

The Statusology of the Revolutionary Government in the Second Phase of the Islamic Revolution Emphasizing the Intellectual System of the Supreme Leader

Atefeh Khademi*¹, Fatemeh Taghizadeh², Naser Mohammadi³

DOR: 20.1001.1.26767368.2021.3.8.5.7

1. Ph. D. Cultural Policy, Institute of Cultural and Social Studies, Tehran, IRAN.
2. M. A. Psychology, Allameh Tabatabaei University, Tehran, IRAN.
3. Associate Professor, Islamic Philosophy and Wisdom, Payame Noor University, Tehran, IRAN.

(Received: 27 January 2020 - Accepted: 9 June 2021)

Abstract

The Islamic Revolution of Iran is the producer of a fundamentally different system from other systems in the world. While the Islamic Revolution has begun to move in the second phase, explaining the nature of the revolutionary government and studying its status in the current situation is necessary. To achieve this, we should focus on the intellectual thinking of the leadership as a guide for continuing this process. The present study aimed to realize this critical question and answer the fundamental question, 'the nature of the revolutionary government and the situation it exists?' and 'is it possible to preserve it?' The results are obtained by qualitative content analysis method, focusing on the intellectual thinking of the Supreme Leader. The results indicated, with qualitative content analysis and concentrate on the leadership thought system, the nature of the revolutionary government is monotheistic and in historical and comparative approach has similarities with the community in the Prophet era at the beginning of the formation and continuation of the path. However, in the current situation, despite moving forward, it has been exposed to reactionary damage; to prevent the occurrence of restitution, it must protect its nature by educating a revolutionary man.

Keywords: Revolutionary Government, the Second Phase of the Islamic Revolution, Monotheistic School, Restitution, Revolutionary Man.

*. Corresponding author: at.khademi@gmail.com

The Status Ology of the Revolutionary Government in the Second Phase of the Islamic Revolution Emphasizing the Intellectual System of the Supreme Leader

Introduction

The occurrence of the Islamic Revolution as a significant event in the evolution of human society indicated the formation of a movement that was inherently contrary to revolutions, activities, and popular trends in the world. Emphasizing the universal and natural slogans in the statement of the second phase of the Islamic Revolution by the Supreme Leader has shown this fundamental distinction.

In this statement, the keyword of "The Revolutionary Government" as a description for the current system of the Islamic Republic is defined as follows: The Islamic Revolution, as a living and willful phenomenon, always has the flexibility and readiness needed to correct its mistakes but is not revocable and passive. It shows a positive sensitivity to criticism and considers it a blessing from God and a warning to those who are passive professionals, but by no means distances from any of its values, which, thank God, are mingled with the religious faith of its people. After the formation of its system, the Islamic Revolution has not and will not fall into stagnation and silence. It not only sees any contradiction between the revolutionary sensations and the political and social order but also defends the theory of the revolutionary government forever (Khamenei, 1397).

The second phase statement and its description, referring to "The Revolutionary Government Theory," express essential points. They are such as:

- 1) The revolutionary government based on its religious worldview is a theory in its nature;
- 2) The specific nature of this theory is revolutionary military planning, in which any change is based on evolution and dynamism in its heart;
- 3) In this theory, originality is meaningful and content-based. The continuity and survival of any kind of structure depend on the degree of success in maintaining its revolutionary nature. Where the facilities do not achieve the desired goals, they lose their legitimacy;
- 4) In this situation, what is essential is to focus on and pay attention to the nature of the revolutionary government.

This system has included everything that will happen in the process of the Islamic Revolution because the three issues of self-construction, socialization, and civilization have been considered three crucial areas from the beginning. After passing four decades, in the statement of the second phase, the issues have been emphasized. It represents an important concept called the revolutionary government. Therefore, the present study seeks to answer the following questions to analyze the content of the revolutionary government:

- 1) What is the content and nature of the revolutionary government?
- 2) What is the current situation of the Islamic Revolution in terms of the nature of the revolutionary government?
- 3) What is the essential slippage of the revolutionary government?

4) What is the most important factor that protects the revolutionary government?

Since the present study is qualitative, it does not have a hypothesis because qualitative research generally seeks to explain problems.

1. Research Background

It related no direct findings to the research topic but can include the following cases in the background of this research on a case-by-case and indirect basis.

1) Shafi'i, in his article entitled "The Islamic Revolution of the Great Prophet (PBUH), The Model of The Islamic Revolution of Iran," has compared these two revolutions and has analyzed them focusing on two points, as such: First, the context of the revolution, the conditions of the process, principles, goals, characteristics, methods of struggle, and victory factors. In this article, the complete correspondence between these two revolutions has been examined.

Furthermore, the Islamic Revolution has been expressed as an example of the Prophet's course in the present era. Finally, twelve principles have been obtained in explaining the revolution, which is: Justice, the rule of Islam and the Qur'an, education, and cultivation of human being, providing the path to perfection, human respect, human independence and freedom, the formation of a monotheistic system for revival and ruling of virtues, human well-being, human education and knowledge, defense of the deprived and denial of domination. This research is similar to the present study in terms of subject and findings.

However, Shafi'i's findings cover only a part of the current research subject. In addition, the researcher's approach in this article is not systematic, and the results do not have a coherent and systematic concept. (Shafi'I, 1385);

2) Mazaheri, in his article entitled, "The Study of The Future of The Islamic Revolution Based on Three Predictions of Transformation, Control, and Evolution," has studied the end of the Islamic Revolution and his study is based on three main possibilities, as such: Transformation and normalization of the revolution (observing the cessation of the revolution from within), controlling the revolution (following the expiration of the process from the outside), development, continuation, and evolution of the course (observing the ideals, capacities, and historical trends).

Among these three possibilities, the product, continuity, and expansion of the Islamic Revolution have more accepted reasons and pieces of evidence that predict its occurrence as something between certainty and probability (Mazaheri, 1392);

3) Jamalzadeh, Babahadi, and Feizi, in their article entitled, "Sustainable Components of the Islamic Revolution in the Intellectual System of the Supreme Leader," has studied the factors for the

The Status Ology of the Revolutionary Government in the Second Phase of the Islamic Revolution Emphasizing the Intellectual System of the Supreme Leader

durability of the Islamic Revolution with the method of content analysis and has finally derived four main themes as the pillars of the Islamic Revolution, including: "Islam, leadership, people, and efficiency." (Jamalzadeh, Babahadi, and Feizi, 1396);

4) Farsian and Manouchehri emphasized the jurisprudential approach of Imam Khomeini, concluded that moving in the direction of ethics based on collective wisdom focused on freedom and tolerance as the pillars of ethics of political jurisprudence can consolidate the continuation of the Islamic Revolution. (Farsian and Manouchehri, 1397);

5) Eivazi, in his article entitled "Introduction to Examining the Slippages of The Islamic Revolution of Iran," has discussed the pathology of the Islamic Revolution.

In this article, two main points are explained: First, weakness in the theoretical field and second, weakness in management, which are mentioned as obstacles to accurate pathology of the situation of the Islamic Revolution. (Eivazi, 1384);

6) KhanMohammadi (1389), in his article entitled "Pathology of The Islamic Revolution of Iran from Imam Khomeini's View," has discussed the essential slippages of the Islamic Revolution.

It includes division, presenting an authoritative (Taghouti) image for the government, presenting an upside-down image for Islam, abuse of freedom, economic dependence, aristocracy, and luxury. (KhanMohammadi, 1389);

7) Mohammadi and Ghorbani, in their article entitled "Islamic Revolution of Iran from the Perspective of Martyr Morteza Motahhari," have studied the nature, purpose, leadership, and slippages of the Islamic Revolution. In this article, the main goals of the Islamic Revolution are explained in four topics, as such: directing thoughts and ideas towards Islam, organizing material life, establishing human relations of men based on equality and brotherhood, and making the construction of society from the ruling systems and regulations based on the Islamic model (Mohammadi and Ghorbani, 1392).

So, the reviewed articles have mainly examined the subject with a partial view, and the lack of a systematic approach has caused the connection of some concepts to be unclear. Therefore, in this research, the Supreme Leader's statements have been used in a systemic approach focusing on the idea of the revolutionary government. The main difference of this research is the existence of a systematic view for examining the slippages and removing the slippages of the Islamic Revolution. An approach activates at the operational level without being limited to the field under discussion.

2. Theoretical Considerations

The term "Revolution" describes a wide range of events, developments, and trends that have led to significant national or transnational results in modern human history. However, as the simplest political definition, revolution is described as a specific, integrated and sensational event that leads to a change in the formal political structures (Golkar, 2019).

There are different views on how the Islamic Revolution took place and its nature divided into four general categories: Theories that consider the origin of the Islamic Revolution based on economic factors (Looney, 1384; Skocpol, 1982; Katuzian, 1397).

Theories explain the source of the Islamic Revolution based on political factors (Shoja'eian, 1382; Abrahamian, 1982; Fuzi, 1385) such psychological factors (Zonis, 1370; Davis, 1362; Gurr 1970).

Theories consider cultural factors as the central element in the occurrence of the Islamic Revolution (Hosseinian, 1390; Panahi, 1388).

The critical issue in the analysis of the Islamic Revolution is that the Islamic Revolution, due to its different dimensions compared to other existing revolutions, has affected the theoretical field and is in a way defecting the current theories (Panahi, 1388).

This aspect of a difference there is in Imam Khomeini and the leader of the revolution. The Islamic Revolution was a movement with specific goals - specific goals, though in some places general; dreams that were gradually crushed clarified, and its instances revealed, but the plans were clear.

The revolution's objectives were: Yearning for Islam, standing against arrogance, preserving the country's independence, dignifying human beings, defending the oppressed, scientific, technical, and economic progress, and promoting the country.

When one looks at the Sayings of Imam Khomeini (may God bless him and grant him peace) and the primary documents of the revolution, one sees that all of these are rooted in Islamic texts. People-centered, relying on people's faith, people's beliefs, and public motives and emotions, are part of the main foundations of the revolution (Khamenei, Meeting, 5/19/1390).

Therefore, unlike other revolutions, the Islamic Revolution has not become a political system due to its different nature and content.

Creating the ruling political system in Iran has maintained the conditions and characteristics of a revolution. Relying on the three pillars of the revolution (leadership, people, and the school) has continued to move dynamically, depending on its universal goals. Unlike the alternative political systems of other revolutions, it has not fallen into a conservative and static state (Mohammadi, 1382).

The Status Ology of the Revolutionary Government in the Second Phase of the Islamic Revolution Emphasizing the Intellectual System of the Supreme Leader

So, the Islamic Republic system is not like other political systems. On the contrary, it maintains its revolutionary foundations in continuing for its survival.

For the formation of any revolution, one intellectual element and two human factors are needed, considered the pillars of the revolution. The literary element is the ideology and school on which the process is based, and the human features are people and leadership. When these three elements are put together and have the same direction, the revolution is formed. Obviously, the greater the strength of these three pillars, the faster the formation and victory of the revolution (Shafie'i, 1385).

Skocpol introduces the clergy leaders of the Islamic Revolution as revolutionary elites who have a great potential for mass mobilization and state-building. They have shown this ability both in the revolution and in the war. In his view, the Islamic Revolution showed that mass mobilization for war by revolutionary leaders could be state-centered projects (Skocpol, 1988: 164).

Consequently, in the theoretical field, different theories can only explain part of the aspects of the Islamic Revolution. In the heart of the Islamic Revolution, based on the world revolutions and the realization of the Thermatron principle, one cannot claim that the Islamic Revolution has followed the same path. Therefore, we should seek a comprehensive understanding of the revolutionary government theory in the theoretical field, partly explained in this study.

3. Methodology

Following principles as the main principles in the qualitative analysis of statements have used, regarding the statements' high number and to understand accurately far from individual presuppositions and to close the intellectual thinking of the Revolution Supreme Leader.

3.1. Paying Attention to the "Intentions" of the Supreme Leader by Studying his Statements

"Statements" is the plural form of "Statement" and means "To Unfold and Uncover." In other words, the difference between statement and speech lies in its manifestation. "Intentions" refer to "Wills and Purposes" and differs from statements in that they focus on intentions, orders, and hidden and more inward aspects. This research aims to derive the definitions of the Supreme leader by having a deep and systematic study on the statements and is to prevent incorporating individual presuppositions and personal perceptions.

3.2. Individual (*Ijtihadi*) Inference

The Supreme Leader himself does the necessity of paying attention to this method and its explanation. In expressing the importance of this point, he asserts the need to pay attention to the principle of inference (*Ijtihad*) in confronting Imam Khomeini's statements and says:

"The Imam's views are a collection and fortunately have been recorded precisely up to now." Therefore, like all the texts from which can infer the speaker's thinking through the right way of inference, the right way to conclude is to see all the words and put them together - their general, specific, absolute, and valuable comments.

Words must be weighed against each other and compared. Then, the whole sum of these words represents the opinion of Imam Khomeini. Of course, this is not an easy task, but it is clear what we need to do. It is an Ijtihad work. It is an inferential task that you, young people, can do. Sit down and work in different fields to infer Imam's opinion and deduce from the words of Imam Khomeini.

3.3. Focusing on the Principle of Holism

One of the most essential and fundamental principles in the systematic method is to pay attention to the principle of holism (Khosrow Panah, 1396). It means that it is not possible to achieve a deep knowledge and understanding of the subject on a case-by-case basis without considering the general condition of the "Intentions." Therefore, to understand an issue and problem, one must see that subject in the system's public need and other topics in a relevant and systematic way.

3.4. Using Principles for Examining the Problem

According to the principle of comprehensiveness of Islam, identifying the issue in this approach is referring to the principles. Recognizing the main point is first determined by referring to the basics of Islam history and the Qur'an. While in other methods, admitting the problem is done by social observation through inductive ways. Then should answer the problem and finding a strategy in the basics of Islam. This approach considers Islamic principles as a way not only in treatment but also in diagnosis.

4. Research Method

According to the principles of methodology in the research methodology, the method adopted in the present study is a qualitative content analysis method with a systematic approach. It means that data analysis has been done systematically and according to the content analysis method in the whole system of thought.

5. Qualitative Content Analysis

Quantitative reduction of text to numbers in the quantitative technique has often been criticized for losing combined information and meaning (Fang and Shannon 2005).

The qualitative content analysis appears where quantitative analysis reaches limitations. Therefore, qualitative content analysis can be considered a research method for the mental interpretation of the content of textual data through systematic classification, coding, and theme creating or designing recognized patterns (Iman, 1390).

The Status Ology of the Revolutionary Government in the Second Phase of the Islamic Revolution Emphasizing the Intellectual System of the Supreme Leader

Furthermore, with qualitative analysis, one can consider an experimental, methodological, and controlled step-by-step approach by observing the elements under study (yan zhang, 2006).

Qualitative content analysis allows researchers to interpret the authenticity and reality of data in a subjective but scientific way. The objectivity of the results is guaranteed by the existence of a systematic coding process. The qualitative content analysis goes beyond the words or factual content of texts and examines explicit or implicit themes or patterns that are as explicit content (Iman, 1390).

Adopting this method for analyzing the Supreme Leader statements has been done with the same purpose to extract the hidden patterns of his opinions and intentions by scientifically and systematically examining the text of his comments and finally achieving a model close to his intellectual thinking. However, the basic principles that were considered in the methodology section have used qualitative content analysis in this research in a unique way. The primary purpose of this research is to analyze the situation of the revolutionary government in the current period of history. Thus, at different times, in the Supreme Leader's statements, there are comparisons and contrasts between the recent events after the Islamic Revolution and the circumstances of early Islamic history.

Therefore, analyzing the current situation of the revolutionary government has been done based on the analysis of the early history of Islam. Thus, the studied statements are divided into two general sections: Words related to the study of Islam's early history and the period of the Imamate of the Infallible Imams statements associated with the last two years and paying attention to the points and repetitions expressed in these lectures. Comparing the concepts obtained in these two sections using the qualitative content analysis method is the direct approach.

6. Data Collection and Analysis Methods

According to the holism principle, collecting and analyzing the data has been done based on a systemic approach. Considering that the research method is qualitative analysis with historical adaptation, the two main parts of the texts have been studied:

- A) Texts related to the analysis of Islamic history;
- B) The text of the statements of 1396 and 1397.

To compare the concepts in these two sections, the study and qualitative analysis of the statements in these two areas have been done simultaneously. The study of the analytical Islam history is based on the books published by the Supreme Leader.

The two hundred and fifty-year-old man, Hussein's war fairer, two Mujahid Imams, the interpretation of Surah Al-Mujadilah, the performance of Surah Al-Bara'at. Also, we analyzed the statements of the Supreme Leader on the Prophet's prophecy in 15 lectures. But, on

the other hand, interpreted leader speech in 1396 and 1397 was the primary source in analyzing the current situation of the revolutionary government.

Analyzing these two sections and the obtained categories overlap with each other, and finally, the corresponding categories have been extracted as the main categories.

The Reviewed Sources are summarized in the Table Below:

TYPE OF THE TEXT SOURCE FOR DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

STATEMENT	STATEMENT OF THE SECOND PHASE OF THE ISLAMIC REVOLUTION.
STATEMENT	STATEMENTS INCLUDING THE SUBJECT OF THE PROPHECY OF THE PROPHET (15 LECTURES), THE REVOLUTIONARY MAN (2 LECTURES) STATEMENTS OF 1396 AND 1397.
BOOK	THE TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY-YEAR-OLD MAN, HUSSEIN'S WAR FAIRER, TWO <i>MUJAHID</i> IMAMS, INTERPRETATION OF SURAH AL-MUJADILAH, INTERPRETATION OF SURAH AL-BARA'AT, GENERAL OUTLINE OF ISLAMIC THOUGHT IN THE QUR'AN.

7. Research Findings

The categories and concepts obtained from the study of statements in Islamic history and comments on the Islamic Revolution have been very similar to each other. In the Supreme Leader's remarks, the most significant similarity between the Islamic Revolution and the Revolution of the Prophet and the foundations of both revolutions were defined in the same way.

7.1. The Monotheistic School is the Leading Category in the Formation of the Revolutionary Government

In confronting the Supreme Leader's system of thought, the monotheistic school forms the core of his system of thought, based on and about which all other pillars find meaning. Consequently, the central post of the revolutionary government is the monotheistic school, and the main foundation of the theory of the revolutionary government is designed accordingly. This school has three main concepts:

7.2. Monotheistic Thinking

The monotheistic school seeks the rule of monotheism in all the pillars and components of the universe.

Monotheism is both belief and action. Monotheism is a strange thing. It is both belief and action. The components of monotheism are:

Firstly, we must know that there is God;

Secondly, we must know that God is one; that is, there is only one power, and one will involve in the order and planning of this vast world;

The Status Ology of the Revolutionary Government in the Second Phase of the Islamic Revolution Emphasizing the Intellectual System of the Supreme Leader

Thirdly, we should know that the one who has the right to give the rules of life and social systems to human beings is again one, namely God. You see, this is an essential thing. The law, the social rules, must be taken only from God (Khamenei, 1396: 172).

Belief in Monotheism and Unitarianism is a doctrinal principle of every Muslim and must appear in social life (Khamenei, 1396: 175).

7.3. Human Dignity

Another principle of the revolutionary government is human dignity. Man, i.e., the nature of man, the essence of humanity was humiliated before Islam came; pride belonged to money and position; it did not belong to a human being. Then, the Prophet of Islam came and gave value to humanity and made people understand that man can reach a position, contact a pinnacle, and fly above the angels. This respect for human beings is one of the basic principles of the school of Islam. The principle of human dignity is one of the revolutionary principles and a strong motive for creating revolutionary principles of Islam (Khamenei, 1396: 175).

This concept is derived from human creation in terms of its relationship with the creation system. There are two verses in the Qur'an that give the same interpretation that I said-Allah SWT says: "And He has subjected to you whatever is in the heavens and whatever is on the earth" (Al-Jathiyah: 13).

Allah says all of these are subservient to you. What does subservient mean? It means now you are subjugating them all, and you cannot have an influence on them, but you are potentially created, and the worlds of existence and the universe are made in such a way that everyone is subjugated to you. What does subservient mean? It means they are in your fist, and you can use them all in the best way. It shows that this creature, whom God subjugates the heavens, the earth, the stars, the sun, and the moon, must be very dominant to the divine creation. This dominance has also been specified: "Certainly we have honored the Children of Adam" (al-Isra: 70).

The phrase "We have Honored the Adam Children" - includes the phase of legislation and creation (Statement in the Meeting with the Government Agents, 12/9/1379).

7.4. Justice: Elimination of Class Discrimination

In addition to honoring human beings, the revolutionary government must perform justice and consider the establishment of justice as a goal and mission for itself. Justice means eliminating the gap between rich and poor in the country and fighting poverty in the country and the proper distribution of wealth. It is different from Marxist thinking; this is different from the equality expressed by the socialists or communists; this is the view of Islam; Islamic sources and Islamic records all confirm and emphasize this meaning. We are not to get the wealth of the rich and take that wealth from them; no, we must govern

the country to remove it. Well, this is a fundamental issue and is still focused on in the world today (Khamenei, Meeting, 30/6/1396).

This issue is an indispensable matter in the religious foundations. "Certainly, we sent our apostles with manifest proofs, and we sent down with them the Book and the Balance, so that mankind may maintain justice." (Al-Hadid: 25)

The principle of the prophecy of all the prophets and sending of messengers and books was to settle "Justice" - that is, the same as social justice, economic justice - among the people. So, these are old Islamic concepts (Speech addressed to the Iranian nation, spring 1/3/1399).

Table No. 1- The Main Category of the Revolutionary Government

The Formation of the Revolutionary Government	
The main Category	Monotheistic School
The Main Concepts	Monotheism
	Justice
	Human Dignity

7.5. Restitution, the Leading Category in Examining the Slippages of the Revolutionary Government

The three essential pillars of the monotheistic school are among the fundamental foundations in the theory of the revolutionary government in the intellectual thinking of the leadership.

The revolutionary government is a government in which these three pillars have been realized. Therefore, the Supreme Leader's statements and repetitions, which are explained in the problem examination, are the situation of the revolutionary government in confronting this school following the rule of Islam. Therefore, along with the analysis of the rebellious government nature and content in the systematic approach to the category of Islamic community deviation as the harm and threat the main point in the revolutionary government and the word restitution is used to describe this slippage: "Restitution means the movement that the revolution had started and the nation was moving in its direction with revolutionary force and speed, may weaken in some places, then stop, then return; this is restitution; restitution means to return." All great well-known revolutions-such as the French Revolution, the Russian Revolution, and the processes in Africa, Latin America, and elsewhere-almost without exception were inflicted to this slippage in the first years of their lives.

Forty years have passed, and the standards of the revolution have not been changed or manipulated; unlike these revolutions, we were able to keep and maintain these standards. But it is dangerous.

I have to tell the danger to our dear people. Moving towards aristocracy is moving towards restitution; instead of paying attention to the weak class, we become motivated by the affluent and extravagant courses in the country, this is a move towards restitution; if we rely on

The Status Ology of the Revolutionary Government in the Second Phase of the Islamic Revolution Emphasizing the Intellectual System of the Supreme Leader

foreigners instead of relying on people, we pin hope on the foreigners, and this is restitution; this should not happen. The elites of society must be mindful; the managers of the organization must be aware. Managers of the country must be aware; people must carefully look at our behavior and the conduct of managers with great attention. Restitution is a dangerous matter.

When restitution occurs, the same former revolutionary people are operating in the government. Instead, they have changed their manner, they have changed their way; it is as if the revolution had occurred for them to leave, and it happened for us to come to work! The revolution did not happen for this purpose; revolution means change, revolution means a change of direction, revolution means considering lofty goals and moving towards them; if we forget these goals, it is no longer a revolution (Khamenei, meeting 29/11/1396).

"The plight of backwardness or restitution is the great enemy of any revolution that penetrates and grows in revolutionary societies. The penetration of corruption and the creation of doubts in the minds of young people about goals, material desires, employment in worldly ornaments and comfortable life in society, and the appearance of signs of luxurious life among the revolutionary elements are signs of the influence of the plight of restitution and backwardness. Likewise, dealing with property and amassing wealth, infliction of moral, financial and administrative corruption, engaging in internal disputes, which is itself a hazardous corruption and ambition destroy the ideal palace of the Islamic Revolution and every other truth" (Khamenei, meeting 17/10/1373).

In the second phase statement of the revolution, the Supreme Leader also points out this critical point if they did not put aside the process standards. The revolutionary movements were not ignored; in some periods of the forty-year-old history of the revolution – since neglecting them was damaging and harmful - the achievements of the process would be much more significant. The country would be far ahead of other countries in achieving its grand ideals. There would not be the current problems that we face today (Khamenei, Statement of the Second Phase of the Islamic Revolution, 1397).

In these circumstances, the occurrence of restitution leads to change and alteration in the monotheistic school, as follows:

7.6. Tyrannical Rule (Taghoutigari)

The *Taghout* rule in the historical and comparative analysis of the Islamic Revolution with the Prophet revolution occurs when restitution penetrates the body of the government, as has happened in the history of Islam.

You can see what happened to the history of Islam after the Prophet and who rode around the Islamic *Ummah*. Therefore, the basic principle of Islam, Monotheism (Towhid), was abolished, and tyranny

(*Taghout*) became the center. Who was the tyranny (*Taghut*)? Mu'awiyah Ibn Abi Sufyan (Khamenei, 1396: 177).

7.7. Class Discrimination

Restitution destroys justice. When the affairs of society are in the hands of people who are far from the monotheistic school, one cannot expect justice to be achieved in such a condition as has happened in the history of Islam. In ‘Uthman, the financial equality created by the Holy Prophet was disturbed and destroyed. The Holy Prophet himself lived a life of contentment. Extravagance and luxury were by no means witnessed in the Holy Prophet's life and the life of those close to him. Then, the person who had taken up the position of the Prophet, pretending to be his successor, became the tyrant (*Taghuti*) in front of the representative of God. However, luxury was manifested in his life to the extent that man becomes astonished (Khamenei, 1396: 177).

7.7.1. Degradation

When restitution occurs, the principle of human dignity is lost, and the revolution leaves its dynamism and mobility. According to the historical evidence, honoring the man and valuing humanity and individuals were neglected in Islamic society. The Umayyad caliphs- Mu'awiyah and his son Yazid believed that the whole world of Islam and the Islamic society belonged to them and that the people were their property, slaves, and servants. Well, Imam Hussein faced such restitution, such backwardness, such a return, and restitution means backwardness and returns to what is other than Islam. Return to what is against perfection and sublimity. Going back, going down, going back to misery; this is called restitution and backwardness (Khamenei, 1396: 216). The categories related to the concept of restitution are given in Table 2 and Figure 1.

Figure 1 shows the definition of the monotheistic school, its practical actions, possible changes, and its situation at the time of restitution.

Table No. 2: The Main Category of Slippages of the Revolutionary Government

Examining the Slippages of the Revolutionary Government	
The main category	Restitution
The main concepts	Tyrannical rule (<i>Taghoutigari</i>)
	Class discrimination
	Degradation

The Status Ology of the Revolutionary Government in the Second Phase of the Islamic Revolution Emphasizing the Intellectual System of the Supreme Leader

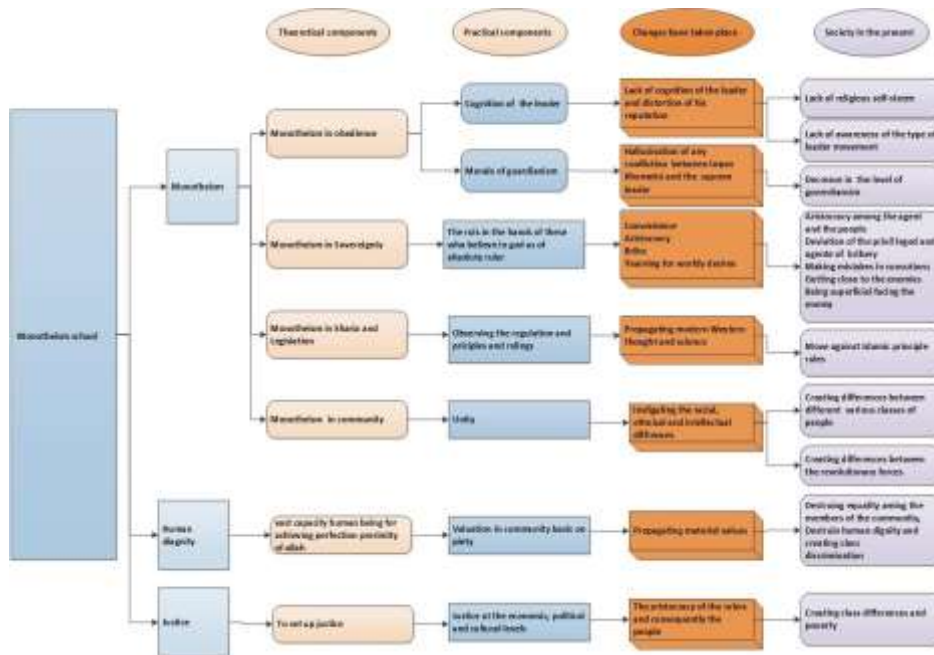


Figure 1- The Course of the Revolutionary Government and the Damage of Restitution. The Book "Two Mujahid Imams," Khamenei 1396.

7.8. Revolutionary Man, a Fundamental Category in the Protection of the Revolutionary Government

Finally, the protection of the revolutionary government is achieved through intense training of people. Man relies on four main strategies: Piety, Kabir jihad (fighting Satan), obedience to revelation, and trust in Allan (Khamenei, Meeting, 3/3/1395).

The mentioned strategies in revolutionary man led to the creation of characteristics in him through which he would gain the attribution of "Revolutionary." However, we should note that the revolutionary quality is not attributed to a particular person, but it can allude to all members of society.

As for the extent of extreme action, one cannot be expected to do the same kind of action that others do. Or one cannot be expected to have the same level of revolutionary that others have. In other words, Revolution Arianism is not specific in everyone and can have five indicators as follows:

7.8.1. Adherence to Values

In this part, Revolution Arianism means having a firm belief in values defined by pure Islam.

7.8.1.1. Pure Islam

The first basis is adherence to pure Islam versus American Islam. Pure Islam is the opposite of American Islam, and American Islam has two branches: One branch is petrified Islam, one branch is secular Islam; this is American Islam (Khamenei, Meeting, 14/3/1394).

7.8.1.2. Trust in the Truth of the Divine Promise

One of the principles of Imam Khomeini was to rely on divine assistance, to trust in the truth of the divine promise, and on the contrary, to distrust the arrogant and oppressive world powers (Khamenei, Meeting, 14/3/1394).

7.8.1.3. People Being at the Center

The Islamic Republic means this; people are at the center, goals are for the people, dreams belong to the people, interests are the property of the people, authority is in the hands of the people; these qualities refer to caring for the people: The people's vote, the people's will, the people's movement, the people's action, the people's presence and the people's honor in the government of the Islamic Republic. So, this is one of those principles, and we should believe in (Khamenei, Meeting, 14/3/95).

7.8.1.4. Belief in Progress, Promotion, Alteration, Perfection, and Interaction with the Conditions

One of those basic principles and values is the belief in promotion, alteration, perfection, and interaction with the conditions by avoiding the deviations and mistakes in this path (Khamenei, meeting 14/3/95).

7.8.1.5. Supporting the Deprived and Achieving Social Justice

It is one of the definite principles of Imam Khomeini; everyone should try to eradicate poverty; everyone should try to get the deprived out of deprivation and help the deprived as much as it is possible for the country (Khamenei, Meeting, 14/3/1394).

7.8.1.6. Justice

One of the ideals is justice; these are the words that some of the brothers said here. Therefore, fairness is fundamental; it has different branches; we should not be contented to the name of justice; it should be observed (Khamenei, Meeting, 4/20/1394).

7.8.1.7. Rejection of Domination

Imam Khomeini believed in the independence of the country; he was against any domination on the land. During all these years, many enemy's activities against our country and nation cause independence damaging of the country.

Whether sanctions or threats, they have targeted freedom. Everyone must be vigilant and be aware of the enemy's goals. It is also one of the main foundations (Khamenei, Meeting, 14/3/94).

7.8.2. Sublime Effort for Achieving the Ideals

The second indicator is the excellent effort to achieve the ideals, not forget the plans, and not give up on the great goals. It is to never give up on achieving those lofty goals and lofty objectives; do not give in to pressure.

When you go near the enemy, it hinders you. [But] this obstacle should not prevent you from leaving, from continuing your movement. Therefore, let us not give in to the pressures; let us not be satisfied with the current situation, since if we consent to the current situation, the result will be regression and backwardness (Khamenei, Meeting, 14/3/95).

The Status Ology of the Revolutionary Government in the Second Phase of the Islamic Revolution Emphasizing the Intellectual System of the Supreme Leader

7.8.3. Adherence to Independence

The third indicator is adherence to independence. Independence is essential; internal independence, regional independence, global and international independence; this means that in all these issues, we should maintain the freedom of the country and the independence of the government (Khamenei, meeting 14/3/95).

7.8.4. Urging Vigilance against the Enemy

Vigilance against the enemy. To know the enemy, be observant of the enemy's actions (Khamenei, meeting 14/3/95).

7.8.5. Religious and Political Piety

The fifth and last indicator is religious and political piety, other than individual righteousness, which is necessary. We have personal purity based on which you and I should avoid sin, protect ourselves: "Save yourselves and your families from a Fire" (al-Tahrim: 6) (13) to distance ourselves from the fire of holy hell, from the fire of divine wrath; this is individual piety. Social piety - Islamic piety related to society-strives to achieve what Islam has required from us (Khamenei, meeting 14/3/95).

Conclusion

Attention to the content and nature of the revolutionary system and its continuity quality in the second phase statement as a movement charter and the essential vision of the Islamic Revolution doubled the necessity of this research. In addition, however, paying attention to the systemic approach to the issue was necessary to obtain a systematic understanding of the problem. Therefore, this study analyzed the Supreme Leader's statements with a systematic approach and concluded three main categories.

The first category in the theory of the revolutionary government and the intellectual thinking of the Supreme Leader is based on the monotheistic school. A school in the three components of monotheism, justice, and human dignity form its fundamental pillars. The ideals of the Islamic Revolution, to the revolution, adheres to its dynamic movement on this school's realization. But identifying the foundations of the monotheistic school is part of the Supreme Leader's intellectual thinking approach towards the revolutionary government.

Another essential part goes back to explaining his comparative historical approach in dealing with issues and managing affairs. He believes in referring to the Quranic principles, Imam's life and the history of the development of Shia life, and a comparison between the past and Imams' practice. Since he considers the Islamic Revolution as the continuation of Shia rule, the Islamic Revolution paves the way for Imam's reappearance (Imam Mahdi (a.s.)). Hence, the revolutionary system mentioned in the second phase statement and the biological

and contextual basis in the monotheistic school need to be understood and compared with historical developments.

In this regard, he considers the revolutionary government in the historical-comparative approach similar to the Prophet's city (*Madinat al-Nabi*) at the beginning of its formation. Therefore, he regards the formation of the Islamic Revolution of Iran at the beginning as the Prophet's city during the Prophet's time. Furthermore, in the correspondence made, it is essential to pay attention to the slippages and threats towards the Islamic Revolution over time because the prophetic community suffered slippages in the continuation of its movement, which eventually led to the martyrdom of the Imams to preserve the truth and the foundation of the predictive rule. Therefore,

Restitution is the second most fundamental category concerning the revolutionary government's theory; because there appears attention to the harms and threats and the type of change and transformation in the monotheistic school. In fact, under this category, the need to cover mistakes in the second phase of the Islamic Revolution is necessary. In this case, restitution is placed as one of the pillars of the monotheistic school and leads to deviation. The way out of this slippage and threat in his system of thought led us to the third category, the revolutionary man. Revolutionary man is the essential capacity for the realization, preservation, and survival of the monotheistic school and, in other words, the revolutionary government. This term created in the revolution can be called a "Revolutionary Man" in the Supreme Leader's words. A dynamic man who is on the move and lives in a sweep towards the revolution.

In other words, the revolutionary man is realizing the revolution, and the process paves the ground for teaching the rebellious people. The characteristics of this man include adherence to values and pure Islam, sublime efforts for achieving pure Islam, adherence to political, cultural, and economic independence, urging vigilance to the actions of the enemy, and religious and political piety.

Then, based on the intellectual thinking of the Supreme Leader, the obstacles to the characteristics realization of a revolutionary man were identified, which are listed in Table 3.

The Status Ology of the Revolutionary Government in the Second Phase of the Islamic Revolution Emphasizing the Intellectual System of the Supreme Leader

Table No. 3- The Concept of evolutionary Man and Obstacles to its Realization

Calculating order	Elements	Obstacles of realization	
		Foreign	Domestic
Adherence to the values	Trust in the divine promise against the enemy	Petrified Islam and Secular Islam	Presenting an individual religion and superficial religion
	pure Islam	Offering empty power or waging media war against power.	Trust in arrogant powers and material calculating system
	National Unity	Denial of the legitimacy of the government in the completion of democracy through media war	Lack of comprehension in democracy and the means of its realization
	Belief in promotion, alteration, perfection	removing ethnic, intellectual, religious, and political gaps	Individualism and lack of attention to national resources
	democracy	Struggle for separating the government from the people	The inefficiency of structures to increase the role of the people in social changes
	justice	Striving for the domination of capitalism	Aristocracy in privileged, and its spread to the familiar people
	Rejection of domination	Cause terror	Convenience Weak historical memory in standing against the oppression
	Supporting the oppressed	Vindication of the oppressor and spending money for supporting the oppressed	Individualism and utilitarianism
Aiming the goals	Not yielding	Social humiliation	Laziness Conservatism Disappointment Extreme pragmatism
	Not accepting the present situation	Cultural Invasion	Westernization
Adherence to independence	cultural	Penetration project	Inefficiency of officials
	political	Sanctions/emergence into the global economy	Lack of realization of resistance economy
	economical	The threat of bribery	Ignorance and indifference to the actions of the enemy
Vigilance to the actions of the enemy	<i>KabirJihad</i>	Presenting American Islam and Secular Islam	Misunderstanding of religion and its functions Reducing religion to the individual sphere
Religious piety	Political piety	Propagation for secularism and individualism	Laziness Convenience Secularism and utilitarianism

What can be said as the conclusion is that the Islamic Revolution is the product of the theory of the revolutionary government, under which it needs to pay attention to its principles in the monotheistic school. Besides, as the intellectual thinking of the Supreme Leader has always been focused on historical changes and developments

concerning the monotheistic worldview, we must consider the transitions and effects of the revolutionary government, especially in the second phase of the revolution. Therefore, awareness people that the Islamic Revolution, as the prophetic community, is in danger of restitution and deviation in its path face the monotheistic school with changes and transformations, will eventually continue the direction more straightforwardly.

Therefore, in the second phase of the Islamic Revolution, paying attention to the current situation of the revolutionary government and striving to benefit from the possibility of training and growth of rebellious men can pave the way for this path. Therefore, the second phase statement is an instruction and a charter that emphasizes the monotheistic revolution school and attention to preserving and protecting the revolutionary government stated in orders and prohibitions.

References

- Abrahamian, Y. (1982). *Iran between Two Revolutions*. (A, Gol Mohammadi; M, Fattahi. Trans). Ney Publishing.
- Davis, J. (1962). "Toward a Theory of Revolution." *American Sociological Review*. Vol. 27, no. 1, pp. 5-19.
- Eivazi, M. (1384). "An Introduction to Examining the Slippages of the Islamic Revolution." *Zamaneh Journal*. Vol. 4, no. 41 and 42, pp. 52-56.
- Farsian, M; Poormanouchehri, A. (1397). "Continuity of the Islamic Revolution in the Light of Moral, Political Jurisprudence Based on Imam Khomeini's Approach." *Political Thought in Islam*. Vol. 4, no. 16, pp. 7-28.
- Fuzi, Y. (1385). "Structural Factors Affecting the Occurrence of the Islamic Revolution in Iran." *Journal of Theoretical Policy Research*. Vol. 2, no. 2, pp. 1-24.
- Golkar, S. (2019). "A Review on Iran Rising: The Survival and Future of the Islamic Republic." *The Middle East Journal*. Vol. 73, no. 4, pp. 669-670.
- Gurr, T. (1970). *Why Men Rebel*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

The Status Ology of the Revolutionary Government in the Second Phase of the Islamic Revolution Emphasizing the Intellectual System of the Supreme Leader

- Hosseinian, R. (1390). *Three Years of Struggle against Shiite Authority (1340-1343)*. Tehran: Islamic Revolutionary Documentation Center.
- Hsiu Fang, H; Shanon, S. (2005). "Three Approaches to Content Analysis." *Qualitative Health Research*. Vol. 15, no. 9, pp. 1277-1288.
- Iman, M. (1390). *Paradigmatic Foundations of Quantitative and Qualitative Research Methods in the Humanities*. Qom: Research Institute and University.
- Iman, M; Noshadi, M. (1390). "Qualitative Content Analysis." *PAZHUHESH*. Vol. 3, no. 2, pp. 15-44.
- Jamalzade, N; Babahadi, M; Feizi, R. (1396). "Factors for the Durability of the Islamic Revolution in the Intellectual Thinking of the Supreme Leader." *Journal of Political Sociology of the Islamic World*. Vol. 6, no. 1, pp. 105-128.
- Katuzian, M. (1397). *Political Economy of Iran (From Constitutionalism to the End of the Pahlavi Dynasty)*. Tehran: Markaz Publication.
- Khamenei, A. (1395). Lecture on the Anniversary of Imam Khomeini's Demise on 14/3/1395, at: <http://farsi.khamenei.ir/speech-content?id=33259>.
- . (1395). Lecture on the Anniversary of the Demise of Imam Khomeini, 14/3/1395.
- . (1396). *The Two Mujahid Imams*. Tehran: Islamic Revolution Publications.
- . (1396). *Interpretation of Surah al-Bara'at*. Tehran: Islamic Revolution.
- . (1397). *Hussein's War Fairer*. Tehran: Islamic Revolution.
- . (1397). *Interpretation of Surah al-Mujadilah*. Tehran: Islamic Revolution.
- . (1397). *The Two Hundred and Fifty-Year-Old Man*. Tehran: Iman Jihadi Cultural and Artistic Institute.

- _____. (1371). Statements in the Meeting with Pilgrims and Neighbors of the Holy Shrine of Razavi, 15/1/1371: <https://farsi.khamenei.ir/newspartindex?id=2609&nt=2&year=1371&tid=988#2071>.
- _____. (1379). Statements in the Meeting with the Agents of the Government, 12/9/1379. <https://farsi.khamenei.ir>.
- _____. (1383). Message to the Great Hajj Congress, 29/10/1383. <https://farsi.khamenei.ir>.
- _____. (1383). Statements in a Meeting with an Officials' Group of the Foreign Affairs Ministry, 25/5/1383. <https://farsi.khamenei.ir>.
- _____. (1384). Statements in the Meeting between the President and Members of the Cabinet on 8/6/1384. <https://farsi.khamenei.ir>.
- _____. (1384). Statements in the Morning Ceremony of Different Ranks of the Basij Resistance Forces, 2/6/1384. <https://farsi.khamenei.ir>.
- _____. (1385). Statement in the Meeting with the Staff of the Prayer Headquarters on 27/6/1385. <https://farsi.khamenei.ir>.
- _____. (1385). Statements in the Meeting of Officials and Agents of the Islamic Republic, 29/3/1385. <https://Farsi.Khamenei.ir>.
- _____. (1386). Message to the 42nd Annual Meeting of the Union of Islamic Students' Associations in Europe 3/9/1386. <https://farsi.khamenei.ir>.
- _____. (1387). Statements in the Meeting between the President and Members of the Cabinet on 2/6/1387. <https://farsi.khamenei.ir>.
- _____. (1388). Statements in the Meeting with the Members of the Cabinet on 16/6/1388. <https://farsi.khamenei.ir>
- _____. (1390). Statements in the Meeting of Students, <https://farsi.khamenei.ir/speech-content?id=16912>.
- _____. (1390). Friday Prayer Sermon in Tehran 14/11/1390. <https://farsi.khamenei.ir>.

The Status Ology of the Revolutionary Government in the Second Phase of the Islamic Revolution Emphasizing the Intellectual System of the Supreme Leader

- _____. (1390). Speeches during the Meeting of the Participants in the World Summit "Youth and Islamic Awakening," 10/11/1390. <https://farsi.khamenei.ir>.
- _____. (1393). Statements in the Meeting with the Officials of the Government and the Ambassadors of Islamic Countries 6/3/1393. <https://farsi.khamenei.ir>.
- _____. (1395). Lecture on the Anniversary of Imam Khomeini's demise on 14/3/1394, at: <http://farsi.khamenei.ir/speech-content?id=29914>.
- _____. (1397). Khamenei, Statements of the Second Phase of the Islamic Revolution, at: <https://farsi.khamenei.ir/message-content?id=41673>.
- _____. (1396). Meeting With the People of East Azerbaijan, 29/11/1396, at: <https://farsi.khamenei.ir/speech-content?id=38975>.
- _____. (1373). Officials, and Personnel of the IRGC and the Police and Veterans Group Meeting with the Supreme Leader of the Revolution 17/10/1373, at: <https://farsi.khamenei.ir/news-content?id=696>.
- _____. (1396). Statements in the Meeting between the Chairman and the Members of the Assembly of Leadership Experts, 30/6/1396, at: <https://farsi.khamenei.ir/speech-content?id=37721>
- Khanmohammadi, K. (1389). "Examining the Slippages of the Islamic Revolution from the Perspective of Imam Khomeini." The Website of the Office for Publishing the Works of Ayatollah Khamenei: <http://farsi.khamenei.ir/others-article?id=10758>.
- Khosro Panah, A. (1396). *The Intellectual Thinking of Grand Ayatollah Khamenei*. Tehran: Publishing Organization of the Institute of Islamic Culture and Thought.
- Looney, R. (1384). *The Economic Roots of the Iranian Revolution*. (M, Mehr Aein. Trans). Tehran: Social Science.
- Mazaheri, A. (1392). "A Study of the Future of the Islamic Revolution Based on Three Predictions of Transformation, Control and

Evolution." *Quarterly Journal of Political Knowledge*. Vol. 5, no. 1, pp. 61-84.

Mohammadi, M; Ghorbani, M. (1392). "The Islamic Revolution of Iran from the Perspective of Martyr Morteza Motahhari." *Quarterly Journal of Islamic Revolution Research*. Vol. 2, no. 6, pp. 71-88.

Panahi, M. (1388). "The Islamic Revolution and the Revolution in Theories." *Social Sciences Quarterly*. Vol. 15, no. 42-43, pp. 264-325.

Shafii, A. (1385). "The Islamic Revolution of the Great Prophet (PBUH) the Model of the Islamic Revolution of Iran." *Payam Quarterly*. Vol. 1, no. 79, pp. 83-96.

Shafii, A. (1385). "The Islamic Revolution from the Perspective of the Supreme Leader of the Islamic Revolution." *Hassoun journal*. Vol. 3, no. 7, pp. 7-32.

Shojaeyan, M. (1382). *The Islamic Revolution and Cultural Approaches*. Tehran: Islamic Revolution Documentation Center.

Skocpol, T. (1988). "Social Revolutions and Mass Military Mobilization." *World Politics*. Vol. 40, no. 2, pp. 147-168.

———. (1982). "Rentier State Shi'a Islam in the Iranian Revolution." *Theory and Society*. Vol. 11, no. 3, pp. 265- 283.

Yan, Z. (2006). "Content Analsis (Qualitative, Thematic)." <http://www.ils.unc>.

Zonis, M. (1370). *Royal Defeat*. (A, Mokhber. Trans). Tehran: Tarh-e no Publications.