

An Introduction to the Bases of Supporting Islamic Movements in the Foreign Policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran

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Abstract

One of the fundamental principles of the Islamic Republic of Iran in its foreign policy during the last four decades have been to support the liberating movements, specifically the Islamic movements. This policy has been formed according to ideals of Iranians, and based on the Islamic worldview of the Islamic Republic of Iran and its revolutionary discourse. In fact, it has been emphasized in our constitutional law and other legal documents. On the other hand, support of these movements is not only in the direction of our national and ideological benefits, but also, according to completely lawful standards of international law and specifically human rights concerning fate determination and the right of lawful defense. In spite of all these facts, since the victory of the Islamic revolution, the Western countries and, following them, the Western media have continuously accused Iran of supporting terrorism and terroristic groups. This paper is going to explain the difference between these events and the terroristic groups according to international law, human rights and humanitarian principles.

Keywords

Liberating Movements, Islamic Movements, Iran's Foreign Policy, International Law, Terrorism.

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Introduction

Liberating movements are among de facto players in the international relations stage, whose legitimacy and activities have been determined based on benefits and relations among governments and under the influence of the power ruling the international policy. This has led to some complexity and ambiguity in the definition of characteristics, legitimacy and their difference with terroristic groups, and as a result, several countries either recognize and support, or reject them, and in some cases, attempt to destroy them through posing limitations on them or by military interventions according to their own national interests. Of course some attempts have also been made within the framework of international law to explain the difference between liberating movements and terrorism and some criteria have been developed to differentiate them. Although this legal issue is constantly being overwhelmed by international policy atmosphere, and, in some cases, national or regional groups who merely act against occupation and foreign interventions in their own countries are also called “terrorists”, some countries recognize them as factors in the direction of preventive or preemptive defense. In these conditions, an accusation which has been put forward against Iran since its first years of revolution is supporting of terrorism and causing disorder in the process of peace in the Middle East region. This claim has been made because of Iran’s support of some liberating or Islamic movements in the region against Isreal. This happens while Iran itself is the greatest victim of international terrorism from one side, and from the other side, the Western governments introduce the liberating groups as terrorists and deny the certain right of Moslem nations to

determine their own future. Meanwhile, they attempt to create and support some terroristic groups such as ISIS and Alqaedeh clearly and covertly. Accordingly, regarding the importance and necessity of explanation of bases of supporting Islamic movements and specifically the Resistance movement in Iran's foreign policy and in order to become familiar with backgrounds and reasons for this support, in this paper it will be tried to firstly have a review on the Islamic Republic of Iran's discourse as the principle and foundation of Iran's foreign policy, and secondly to point to the importance of supporting liberating movements in our constitutional law and other legal documents, and finally to explain the reasons for Iran's supporting of those movements according to international law.

1. Reasons for supporting behaviors in foreign policy

Foreign policy is the practice of a government within the international system in order to achieve its national goals and interests. It can be represented through different ways such as diplomatic negotiation, propaganda and economical rewarding and obligation-including establishment of tariffs, rationing, sanction, prohibition of business, granting loans and credits and changing exchange rate, making black lists, issuing permits, blocking belongings, divestment of ownership and granting or stopping assistance (Holesty, 1373: 280-421).

Meanwhile, allocation of any assistance or behavior by a government to other governmental or ungovernmental players in a manner that protects the ideals of foreign policy of the supporting country and its national interests can be defined as support-

ing behavior. These contributions may be either bilateral, being exchanged directly among countries, or multi-lateral being represented by international organizations (Riddell, 2007: 3). However, we consider the soft power as formation of others' preferences by satisfying others in an unnoticeable manner and in order to obtain ideal results through attraction instead of obligation or subornation, undoubtedly this kind of supporting policy should be considered as the soft power and tools, used by other countries to oppress their opponents (Gohari Moqaddam and Javadani Moqaddam, 1391: 1). This policy has a long background in the foreign policy of countries and the basis of supporting behaviors is formed according to the characteristics of the role each country chooses to play in its international relation, just as USA had defined its identity as opposed to communism during the "Cold War" and thus continued its supporting practice by giving political, economic and informational assistance to Western governments, exerting restrictions and sanctions on communist countries and even in some cases supporting some anti-USSR terroristic groups such as Alqaede (Fattahi, 1396: 84-96). After the days of "Cold War", USA continued this policy toward ISIS and others while within all these cases, supporting behaviors were merely in the direction of national ideals and interests of the United States of America, without observing such standards as human rights, international law, and the like. The European Union also despite its emphasis on having a normative identity and giving priority to economy and human rights, follows its political and economic benefits in the framework of its supporting practice and its relationship with other countries. In this framework, the motivation for Iran's supporting behavior toward liberating and Islamic movements is the national ideals and interests of the Islamic

Republic of Iran and human-rights standards and international law which will be discussed in detail.

2. The place of liberating movements in the Islamic revolution's discourse

The foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran, like other countries, in the international system is based on fixed and solid principles as its behavioral guide of foreign policy in international arena. These principles have been formed based on our national values and ideals and show our general foreign policy orientation. Meanwhile the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran represents the principles related to religious jurisprudence and theoretical Islamic bases that altogether are epitomized in the framework of our Islamic revolution's discourse. In fact, the political ideology of our Islamic revolution that originates from pure political Islamic values and teachings explains the theoretical and practical bases of the strategies of the Islamic Republic of Iran as an Islamic government. The most important bases and principles of the Islamic revolutionary discourse in the political field and specifically in the foreign diplomacy realm that has created the grounds for supporting liberating Islamic movements are as follows:

2-1. Theocracy and supporting Islamic movements

The first and most important principle impacting on the discourse of the Islamic revolution that plays an important role in the formation of Iran's foreign diplomacy is the centrality of religion and its relationship with diplomacy. This principle shows the difference between the Islamic revolution and other ones across the world.

It also differentiates the foreign diplomacy of Iran from other countries. In this framework, since the common political and geographical demarcations are not necessary in Islam, and instead, the ideological demarcations on the integrity of the Islamic world are valid supporting the Islamic movements is among the main strategies based on Islamic values to defend the dignity of the Islamic ommat.

On the other hand, regarding the Islamic observation on its foreign diplomacy, the necessity of defending Islamic territories as one of duties of Moslems is put forward. According to Islamic ideology the Islamic society is considered as being a single body and no Moslem can be indifferent toward the invasion of non-Moslems; therefore it is one of obligations of the Islamic governments to protect the benefits of other Moslems within its foreign diplomacy. This issue has been clearly emphasized in the holy Koran who calls all Moslems across the world as brothers, and invites all them to fight in order to defend each other against outsiders (holy Koran, Nessa: 75). Also it has been narrated of the holy Prophet, "If a Moslem hears the cry of an oppressed individual (either a Moslem or a non-Moslem) for help and doesn't hurry to help him, then he is not a Moslem (Vasaelo-Shieh, Vol. 11: 559-560). On the other hand, Imam Ali (P.b.u.h.) advises us to constantly be supporters of the oppressed (Nahjolbalaghe letter 47: 321). This, clearly shows that according to Islam it is the duty of all Moslems to defend the oppressed against strangers and give their lives and properties in the way of God. It was in this framework that at the time of Israels' attack on Islamic countries great leaders of the Islamic world such as Seyyed Mohsen Hakim, Seyyed Hadi Milani, Shahabeddin Mar'ashi Najafi, Seyyed Abolghasem Khoee,

Ali Mousavi Behbahani, Bahaeddin Mahallati, Seyyed Abdollah Shirazi and many others issued announcements to ask all Moslems across the world to help the oppressed Moslems in Palestine and other countries. In a part of his announcement, Ayatollah Sheikh Bahaeddin Mahallati said that all Moslems across the world are obligated not to begrudge the oppressed Moslems any material and spiritual assistance and to stop all their relationships and deals leading to strengthen Isreal (“Supporters of the Revolution”, narrated from documents of Savak, 1390).

2-2. “Obstruction of the way” principle and fighting against dominance in the Islamic revolution discourse

Another important reason for supporting liberating movements by Iran is its belief in rejection of any kind of dominance. This belief originates from the principle of obstruction of the way in the Islamic revolution that rejects all current international structures and norms and emphasizes on the necessity of freedom from all kinds of dependence (Agha Mahdavi and Akbari, 1391: 61-63).

On the other hand, this opposition to dominance and oppression is followed in Iran’s foreign policy along with emphasizing on the strategy of “not Eastern, not Western”. In this framework, the Islamic Republic of Iran, rejecting the hegemony of all countries, becomes committed to give assistance to the oppressed nations across the world specifically the Moslems so that they can free themselves from the chains made by cruel rulers to exploit them; this is an unconditional principle in Iran’s international relations. Imam Khomeini suggests on this issue:

“We are present everywhere there is a fight against the arro-

gant. We defend the rights of the oppressed people in Palestine and Lebanon against Isreal” (Sahife Imam Khomeini, Vol. 12: 148).

2-3. Fighting against oppression and defending the oppressed

In the Islamic revolution’s discourse, emphasizing on the Islamic teachings, fighting against oppression and defending the oppressed are summarized in the short sentence of “Don’t oppress, Don’t become oppressed”. In this framework not only supporting all liberating movements, but also protecting the rights of indigents all over the world have been recommended within the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran. Accordingly, Imam Khomeini also frequently emphasizes on the protection of rights of the oppressed all over the world (Sahifeh Imam Khomeini, Vol. 12: 202).

A few months after the victory of the revolution, Imam-Khomeini suggested the foundation of a worldwide party with the title of “The Party of Indigents” in order to protect their rights against the oppressing governments, emphasizing on the necessity of a powerful campaign to defend liberating movements and the rights of the oppressed nations across the world. He said, “We will support any organization that starts to fight against oppression in its own country” (Sahifeh Imam Khomeini, Vol. 11: 110). Therefore the principle of giving assistance to indigents against arrogants is one of the reasons why Iran supports all liberating movements and all the oppressed across the world.

2-4. The priority of unity in the world of Islam

Another fundamental principle in the discourse of the Islamic rev-

olution having a specific place in its foreign diplomacy is the attempt to maintain unity within the world of Islam. The holy Koran says in Anbia: 92 that all Moslems across the world are “members of a single ommat”. Imam Khomeini emphasized on this point a few years after the victory of the revolution suggesting: “Our program is made by Islam; our program is the unity of Moslems; brotherhood of all Moslems across the world”. (Sahife, Imam Khomeini, Vol. 1: 336). In fact, the Islamic revolution wishes to reveal the present separation among Moslems and then to try to create friendship among them by helping their liberating attempts. That is why, although many rulers in the Islamic countries pay less attention to it, and try to maintain the current conditions, a fresh spirit can be felt in the body of Islamic movements in the region.

2-5. Specific focus on all nations across the world

For its compassionate quality, and regarding the role of people in the social and political changes as well as the inclination of some rulers to keep the present conditions in their countries, the Islamic revolution shows a specific emphasis on the urgent need to let people participate in tasks as the main supporters of the revolution and interaction with freedom-loving nations across the world. Meanwhile the Islamic revolution is determined to make relations with other nations. This has caused nations-and not governments- to consider the Islamic Republic of Iran as their friend. Thus supporting the Islamic movements whose body has been formed by nations-and not governments-is an important component of foreign policy in Iran.

2-6. The principle of inviting people to jihad

Inviting people to jihad is another fundamental principle in the discourse of the Islamic revolution that explains Iran's foreign policy. This principle is a kind of political and religious duty for the Islamic government regarding the universal commitment of Islam concerning the prosperity of all humans and the necessity of communicating it based on the ideology of final victory of right upon wrong (Zarei, 1391: 80-91). The principle of invitation to jihad is related to export of revolution. It promotes the international feature of the Islamic revolution and seeks for the ideal society across the world. On the other hand, in this discourse emphasizing on peaceful coexistence and the benefits of the Islamic government, the defensive jihad is considered as a Godly duty to protect spiritual-hamane values in the direction of independence, and freedom. Meanwhile, the culture of martyrdom and resistance also is part of invitation to jihad. This, differentiates the Islamic discourse from other revolutionary discourses.

3. Lawful requirements concerning vindication of liberating movements in Iran's foreign policy

The Islamic Republic of Iran's diplomacy as the reflection of the discourse of the Islamic revolution in the foreign realm about supporting the Islamic movements is based on legal and law ful principles. In fact, supporting those movements according to Iran's constitutional law as the treaty confirmed by all Iranians is considered as an important duty of the administration in its foreign strategy. This has been emphasized in the constitutional law of Iran as follows:

1. Brotherly commitment toward all Moslems and protection

of their rights (Iran's constitutional law, article 3, paragraph 16).

2. Complete vindication of rightful campaign of indigents against the arrogant of the world (article 154 and 3, paragraph 16).

3. Coalition and unity of the Islamic nations and the political, economic, and cultural unity of the Islamic world (article 11).

4. Rejection of any kind of oppression, hegemony and dominance (article 2, paragraph c)

5. Independence on dominating powers (article 154).

6. Refraining from intervention in internal affairs of others (article 154).

According to the above-mentioned parts of the constitutional law and specifically the article 154, it is emphasized that Iran does not intervene in internal affairs of any country, and at the same time supports the liberating movements against oppressors across the world. This is a legal requirement in the realm of Iran's foreign policy. Here, it is important to mention the characteristics of liberating movements that can be assisted by the Islamic Republic of Iran:

1. Those movements are considered as liberating who fight against oppression in order to get freedom from the chains of arrogant systems.

Imam Khomeini suggests, "For me the place is not important, what is important is fight against oppression and wherever it can be done in the best manner, I am present" (Sahifeh, Imam Khomeini, Vol. 22: 156).

2. Those movements are considered as liberating who are try-

ing to get independence and freedom for their countries. Imam Khomeini says, “You! Liberating movements and those who wish to obtain independence and freedom, warn your nations and the Islamic nations not to tolerate oppression, because it is worse than oppression itself!” (Sahife, Imam Khomeini, Vol. 12: 32).

3. Those movements are liberating who are determined to fight in the way of Allah, truth and freedom. Imam Khomeini suggests in this regard: “We support all movements who are moving in the way of Allah, truth, and freedom across the world” (Sahifeh, Imam Khomeini, Vol. 12: 138).

4. Those movements are considered as liberating who step in the way of obtaining independence and freedom from superpowers. Imam Khomeini says: “Once again I announce my support of all movements and groups who struggle to liberate their people from the chains of superpowers of Right and Left” (Imam Khomeini, Sahife, Vol. 12: 203).

Thus, only the worldwide liberating movements with the above-mentioned conditions can receive assistance from the Islamic Republic of Iran in the following manner:

1. Attempting to guide them, using available experience in order to prevent them from deviation, separation and also from the penetration of the opportunistic enemy into their queue.

2. Providing them with facilities inside the country and preparing suitable opportunities for their activities.

3. Protection of their rights in international organizations. In fact, since only governments can participate and put forward their suggestions, these movements cannot take part because they are

not considered as “countries”, therefore, Iran is committed to explain their demands.

Meanwhile it has been clarified during the past decades that Iran’s vindication of the rights of these movements has been offered in the form of Iran’s diplomacy announced to international organizations, and a great part of it ,has remained in the form of spiritual and media supporting.

4- The bases of Iran’s foreign diplomacy to support liberating movements in international law

Iran’s foreign policy concerning supporting liberating movements is not only based on ideological bases and its obligation to support them, but also its support and assistance are based on international law. In fact, although many Western countries and their media try to introduce those movements as terroristic groups, realities obtained through investigation and studies about the formation of those groups and their performance reveal that they not only are not terrorists, but also they are movements confirmed according to the current principles in international law whose support has been recognized as completely legal. Accordingly, the available realities about them, as Drida believes “has been hidden under the clouds created by some unreal super realities”. Now, we will explain how the activities of the liberating movements and specifically the Islamic movements and the Islamic Resistance in the Middle-East region are legitimate according to international law:

4-1. The right of determining one’s own future as the base of legitimacy of liberating movements in international law

Although governments, as the main followers of traditional system of international law, enjoy their absolute right of sovereignty upon their citizen in internal dimension, and independence in external dimension, and two principles of “respect for sovereignty” and “non-intervention in internal affairs of governments” are considered as two major bases in international system, the principle of “right to determine one’s own future” also as one of fundamental principles has been formed with the formation of modern governments. Accordingly, the right of free election by citizens in all countries to determine their manner of the political administration of affairs has been recognized according to international law (Ponsin, 2016: 2-4). This principle that has been put forward since the formation of modern government-nations after the treaty of Westphali in 1648, has become an unconditional principle, ruling the relationships among countries in international law in the path of decolonization in 1960 and all governments are obligated to follow it. Meanwhile, in 1970, the general assembly of the United Nations in its “Declaration of international law on friendly relations and collaboration among states based on the charter of the United Nations” has determined one of its seven principles as the right to determine one’s own future. It says that governments are obligated to follow this principle, and if a government violates it by forceful attempts in order to deprive their people of their right to determine their future, then citizens can receive international assistance in order to fight against such governments (Cop and Emirlioglu, 2006: 115-120). This, has practically created the necessary legitimacy to support liberating movements in the light of international law. It is based on this principle that the international law practically supports armed practices of citizens about three

groups of countries: under the domination of racist regimes, under the domination of colonialism, and under the domination of military occupation (Dugard and Reynolds, 2013: 878). In spite of this, we should not forget that attitudes and political interests of governments specifically the Western governments have not only frequently been a barrier on the way of this right of liberating movements but also they always accuse them of terrorism, and in this way deprive them of their legitimate rights. On the other hand, some Western countries resort to some new concepts such as “humanitarian interventions” and “the responsibility of support” and intervene in internal affairs of some nations in order to change their regimes and even to support terrorist groups.

4-2. The difference between liberating movements and terroristic groups according to international law

Another factor that proves legitimacy of activities of liberating groups in international law is the acceptance of separation between liberating movements and terroristic groups and official recognition of the activities of the former in order to obtain their right of determining their fate, and rejecting the activities of the latter. On the other, since the title of “liberating movement” is a common title given to those groups who fight with the aim to obtain political and economic independence and against imperialism and colonialism, but there is no exact definition of terroristic groups in international law, some groups who sometimes resort to violation in order to create political changes in countries, are called “terrorists”, while they are not really terrorists. Of course the international political and legal institutions are aware of this fact and differentiate these two groups. As a result they officially recognize the activities of

liberating movements and at the same time condemn terroristic activities (Aleni, 2008: 526-527).

Of course it is clear that there are some similarities between the performances of these two groups. For example, use of force and violence as well as having political motivation are among their common features. But at the same time, there are many differences between fighting for liberation and freedom from colonialism, and the activities of those who attempt to create terror among residents of a country without commitment to any humanitarian and moral principles. In fact, terroristic groups commit crimes without paying attention to international laws while the liberating groups themselves are the victims of illegal, colonialist and cruel outsiders. This case has been accurately observed in the United Nations, so that the general assembly of UN has given a precise and reasonable definition for liberating movements contributing to their legitimacy in the international realm. Accordingly, the general assembly of UN-in its several resolutions, emphasizing on the right of autonomy, (article 1, paragraph 2 chapter of UN), and the right of determination of fate in colonized lands, has named the liberating movements as groups who are struggling in order to obtain autonomy and freedom from colonialism and from occupation by strangers and racist regimes (article 73, chapter of UN). In this way, the general assembly of UN, within the process of its attempts has continuously emphasized on the legitimacy of practices of liberating movements to get independence, while condemning terrorism in any form, with any motivation and in all dimensions. This assembly has always tried to emphasize on the rightfulness of use of force by liberating movements in three groups of countries who are fighting against colonialism, occupation of their lands by

outsiders, and racial discrimination. In this regard, the most international document on the rejection of colonialism is the charter of UN whose 11th and 12th sections have been allocated to this subject and have considered fighting against colonialism through usage of force by fighters for freedom as legitimate. In fact, the awareness of colonized nations, and the alertness of the universal community on the fact that decolonization is an effective factor in international peace and stability, caused them to put forward the idea of ending colonialism in international realm. On the other hand, regarding that occupation of a land by outsiders is a colonialistic procedure, the use of force against it, is justifiable, because the principle of non-intervention is one of fundamental principles in international law according to which, any kind of resorting to force or intimidation against the political independence of countries is forbidden (article 2, paragraph 4, chapter of UN). Thus the dominance of foreigners upon any country is considered as violation and crime that endanger international security, and any resistance against them is legitimate, and no one should accuse it of terrorism.

Also, the legal base of fight against apartheid and racial discrimination can be seen in the introduction part of some articles of UN charter (articles 10, 56, 57) that emphasize on the right of equality and nonracial or religious discrimination as one of fundamental human rights. Therefore, in order to realize one of major human rights, that is struggling against racial discrimination, resorting to force is justifiable. On the other hand, the legal place of liberating movements in number 1 protocol attached to the four conventions of Genova (1949) is also remarkable. That protocol introduces liberating movements as the followers of international

law who are familiar with their duties and rights, whose activities should not be considered as terroristic. In this direction, the combat of liberating groups has been classified within the framework of international armed activities that follow the law of war, and the principles of war. These bases generally reveal that there is a clear difference between terroristic activities and liberating movements according to international law. Meanwhile, it must be noted that in spite of all attempts of international community to recognize the unconditional right of nations to determine their own fate and struggle to obtain it, in practice, some political motivations, national, economic, religious, and ethnical interests and the like play a remarkable role in giving the title of “terrorist” to the liberating movements. In this condition the low-fold interpretation of great powers and their classification of “bad terrorism and good terrorism” has challenged the attempts of international community in order to reduce and control this sinister phenomenon. This type of selective encounter existing in the behavior and attitude of the Western governments toward liberating movements and specifically the Islamist groups is completely visible. As an instance, it is easily seen in the foreign policy of USA who has judged the activities of liberating movements and terroristic groups merely according to its own interests during different periods of time. For example, during the years of “cold war”, America tried to support and equip Alqaedeh as a national liberating movement in order to prevent the penetration of USSR, but when that group changed its viewpoint against USA, it introduced them as a terroristic group and attempted to repress them. Another example was the time when tension had spread its shadow on the relations between USA and USSR, America continuously named the separationists

of Chechen as fighters for freedom, but after their relations became friendly, and the events the September 11, USA practically encouraged Russia to suppress them. In other case also the foreign policy of America is full of such contradictions. It can be seen for example in their encounter with the Islamic Resistance in the regime where people are fighting based on completely legitimate international principles to defend their rights against Israel and to free their lands which according to resolutions issued by UN, are considered as occupied lands. In the Middle -East region, the definition of terrorism by USA and its difference with liberating activities are completely represented according to their relationships with America and Israel, and in this framework, Iran also for its fundamental diplomacy concerning opposition to the hegemony of oppressors is known as a supporter of terrorism. This is a condition that Iran itself is the greatest victim of terrorism, while it is the most important promoter of liberating movements in the region.

4-3. Legitimacy of resorting to lawful defense in international law

Legitimate defense has been officially recognized by UN's article 51. It says "In the case of armed attack against a member of UN, before the Security Council takes necessary attempts to maintain international peace and security, no one of articles of this charter will cause damage to the right of legitimate individual or group defense of the members. They should report immediately what they are doing to defend themselves. These actions have no impact on the authority and responsibility that belongs to the Security Council according to this charter, based on which, the council will do

anything necessary in order to return peace and security when required.” (UN’s charter, article 51). In this article, in addition to individual defense, the permit to group defense also has been given. In fact, this article allows the members of UN to give assistance to the victim country in the framework of defense. Accordingly, regarding the international law, the actions of the Islamic Resistance in the south of Lebanon that frequently has been violated by Israel, in any form expectedly or unexpectedly, in the form of regular or irregular fights, are considered as legitimate defensive actions and is supported by international law. In spite of this fact, the Western governments and specially USA has frequently tried to accuse the Islamic Resistance of terrorism and emphasize on the necessity of disarming it. They are ignoring the lawful right of Lebanon to defend its territorial integrity and independence. This is in a condition that the background of activities of the Islamic Resistance in Lebanon shows that they are moving merely in the direction of using their legitimate and lawful right in the framework of international law, that is, to defend their lost belongings. Therefore, the relationship of Iran with their activities is certainly lawful and confirmed by international law.

Conclusion

Comparing to other revolutions, the Islamic revolution has two major features. Its first characteristic is its being Islamic, representing a new discourse with evident principles, values, norms, and procedures. The second, being impacted by its Islamic discourse, is its international and universal feature that has practically changed the Islamic revolution of Iran to an important and specific phenomenon in social and political evolutions at regional and international

levels. Meanwhile, universality of this revolution and its global commitments are among its remarkable features. The universal feature of the Islamic revolution under the influence of its Islamic quality and Islamic worldview are integral components of its discourse. Imam Khomeini suggests in this regard, “Our-movement is not limited to Iran, because Islam is not limited to a specific nation Movement for Islam cannot be restricted to a single country and even to all Islamic countries”. This universal feature of the discourse, puts some duties on its shoulders toward other nations, and they are practically looking at the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran as an ideal pattern in the international system. On the other hand, as the principles and rules of the Islamic revolution originate from the teachings of Islam, the Islamic Republic of Iran has not restricted its goals only to establishment of an Islamic government in Iran, rather it has been committed to awakening and freedom of other oppressed nations across the world and giving necessary assistance to protect their rights. Accordingly an important duty of the Islamic revolution is the issue of supporting liberating movements all over the world, and conducting the strategy of brotherhood toward all Moslems. For this reason, Iran’s foreign policy should observe “defending the right of all Moslems” beside establishing its general strategy based on coalition and unity of all Islamic nations. The importance of this commitment which is the result of the discourse of the Islamic revolution, has been reflected by the constitutional law of the Islamic Republic of Iran, in its article 154 suggesting, “The Islamic Republic of Iran considers the prosperity of human as its ideal. Independence, freedom, and the dominance of right and justice belong to all people across the world. Therefore Iran supports all activities of indigents against ar-

rogants across the world, at the same time not intervening in internal affairs of other countries.” On the other hand, Imam Khomeini suggests in this regard: “Iranian magnanimous people now support the indigent all over the world who are subjected to arms, We support all liberating movements across the world who are fighting in the way of Allah to get freedom”. Meanwhile, Iran’s foreign policy to support liberating movements is not merely based on ideological bases of the Islamic Republic of Iran’s system, and the legal requirements of its foreign policy, and the support of Iranian community, rather it is completely legitimate according to international principles. This can be explained base on the right to determine one’s own fate, the difference between activities of terroristic groups and liberating movements and legitimacy of resorting to force to defend certain rights of nations according to international law. In spite of all these facts, the Western governments have constantly attempted to introduce the liberating movements as terroristic groups. In fact they do this according to their own political motivations. They accuse Iran of supporting terrorism, while Iran itself is among the victims of international terrorism.

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