

Islamic Republic of Iran's Soft Power Based on Quranic Teachings and Imam Khomeini's Discourse

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Abstract: IRI as a system raised from Islamic Revolution, by providing the theory of religious democracy, a theory retrieved from Islamic teachings and Quranic doctrine, has been able to survive despite all internal threats and internal pressures. *The* Question of the present research is what factors are vital in IRI survival? In answering this question, the research hypothesis is based on this issue that IRI's soft power is the main surviving factor of this system in the international arena; the soft power which in the theory of religious democracy is represented with indices such as the negation of internal domination, the negation of external domination, seeking independence and relying on values of justice and martyrdom. *The* basis of this soft power originates from the ability of influence on others behaviors without any threat or payment of tangible costs are among the teachings of Quran, i.e. fundamental norms, moral power and divine soft power, which in a particular form and in the framework of the negative pragmatism of Imam Khomeini as a leader, ideologist and founder of the Islamic Revolution which has been represented in three strategies of resolving problems, removing threats and eliminating crises.

Key words: Soft power • Religious democracy • Imam Khomeini's negative pragmatism • Fundamental norms
• Moral power • Divine soft power

INTRODUCTION

The beginning of soft power as a form of power refers to 7th century BC and the ancient Chinese philosophers. The history of Islam indicates that from the beginning of the advent of Islam, considering soft power against hard and semi-hard power has been the focus of religious elites. For example, mercy and good-naturalness was the code of the Prophet' influence on people and the main factor of accepting Islam rapidly. In this line, the system originating from Islamic Revolution in the form of Islamic Republic which originates from Islam and Shiite can be considered as the most important resource of soft power in Iran.

Islamic Revolution of Iran gained victory based on the Islamic beliefs and with respecting principles such as dedication, mercy, justice and idealism. Therefore, the main resources of IRI's soft power based on which Islamic Revolution's messages were transformed to other Islamic countries, is the common Islamic values which by creating

intersubjective communication can, in addition to reviving the identity of Islamic world, be the factor of unifying all Muslims of the world free from any sect.

Islamic school and Quranic teachings should be considered as the main resources of feeding and the principle of guiding Islamic revolution in Iran which viewed indifferently to the hardware dimension of power by the leadership of Imam Khomeini could minimize violence in the process of the revolution and cover different groups under the umbrella of Islam with simple slogans such as independence, freedom and Islamic Republic [1]. Davari Ardakani, 1982: 303; Tajik, 1998: 69-71).

Michel Foucault, the French philosopher, in an analysis of Islamic Revolution of Iran emphasizes this issue that considers Shah and his suppressing power as the symbol of violence, on the other hand, he considers the accumulated power of people based on Islam and public will as the software dimension of power [2].

Imam Khomeini based on the Quranic teachings was the creator of a discourse which with its all innovation originated from the ancient tradition of Islam. His deconstructive reading of Islam (at least in some aspects) gave an efficient and dynamic characteristic to it, which reflected all ideal and human elements of the revolution and other freeing socio-political discourses [3, 4].

Regarding the presentation of Islamic school as one revolutionary ideology and establishing religious government as the negation of capitalist and communist culture can be considered as providing a new political model or Islamic countries; therefore, since the Islamic Revolution, there have been extensive efforts for subverting or at least transforming socio-culturally the Islamic Republic of Iran [5]. Particularly that western civilization with the objective of controlling administration of world affairs through the domination of liberal-democratic culture as a world culture has started an extensive effort to push into periphery the national and religious cultures of other societies [6].

In the present study, the software resources of Islamic Republic of Iran as the main sustaining and surviving factor of this system are investigated in three sections of "Quranic teachings" Imam Khomeini's discourse" and "the theory of religious democracy".

Software Resources of Power Based on Quranic Teachings: The Holy Quran, because is always considered as important in the circles religious readings of Muslims and other readings and resources while have an interpretive situation compared to Quran and get their authorities from Quran is always attracted, on the top of other resources, the attention of Muslims (Firhi as cited in Mir Ahmadi, 2010: 42).

Investigating Quran as the document of the divine revelation and the text sent to the Prophet of Islam indicates the centrality of software power compared to other powers in such a way that in Quranic view, the main focus of power issue is on the cultural dimension and soft power. In this line, "fundamental norms", "moral power" and "divine soft power" are considered three indices in the software view of power in Quranic teachings.

Fundamental Norms: By referring to the political discourse of the Holy Quran regarding the issue of power, it is identified that the desired Islamic model is fundamental norms originating from Islamic principles and ideology.

Fundamental norm means prioritizing norms against objectivities. It means that in Quran's theory of power, the resources of soft power are not considered to be alongside the hardware resources of power, but the natural resources and primary power are normative; therefore, all existing software resources in case of relationship with this normative domain that gain sense and appear efficient. Accordingly, establishing relationship between the political power and the theory of divinity (as the main resource of producing soft power) and attempts in line with reinforcing and keeping it are considered the primary and fundamental tasks of Islamic systems; tasks which can result in promoting the status of Islamic community and its priority in the arena political action.

According to the theory of fundamental norms, human factors never find originality. "The lack of originality of human factor" can be observed clearly in the 17th verse of Surat Al-Anfal: and thou (Muhammad) thrust 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 (8: 17). In this Holy verse, God the Almighty rejects the role of human factors in successes and declares that the holy issue (as the only legitimate origin of producing norms) is dominant over the objective issue (human factor).

On the other hand, in this theory, the quantitative factors are not considered as original. "The lack of qualitative originality" can be observed in the verse 249 of Surat Al-Baqara:

"But those who knew that they would meet Allah exclaimed: How many a little company hath overcome a mighty host y Allah's leave! Allah with the steadfast" (2: 249). According the clear text of the holy verse, it is identified that in Holy Quran, only the resources of soft power has originality and they should be activated as the main focuses of producing power in Islamic systems; other resources are under the light and in relation with them gain sense.

Moral Power: Holy Quran in discussing the notion of power, is always pursuing "moralizing the agent of power", in this regard, one can refer to the table 2 in which the value of moral principles in power relations are declared in Holy Quran evidently. As observed from the perspective of Quran, morality has strategic values as follows:

- Morality results in the amount of capability (despite the stability of power resources) (row 1).

Table 1: the originality of the software resources of power

Row	the holy verse	Documentation
1	Trust: then went him forth before his people in his pomp. Those who were desirous of the life of the world said: Ah, would that we had the like of what hath been given unto Korah! Lo! He is lord of rare good fortune. But those who had been given knowledge said: woe unto you! The reward of Allah for him who believed and doeth right is better and only the steadfast will obtain it.	Holy Quran, 28: 79-80
2	Will: Allah willet misfortune for a folk there is none that can repel it, nor have they a defender beside Him.	Holy Quran, 13: 11
3	Confidence: then out spake two of them who feared (their Lord, men) unto whom Allah had been gracious: Enter in upon them by the gate, for if ye enter by it, lo! Ye will be victorious. So put your trust (in Allah) if ye are indeed believers.	Holy Quran, 5: 23-24
4	Leadership: and whoso teeth Allah and His messenger and those who believe for guardian (will know that), lo! The party of Allah, they are the victorious.	Holy Quran, 5: 59
5	Justice: and let not hatred of any people seduce you that ye deal not justly. Deal justly, that is nearer to your duty. Observe your duty to Allah. Lo! Allah is informed of what ye do.	Holy Quran, 5: 8

Table 2: moralizing the agent of power

Row	The holy verse	Documentation
1	Patience: If there be of you twenty steadfast they shall overcome two hundred and if there be of you a hundred (steadfast) they shall overcome a thousand of those who disbelieve, because they (the disbelievers) are a folk without intelligence.	Holy Quran, 8: 65
2	Piety: then whosoever refrained from evil and amended there shall no fear come upon them neither shall they grieve.	Holy Quran: 7: 35
3	Responsibility: and the believers, men and women, are protecting friends one of another; they enjoin right and forbid the wrong and they establish worship and they pay the poor-due and they obey Allah and His messenger. As for these, Allah will have mercy on them. Lo! Allah is Mighty, Wise.	Holy Quran: 9: 71
4	Love: Allah will bring a people whom He loved and who love Him, humble toward believers, stern toward disbelievers, striving in the way of Allah and fearing not the blame of any blamer. Such is the grace of Allah which He gives unto whom He will. Allah is All-Embracing. All Knowing.	Holy Quran: 5: 54

- Morality results in the fall of fear and anxiety for the agent of power and consequently increasing his security rate (row 2).
- Morality contributes to increasing the sense of responsibility in the society and reinforcing their integrated identity against enemies (row 3).
- Morality results in the originality of the relationship between the creator and the created and consequently their exploitation of virtual power against enemies (row 4).

The summary of the discussions of this section can be stated in the form of the proposition of "moral attraction of power". As in the verse 159 of the Surat Aal-E-Imran, God tells the messenger:

"It was by the mercy of Allah that thou wast lenient with them (O Muhammad), for if thou hadst been stern and fierce of heart they would have dispersed from round about thee. So pardon them and ask forgiveness for them and consult with them upon the conduct of affairs. And when thou art resolved, then put thy trust in Allah. Lo! Allah loved those who put their trust (in Him)" (3: 159).

As the Almighty God in this holy verse declares, the particular job of morality in the domain of political and social power is related to producing and promoting the amount of attraction of the agent if power. This means that morality can seize hearts and mind of others without resorting force or under duress and through this can gain priority and victory for its owner. This proposition is more valuable from the point of view of analysis of the practical model of the Prophet and Imams (peace be upon them), when it is observed that the greatest Prophet's and Imams' achievements, as the managers of power, are in this domain.

Divine Soft Power: Regarding this issue that in Islamic discourse, soft power is considered to originate from God the Almighty and the existence of the current of soft power from the Creator to the created is dependent on the condition of being faithful; therefore, according to Quranic teachings "God always benefit His believers from his divine power".

The meaning of this proposition is that divine power is as the original and complete resource of soft power and it is activated for the benefit of human beings

Table 3: types of divine soft power

ردیف	The holy verse	Documentation
1	Divine increase: He will add unto you strength to your strength. Turn not away, guilty!	Holy Quran, 11: 52
2	Devine defense: lo! Allah defended those who are true. Lo! Allah loved not each treacherous ingrate.	Holy Quran, 22: 38
3	Devine behavior: and Moses said: Our Lord! Lo! Thou hast given Pharaoh and his chief's splendor and riches in the life of the world, Our Lord! That they may lead men astray from Thy way. Our Lord! Destroy their riches and harden their hearts so that they believe not till they see the painful doom.	Holy Quran, 10: 88
4	Divine protection: He said"; O my Lord! Prison is dearer than that unto which they urge me and if Thou fend not off their wiles form me I shall incline unto them and become of them foolish.	Holy Quran, 12: 33
5	Divine help: your Lord will help you with five thousand angels sweeping on.	Holy Quran, 3: 125
6	Approval: and if they would deceive thee, then lo! Allah is Sufficient for thee. He it is Who supported thee with His help and the believers.	Holy Quran, 8: 62
7	Help: (This is) the truth from thy Lord (O Muhammad), so be not thou of those who waver.	Holy Quran, 3: 60

on the condition that they will be faithful; the most examples of divine power which God the Almighty promises believers are as follows: (cf. table 3):

- God increases your de facto power (row 1).
- God defend the believers (row 2).
- God weaken the resources of power of your enemies in order that your power increase (row 3).
- God protect the believers (row 4).
- God helps the believers through His angels (row 5).
- God increase the influence of believers through reinforcing and emphasizing their policies (row 6).
- God helps believers without any middle-man (row 7).

It can be observed that in Islam, due to the fact that belief and participatory foundations of power is more highlighted than its forceful dimensions, power is basically soft in this school. Power which is designed based on the prosperity of the world and hereafter and its resources are principally internalized and consistent with human nature. This power has the most capability of imposing will through attraction by benefiting such resources.

Soft Power in Imam Khomeini's Negative Pragmatism:

Paying attention to the spiritual issues or in other words, considering the moral basics of power have always been considered by Imam Khomeini in such a way that power in the spiritual face (soft power) includes a large part of Imam Khomeini's thought. Soft power in Imam Khomeini's thought is based on the human-God relationship as the Creator and the created. In this thought, both the human dimension and Divine one of soft power is emphasized and represented [7].

The important point is that Imam in order to transfer Islamic beliefs used the instrument of public diplomacy which is considered as the resources of soft power.

The objective of such diplomacy is to attract hearts and thoughts and the masses of other countries and not necessarily their leaders or politicians.

In general, in the center of Imam Khomeini's discourse, Islam as a transcendental signifier with the software dimension of power is located and Imam Khomeini introduces this soft power as a unitary current rooted in the world's canon, i.e. "Allah" and takes the objective of adopting power as establishment of a healthy society with literate and religious citizens which is achieved under the divine light of ideas.

Therefore, Imam Khomeini considers the origin of all powers from God based on his ontology and the type of his philosophy and mysticism and accordingly, he introduces the origin of political power as ultra-human and divine.

In the following discussion, in order to have a better understanding of soft power in Imam Khomeini's discourse, we have a view on his negative pragmatism in solving problems.

Imam Khomeini's negative pragmatism indicates removing challenges having occurred in the society for any reason and can mar the system completely. The governing logic on this pragmatism is the logic of resistance which tries to return everything to its ideal situation by solving the challenges. The theoretical complicatedness of this pragmatism originates from the fact that Imam believed in dividing challenges in Islamic societies and for each challenge, he had predicted a particular policy which are far from the oppressing or submissive policies or merely. Imam's negative pragmatism is based on three macro strategies: "the strategy of solving challenges", "the strategy of removing threats" and "the strategy of disposing crises".

The Strategy of Solving Challenges: In this situation, what is cumbersome for a society is problem originating from the inappropriate performance of a government or in other words its insufficiency. This situation, in case of continuation and the lack of considering it can be the ground of advent of serious soft threats which will weaken the foundation of national authority by creating a gap between the government and the public. Institutionalization and auto-reconstruction are two effective policies in solving this problem which Imam emphasized.

According to the first policy, the government, regarding the diversity of needs which occur in a natural way and by passing time, starts to establish new institutions whose tasks are to answer the demands which so far have left unanswered. This policy by preventing the prejudice of the government (i.e. keeping the traditional form of government in a modern society), shaping the government in a government (which unofficial institutions replace themselves by the government and push it to the periphery and assign it a ceremonial role), the public's autonomy (which results in the wealth of nation and considering it as extra) practically protects the soft resources of the system and returns the appropriate status of the government (Eftekhari, 2000).

The policy of auto-reconstruction refers to the structural aspect of the government and also refers to this issue that the government be able to found a structure appropriate to challenges and requirements of the society which in spite of its efficiency not be too small or too great.

This is because of the fact that micro-governments, however enjoy a better control and supervision, because they cannot pursue their citizens' requirements, cannot survive powerfully and soon they will be forced to accept their defeat. In contrast, macro governments, however they have predicted an institution for every requirement, because of their challenges in supervising and guiding this large structure, they encounter the negative phenomenon of the exhausted government which can take the effective action from them and be problematic [8].

The strategy of solving problems in Imam Khomeini's tradition enjoys frequent documentations and evidences which he took both aspects into consideration. For example, in the line with the policy of institutionalization, he started to establish important institutions such as Basij, the Foundation of Martyrs, the Construction Jihad, Revolutionary committees, Islamic Propagation Organization, Iranian Revolutionary

Guards, the Council of the Islamic Revolution, Guardian Council, Assembly of Experts, Expediency Discernment Council and Literacy Movement each of which enjoys a particular task in answering the requirements of a revolutionary society. These institutions, by shaping the national discipline could form a good foundation for producing soft power and benefited an acceptable level of citizens' satisfaction which is considered as an important support for national power [9]. It is in supplementing this policy that the policy of auto-reconstruction is represented in the form of the strategy of amendment from the outset of the Islamic Revolution and Imam Khomeini, by cleaning the previous impurity, reintroduces them appropriate to the newly-established Islamic society as:

"administrations and institutions should be purified, ... by putting our trust in God give power to yourselves, ... maybe sometimes the authorities violate the law you should be do yourselves the affairs" [10].

The strategy of amendment and purification which was executed in Radio and TV organization, mosques, universities, newspapers, army and ... was run with this objective to amend the structures of the previous regime and they would be at the service of citizens and by achieving their satisfaction, increase soft power.

The Strategy of Removing Threats: The most important component of national security of any country is cultural security against the objective of any kind of soft and cultural threat, influencing on thought, feeling, will and at last making the opponent be surrender not by force but by attraction (Nye, 2004: 5; Naeini ac cited in Moradi, 2009: 99).

In case of the advent of canons which are considered as threats for the Islamic society, Imam used this strategy whose objective was to eliminate threats through a hierarchical plan which at last would result in reinforcing soft power of the system. This means that he used different tools-from dialoguing to dealing directly and decisively- to cause that the system attains its main objective. In this state, the powerful presence of the government was always considered as important for him and he advised gentleness and decisiveness. For example, from the outset of establishing the Islamic Republic in Iran, by shaping an opposition group against the newly-established government, Imam Khomeini by interpreting that this Islamic government is supported by people powerfully and emphasizing the supports of God, he adopted a policy of dialogue and advice against these opposition groups and as long as they did not have the intention of attacking the very principles of the system,

they had license to be active in the society. This patience is exactly indicates power not weakness of the system during the upheavals of 1978 to 1981 and in this term, it is greatly considerable. The competition of different groups (Islamic, national, leftist) in important issues such as being Islamic and republic, establishing the Assembly of Experts, the Constitution, Islamic leadership (Velayat-e- Faqih), the slogan of not West, nor East, the particular conditions of candidates and ... each of which by many discussions and debates, even after voting was emphasized by Imam Khomeini.

However, Imam Khomeini limited the misuse of some of these groups or individuals related to them and foreign canons and those who tried to distort the process of the Revolution and commanded that these groups be disband and illegitimate and emphasized the necessity of dealing decisively with them. By ending the political life of many of these groups such as Mujahidin (Munafiqin), leftist groups, Hojatieh Society originated from this command because these individuals and movements were distorted from the right path of the Revolution and the natural conditions of opposition and had been transformed into threats [11].

The Strategy of Disposing Crises: Crisis includes a particular state that if in the minimum of time, order does not overcome it, it challenges the origin of any system; therefore, the quick and decisive performance is the main index of appropriate management. The practical tradition of Imam Khomeini indicates his significant success in such a way that multiple cases indicate that Imam Khomeini in decisive manner, after losing his hope from peaceful policies, took appropriate actions for the sake of the system and its soft resources and severely reacted against them. Now, in analyzing this taking action it can be clarified that he has helped the system greatly. Disposing Bani Sadr from presidency, the closure of more than 36 magazines by the Public Prosecution Office by Imam's command, prohibition of some the heads of the system from making speech for making peace in the country's environment are clear representations of this strategy which indicates the macro policy of Imam in producing and protecting the interests of the system's soft power [12].

The Theory of Religious Democracy: In fact, the most important achievement of the Islamic Republic of Iran after the victory of the Islamic revolution was religious democracy which enjoys components not only have solved many challenges of Iran such a dependency in

different political, economic and social dimensions as well as internal tyranny and have been able to answer the thirsty and lost revolutionary generation, but also in outside of the environment of the country, they have been able to influence the mind and thought of others and be considered as efficient models for elites and the public of other countries [13].

The achievement of religious democracy could organize a kind of political system in addition to exploit from the abstract of the advantages of human experiences during history, which in addition to sustaining the form of the democracy and republication, in terms of content, it could pursue its Islamic identity. This experience has indicated that for managing a country it is not necessary to just be limited to the existing models such as liberal-democracy, but by a dynamic approach to religion school and Islamic values, we can use the human valuable experiences appropriate to temporal and spatial conditions.

Religious democracy does not means the combination of religion and democracy, but it is a unitary fact in the essence of the Islamic system, it means that if it is to be shaped a system, it cannot be so without the participation of people; in addition, the observation of real democracy seems impossible without regarding religion in a religious society.

The theory of religious democracy as a theory of combination of religious values and public wills originates from Quranic teachings and is considered as the slogan of soft power of the Islamic republic system. This soft power has been able to question and challenge the laws and principles of world norms and bring about a new view in the international structure [14]. This theory has characteristics such as "negating domination and tyranny", "independence" and relying on values of justice and martyrdom".

Negating Domination and Tyranny: Domination is the representation of power practicing through a set of complex relations which includes special supervision and internalized laws and principles. In other words, domination is the objective form of political power [15]. Therefore, the nature of power indicates domination and exclusiveness. Accordingly, domination has always been alongside power practicing and in addition that it closes the path of socio-political participation; it starts a kind of fight among the dominating and dominated groups.

In Iran, one can refers to the political tyranny, cultural limitations, the exclusiveness of power and Shah's unlimited authorities, the lack of laws and personal

security, the intervention and penetration of foreigners in the country's affairs, suppressing opponents and eradicating any thought which the regime did not like. Accordingly, one of the instances of extensive fight of Iranian people against Pahlavi's regime can be the domination and tyranny of this regime and revolutionaries' fighting with domination.

In this arena, Imam Khomeini as the leader of the Islamic Revolution, considered one of the strategies of religious teaching to be encountering oppressors' domination through resistance against their oppression and tyranny. In addition, Imam Khomeini, by resorting to "the doctrine of *taw hid* (monotheism)" believed that human is to only surrender God and should obey no human being unless obeying him is due to obeying God (Imam Khomeini, 1982: 166). Therefore, after the victory of the Islamic Revolution and establishment of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Imam Khomeini considered the philosophy of government in Islam not as domination and oppression but as servicing and believed that Islam determines limitations in the relations between the government and governor and the nation which observing them never produces domination and oppression (Imam Khomeini, 1982: 189-190).

In the theory of religious democracy and theoretically, nobody other than God has not the right of domination over others: "the decision is for Allah only" (Holy Quran, 6: 57) and "O ye 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" (ibid, 4: 59).

Therefore, relying on the principle that the oppressing governor is not worthy of being obeyed and principally the distorted power has not the right of domination made on the one hand people encounter the oppressing regime of Pahlavi and on the other hand negate the internal domination as one of the great ideals of the Islamic Revolution.

"negating domination" representation asserted by the Islamic Revolution of Iran was reflected in international relations in such a way that the Islamic Revolution of Iran with the objective of negating the cultural domination of foreigners and promoting the Islamic rich culture, produced a great upheaval in the international domain and in the political relations of dominating powers of the world; accordingly, Islamic revolution stood against all powers which pursued exploitation of people and challenged both capitalism and communism. This is the reason why Motahhari, one of the

great ideologists of the Revolution writes about the negation of domination and tyranny during Islamic Revolution:

The great success of our movement was removing our lack of confidence encountering the West, in fact both the powers of the West and the East. Our movement could tell people that you have an independent school for yourselves, you can yourselves stand on your feet and resist by relying on yourselves [16].

Independence: One of the other components of soft power of the Islamic republic of Iran is to rely on the values of "independence" and "freedom". Regarding the issue that Islamic movements in recent century of Iran have indicated that models of liberalism or socialism have not resulted in success in fighting with tyranny in Iran without regarding dependency of the rulers of these countries on foreigners, Iranian people after passing the anti-authoritarian movement of imposing constitution to the king and the anti-colonial movement of Oil Industry Nationalization, gained this experience that the basic reason of not being successful of these movements was the ignorance of the heads of these movements towards the relationship of the two phenomena of internal tyranny and external dependency and this is what was represented in the slogan "independence, freedom, Islamic republic" of Iranian people.

In fact, the thought of resistance against the world domination and achieving independence in different dimensions originates from the doctrine of "negation of the path of domination" retrieved from Quranic verses in such a way that in verse 141 of Surat Al-Nisa, God has not assigned any way of domination of the disbelievers over believers: "Allah will not give the disbelievers any way (of success) against the believers" (Holy Quran, 4: 141).

Indeed, it is clear that the negation of domination does not mean not having any relationship with other nations, but in Islam, the principle of establishing relations with other nations is emphasized except in cases of resulting in domination: "O ye who believe! Endure, outdo all others in endurance, be ready and observe your duty to Allah, in order that ye may succeed" (Holy Quran, 3: 200).

It was based on these religious teachings that the ideals of "independence" and "freedom" of Iranian people were shaped by the leadership of Imam Khomeini; particularly since 1964 which resulted in opposition to the Capitulation Law and resistance of Muslim Iranian Nation in fighting with the tyranny of Shah who were supported by the world powers.

Therefore, one of the reasons of the attraction of IRI among Muslims and the oppressed of the world is the components of "independence" and "the principle of not the West and not the East" in the foreign policy of Iran which originates from the opposition of Iranians to the dominating system in such a way that "independence" and "negating dependency and domination" are among the concepts which were common during the Islamic Revolution for declaring the severity of oppressions of Pahlavi's regime over Iranian people on the one hand and the weakness and incapability of the regime against great powers such as USA.

By meeting the real independence in all economic, political, cultural military and also exiting the domination of East and West as well as not relying on the policy of western and eastern powers, this principle in IRI's constitution was reflected in such a way that, according to the constitution originating from the Islamic revolution, Islamic Republic of Iran is not to dominate over other nations nor tolerates any domination of other nations over itself (the constitution, Act, 152).

Values of Justice and Martyrdom: The value of "justice" is focused on one of the most important objectives and tasks of IRI which results in its distinction between the west liberal-democracy systems and social-democracy. In fact, the basic value which an Islamic system, at least theoretically, emphasizes is justice and not the equality of communism and freedom claimed by liberalists. In the method of religious democracy, economic, social and political discrepancies originating from capabilities and efficiencies are approved and are confirmed by necessary mechanism including obtaining Islamic taxes and voluntary strategies such as charity, the execution of justice and decrease in the gap among the classes of the society are among the most important tasks of Islamic governments.

The value of "martyrdom" is also another component of soft power of IRI as one of the Islamic principle against the oppressions of oppressors and foreign invaders. It is placed in the heart of the doctrine of religious democracy by being influenced by Imam Hussein movement in Karbala.

Holy Quran considers martyrdom and Jihad for the sake of God as the art of those who prefer their afterlife world and happiness of God to the transient life of the world: "let those fight in the way of Allah who sell the life of this world for the other. Whoso eightieth in the way of Allah, be the slain or be the victorious, on hem we shall

bestow a vast reward" (Holy Quran, 4: 74). Based on such a view, Muslims fight to achieve their victory or martyrdom; in this line, Imam Khomeini by reviving Ashura Event, operational zed the life of Imam Hussein and survived concepts such as martyrdom, pity and sacrifice [17].

Accordingly, the turning points of the raises of Iranian people took place in Muharram and particularly Tasua and Ashura. The raise of 1963 (4th of July) and demonstration of Iranian people in Tasua and Ashura in 1978 which results in Shah's fleeing are the clear instances of this issue. When people introduced Shah's government similar to Yazd's government, it resulted in hatred of people and the closure any compromise with Shah [18]. The role of the culture of martyrdom and sacrifice in February 10, 1978 is undeniable, in which revolutionary people fought with the heavy armors of Pahlavi's regime.

The peak of representation of the culture of martyrdom in 8 years of fighting against Saddam Hussein's regime can be observable because Iranian people with the spirit of martyrdom and with the least military armors were able to defeat the advanced army of Saddam and his international and regional supporters [19].

In fact, it is with the same justice and martyrdom seeking view of Shiite which survived this school. In this line, Francis Fukuyama, the neoconservative theorist, in a famous speech titled as knowing Shiite identity states:

Shiite is a bird which its horizon of flying is very much higher than our arrows. A bird which has two wings, one is green and the other is red, the green one is justice originating from Mahdaviat and the red one is martyrdom originating from Ashura. These two wings make Shiite immortal. But, this bird is wearing an armor called "belief in religious leadership" by which its power is more (Fukuyama as cited in Izadi, 2008: 8).

CONCLUSION

The present article, with the objective of answering this question what factor has resulted in stability and survival of IRI, investigates the intellectual and basic grounds of the Islamic Revolution, the revolution which by being influenced by Islam School and Quranic teachings indicated the contemporary revolutions and the world looking at the mainly materialistic dimensions of these revolutions the other side of the fact that a revolution based on spiritual and religious power also can be victorious [20].

Islamic Revolution with the victory over Pahlavi's regime, reintroduced a new definition of itself in the international arena and by being influenced by Quranic teachings and in the form of Imam Khomeini's discourse, by presenting "the theory of religious democracy" produced soft power and the software dimension of power in order that not only be able to survive as the system of subverting the status quo, but also by presenting the efficient theory of religious democracy and based on the Islamic teachings and values such as justice, martyrdom, negation of domination, independence, promotion of the presence of spirituality in politics, relying on divine moral power and soft power and supporting the oppressed and suppressed expanded and promoted his revolutionary thoughts through shaping the priorities of the audience by influencing their mind and provided the grounds of flourishing the Islamic civilization in the line of a modern civilization [21].

The model of religious democracy, after Imam Khomeini's demise, was adopted as an efficient model by Ayatollah Khamenei for describing and explicating the Islamic republic system in order the this religious democracy emphasizes both the government of religious values and Islamic content and the significant role of people in socio-political life. The passage of time indicated that one of the most important components of soft power of the Islamic republic of Iran was public support which this factor compensated the deficits due to hard and semi-hard power particularly in crises cases [22].

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