's propagation and psychological warfare and endure the hardship of struggle, will embrace the final victory. The same premise constitutes the God's order of persistence to the devout Muslims. As the vanguard of justice against tyranny and as the Islamic front against the infidelity, any retreat, compromise or surrender to the enemy neither is impermissible for the Islamic Republic of Iran nor consistent with heavenly order and laws; since God has clearly instructed the Muslims to persistence and endurance.¹⁸ The victorious Islamic Revolution in Iran inspired the Islamic movements around the world to base their struggles on resistance and nowadays resistance has become a culture of emancipation.

A comparative glance at the two wars of 1967 (the six-day war) between the Arabs and the Zionist regime and Saddam Hussein's imposed war of 1980 against the Islamic Republic of Iran demonstrates that only endurance and persistence can lead to vanquishing the enemy. The Arabs defeat against the full-fledged aggression of the Zionist regime, loss of large chunk of their territories and acquiescence in cease-fire, all were the result of precipitous retreat of the Arab soldiers within few days. While this defeat still heavily overshadows the Arab world's psychology, the Iranian nation resisted against the all-out aggression of Saddam's regime backed by all the world great powers lasting over eight years. It was the first time this nation could not only retake all its occupied territories from the grasp of the aggressor but made the UN Security Council to write off its previous unjust resolutions and ratify the resolution 598, introducing Saddam as the aggressor and changing the conditions in favor of Iran's truthful position. This was only attained through the eight-year of persistence, patience and resistance that forced the enemy into surrender and acceptance of defeat in the face of righteous front.¹⁹

The same observation was experienced in two forms of approaches in Iranian peaceful nuclear program. First, Iran assumed a policy of appeasement toward the encroachment of enemies which was regarded kind of a retreat and lack of persistence. Such a policy redounded to the extraordinary demands by the West for the total surrender of Iran. But when the Islamic Republic of Iran decided to take an adamant and unyielding policy of standing resolute against the enemy, the opponents retreated from their positions step by step, following a period of futile pressurizing and psychological warfare against Iran. They had no choice but to give in the inalienable rights of Iran to utilize the peaceful nuclear energy. This was only acquired through patience, persistence and endurance against all exerted pressures.²⁰

6. Steadfastness and Imposition of Will on the Enemy

Alongside the military or political conflicts, there is psychological warfare by which the opponents try to overcome the other side's psyche and provide the grounds to impose their demands. In fact, a conflicting party would emerge as political and military victor which manages to impose its will on the other side. Domineering powers owe their success mainly to the psychological dominance over other countries. This in turn is beholden to the belief of the so-called statesmen and executives that nothing short of compromise and acceptance the hegemony of great powers is the proper solution. Whenever such leaders have been able to disengage from such constraining beliefs, they would not only liberate themselves but also enforce their own will against domineering powers.

While in materialistic world, exchange of concessions or compromise is natural and acceptable, in an ideological conflict or confrontation especially where one side supposedly represents the truth and the other is false and devious, such bargaining exchanges are not possible based on zero-sum games. In other words, in spiritual context, where the beliefs and values are involved, this sort of interactions does not exist. Therefore, in such cases, the devoted

Muslims while actually winning the psychological warfare and enforcing their own wishes despite the enemy's will, they could make it retreat from its demands and expectations.

7. Accomplishment of Duties

Islamic society in its contention against the infidelity, further than visible and superficial victories is seeking for fulfillment of its religious duties. Representing the regime of truth is enough to such a society to consider itself victorious in any struggle. Since it is carrying out its divinely duties, therefore, Killing or getting killed, prevailing or being subdued, all are victorious manifestations for such a society. Principally speaking, it does not define victory in terms of a short span of corporeal life but within the wide scope of history and final overcome of good against evil. It is neither concerned over paucity of its own armaments nor afraid of the large numbers of enemy's forces and believes that the entire human history is enough time for reaching the final triumph:

Poem: "Army of oppression covers the Horizons, but Devotees have enough time from dawn of preexistence till perpetuity"

Those who are only looking for the fulfillment of their duties and consent of the God Almighty, they persist robustly against all hardships. They are neither disheartened by transient defeats nor do they get haughty of their momentary victories.²¹ They solely think of carrying out their tasks; as the words of Imam Khomeini's (GBH) indicate: "We are obligated to fulfill our duty not obsessed with the results. (Khomeini, 1982: 76.)

In other words, victory from an Islamic point of view is different than of materialistic ideologies. They exert preponderance over their subjects in a submissive manner and deprive them of their freedom and independence coercively. This is the way dictators and arrogant powers behave. Despite the logical and historical facts that coercive domination has never been lasting and foreign dominance over the world's vivid nations does not endure forever, they do not spare any type of force and illicit acts to reach their insidious ends.

In a sharp contrast to the so-called ideologies, the monotheistic religions while applying the soft mechanisms of control, do not invoke coercive measure or forceful dominance but attracting and ruling over the hearts and minds. When faith and belief is overwhelmed in hearts, though it may remain hidden for a while, it will eventually flourish and its lasting effects will remain. For the same reason, the arrogant powers employ propagation schemes in order to represent their dominance as humane and spiritual. But since the public awareness has been promoted, such efforts are proved to be futile and generally do not go beyond imagination or delusion.

The genuine morality that God invites human beings to, is much more clear-cut because it is always opposing the tyranny and deviance which they cannot resist the justice and get defeated against it. The truth is not contradictory either in nature or function and a devoted Muslim is always the winner irrespective of getting defeated or being triumphant because has fulfilled his/her commitment which is endorsed by Almighty God.

8. Transforming the Threats to Opportunities

In an unrelenting struggle, the opposing parties resort to threat, pressure and containment in order to overcome the adversary. The post-Islamic Revolution era in Iran is full of experiences of such pressures and threats by the enemies of the Revolution. Sanctions, break up the diplomatic relations, boycott, military blockade, threat of military aggression, passing consecutive resolutions all in all had constituted to pressurize the Islamic Republic to give up its values and independent positions.

The Islamic Republic of Iran while resisting and enduring all those pressures and threats could manage to transform them into opportunities causing an end to dependence and make the scientific capacity of the country flourish, as well as self-sufficiency and freedom from all the constraints imposed by the world of arrogance.²²

One can dare to say that, had the enemy not resorted to such threatening behavior, the growth and progress of the Islamic Republic of Iran would have not been to the current levels. It is mainly because

the needs make a society more dynamic and actualize its talents into innovation and creativity. The eight year imposed war of Saddam Regime against Iran alongside the full-scale sanctions against Iran while Saddam was all equipped by them, became a valuable arena for flourishing of Iranian national talents and demonstration of their initiatives and inventions in all fields.

Now, after settling down the chaos, there remains nothing of Saddam's armed to the teeth army while the Islamic Republic of Iran has an experienced, self-sufficient and unique military along with a thirty million member greathearted Basij volunteers whose daunting and deterrent capability could frighten the enemies.²³

8. Wisdom and Prudence

In materialistic Western world of either capitalist or socialist under the assumption of "end justifies the means" immoral and unethical means could be exerted to reach their goals. In Islamic teachings and traditions, the means are not separable from the ends and the deceitful methods could not serve to righteous and Islamic objectives. Despite the fact of religious principles and limitations and alongside all sources of power, since the pious and thoughtful personalities in Islamic Republic of Iran manage such situations, they are well aware how to prioritize the goals of campaign and how to utilize their potentials and administrate the scene of battles wisely and prudently in order to put the enemy's front into disarray and infighting; In contrast to Machiavellian West, in religion of Islam politics does not justify lies, tricks and hypocrisy and is based on honesty, clarity, tact and foresight²⁴, and upon such methods and procedure the enemy can be scared off, misled and get its front confused and perplexed.²⁵

10. Actualization of Potential Capabilities

The God Almighty has provided this nation with all the potential elements of power from geopolitical, geo-strategic to geo-economic. Such potentials count the reasons for occupation of Iran by

foreign forces during the two destructive world wars despite our declaration of neutrality. It inflicted massive losses on this nation while getting introduced as the bridge to victory for the Allied forces. A tactful popular government can actualize such potentials during conflicts or warfare and place them at the service of society and utilize them as sources of power against its enemies. It also could make regional and extra-regional countries so dependable upon itself that they would not have alternative but to support the Islamic Republic in confrontation with its enemies. Nowadays, if the U.S. neoconservative government has failed to implement its threats of military attack against Iran, it is not only because of crushing counter attacks by Islamic fighters, but their fearing for further promotion of the resistance culture in other regional countries and undermining their political structures. Such a perception has deterred them of committing insane action that inflicts heavy damages and casualties throughout the region.

As conclusion on the sources of power in Islamic Republic of Iran, we can mainly argue that this concept not only has opened a new important chapter in international conflicts but it has raised new challenges and dilemmas for Western researchers and scholars on how to evaluate and quantify the soft power in comparison with hard power. This is the reason why the Islamic Republic of Iran has been able to stymie the West's threats and pressures based on the sources of soft power and emerges as a new emerging world power in International Relations.

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Notes

¹ Tabass incident refers to the U.S. attempt (named: Operation Eagle Claw) to rescue more than 50 American hostages in the custody of Muslim students following the Imam's line. It ended in a fiasco near Tabass of Iran on April 24, 1980, involving the death of a number of American servicemen on the scene as the result of a strong wind that caused collision of one rescue helicopter with a U.S. plane on an abandoned airfield in Khorassan province of Iran. (Editor)

² 2500 years ago, Confucius, the Chinese philosopher, asked "Lao Tse, Founder of Tao:"what is Tao?" Lao Tse opened his mouth but said nothing. Confucius smiled at the confused disciples and elaborated on this: "Lao Tse surpassed us in Theosophy. There are no teeth in his mouth but only a tongue! The most solid parts (the teeth) have been worn down but the softest (the tongue) is alive. The power of softness is greater than the hardness. Thus is Tao." Taoism (meaning the Path and the Virtue) or Tao philosophy is a

contemplative method of Lao-Tse, the Chinese philosopher based on administration of a country without a government and short of any configuration and specific forms of governance. See: *History of Ancient Chinese Philosophy*, Joe Jay and Jay Weinberg, translated by A. Pashaie. Nashr Goftar, 1990.

³ -<http://WWW.soltanifar.com/fa/>

⁴ -<http://WWW.soltanifar.com/fa/>

⁵ Make ready for them all thou canst of (armed) force and of horses tethered, that thereby ye may dismay the enemy of Allah and your enemy, and others beside them whom ye know not. Allah knoweth them. Whatsoever ye spend in the way of Allah it will be repaid to you in full, and ye will not be wronged. (Chapter: Al Anfal, Verse 60)

⁶ And those who struggled in our path, surely we shall guide them in our ways. And no doubt, Allah is with the righteous. (Chapter AL- Ankabut, Verse 69).

⁷ Allah hath promised those who believe and do good works: theirs will be forgiveness and immense reward. (Chapter: Al-Maedah, Verse 9)

⁸ There is no sadness to a nation of which you are the supporter, Nobody fears the wave of ocean whose captain is Noah”

⁹ Whoso on that day turneth his back to them, unless maneuvering for battle of intent to join a company, he truly hath incurred wrath from Allah, and his habitation will be hell, a hapless journey's end. (Chapter Al-Anfal, Verse 16); and “Ye (Muslims) slew them not, but Allah slew them and thou (Muhammad) threwest not when thou didst throw, but Allah threw, that He might test the believers by a fair test from Him. Lo! Allah is Hearer, Knower”. (Chapter Al-Anfal, Verse 17)

¹⁰-Allah ordained this only as a message of good cheer for you, and that thereby your hearts might be at rest-Victory cometh only from Allah, the Mighty, the Wise. (Chapter Al-Imran, Verse 126)

¹¹ Lo! Allah faileth not to keep the tryst. (Chapter Al Raad verse 31)

¹² O Prophet! Allah is sufficient for thee and those who follow thee of the believers. (Chapter Al-Anfal, Verse 64)

¹³ The late Imam Khomeini (GBH) says on the role of people’s support as: “People know and we must be aware that as long as nation are behind the legislative (Majlis), government and the armed forces and while these branches are trying for consent of the God and to be at the service of the nation and the disadvantaged in particular, no power has the ability to harm

this holy System. If God forbid one of these two parties or both abandon their mutual obligations, the defeat of the Islamic Republic and the Nobel Islam, even in the long term, is assured. Therefore dereliction of such mutual commitment that would result in the defeat of Islam and the Islamic Republic (of Iran) is a capital sin that must be avoided This service is of the greatest imperatives that must be adhered to...and ultimately we need the people, who has brought this Republic thus far and they are the ones that would carry on the task down the road. (Khomeini, Ruhollah M. (1989) *Saheifeh Noor*, Vol.XIX, P.115)

¹⁴ O ye who believe! Obey Allah, and obey the messenger and those of you who are in authority; and if ye have a dispute concerning any matter, refer it to Allah and the messenger if ye are (in truth) believers in Allah and the Last Day. That is better and more seemly in the end. (Chapter Al- Nisa, verse 59)

¹⁵ Those who spend their wealth by night and day, by stealth and openly, verily their reward is with their Lord, and there shall no fear come upon them neither shall they grieve. (Chapter Al- Baqare , Verse 274)

¹⁶ And whoso believeth in his Lord, he feareth neither loss nor oppression. (Chapter Al-Jinn, Verse 13)

¹⁷ Poem: "If the death is brave enough, say! Come to me so I embrace him intimately, I would take eternal life from him and he will get my worn out cloak.

¹⁸ So tread thou the straight path a thou art commanded, and those who turn (unto Allah) with thee, and transgress not. Lo! He is Seer of what ye do. (Chapter Hud, Verse 112)

¹⁹ The late leader of the Islamic Revolution in page 262 of the book "Forty Words" reminds of patience and perseverance as the keys to the gates of felicity and says: "Patience is the key to the gates of felicity and the source of salvation from maelstroms. Patience relieves the humans from disasters and facilitates the difficulties. It invigorates the will and decisiveness and liberates the domain of soul.

²⁰ In the current world system in which "Power", is the only dominant rule of international relations, any form of infirmity results in losses and damage and the ninth (current) administration watchful to this fact, have persisted firmly against extortionist powers and contributed to the national pride and dignity. (The Statement of Supreme Leader of the Islamic Republic of Iran in meeting with the President and Cabinet Ministers Sunday, August 25, 2007

²¹ "I am Hopeful that God, the Almighty endorse us our endeavors; meanwhile important point here is the fulfillment of our obligation of fighting against the oppressors. The most favorable is we could repulse them

back but even if we failed to win, we still have accomplished our duty. It is not as if we are afraid of being defeated, because we will not lose since the God is with us and any superficial defeat will not affect us morally or spiritually; the victory is with Islam, with Muslims, and with us. Remain powerful and tackle all difficulties and maintain your unity. Maintain your faith in God.”(Khomeini, Ruhollah M. (1982), *Sahefeh Noor*, Vol.XII, pp 92-93).

²² Relationship between a nation-standing to emancipate itself from the grasp of international plunderers- and an imperialist exploiter will always eventuates in the loss of the oppressed nation and to the advantage of the exploiter. We welcome this break up of relations. (Khomeini, Ruhollah M. (1982) *Sahefeh Noor*, Vol.XII. p 233)

²³ We have had blessings of this war on a daily basis that was utilized in many purposes. We could manage to promote our revolution in the world during war. We prove our innocence and the cruelty of the aggressors during the war. We broke the supremacy of two superpowers of the East and the West during the war. We demonstrated to the people of the world and the region in particular that resisting all great powers and superpowers for many years would be possible. Our fight will be followed by the conquest of the Palestine. Our war was the war of justice against injustice and it never ends and poverty vs. lavishness. Our war was the fight of faith vs. rascality and this war continues from the Adam to the end of life. We are not regretful for even a single moment of our (defensive) war. (Khomeini, Ruhollah M. (1982) *Sahefeh Noor*, Vol.VII 7, P.56)

²⁴ Politics is leading the society through justice, wisdom, faith and equality. (Khomeini, Ruhollah M. *Sahefeh Noor*, Vol. X, P.204)

²⁵ Your victory (Hezbollah of Lebanon) was the victory of Islam. By spiritual and divinely power, you proved that military supremacy is not defined in terms of arms, aircraft, battle ships and tanks; it is based on the power of faith, jihad and sacrifice along with wisdom and prudence. (Statement of the Supreme Leader of Islamic Revolution on the occasion of the victory of Lebanese Islamic resistance, August 15, 2006).