Globalization of Liberalism and Paradox of Islamic Republic

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Abstract

The present article demonstrates the interaction between republicanism and Islamism as the major political doctrine in the Islamic Revolution towards its confrontation with the globalization of liberalism. It centers on detecting the true nature of the political thought of liberalism and analyzing the instruments adopted by the Islamic Republic in its attempt to achieve both goals simultaneously. Thus it seeks to indicate why and how the Islamic Republic of Iran has taken steps towards a new civilization maintaining its independent identity.

Keywords:

liberalism, republicanism, Islamism, globalization

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Introduction

While reinterpreting and explaining the foundations and constituents of a theory, the theoreticians of a school always attempt to define the framework of their theory in such a manner that not only makes the superstructures of the preferable school dynamic, but prevents its bases and foundations from disintegration and degeneration. In other words, reformist theoreticians even in their critical post-modernist researches -although in the sphere of theorizing audaciously seek to smash the existing situation- often attempt at coming out of the monopolistic table of that school in practice and having an external outlook towards updating it. All this happens in a framework that preserves as far as possible the universality and inclusiveness of the preferable tradition in confrontation with the crises and questions of its rival table increasing its confrontational capability against competing doctrines.

A clichéd and historic example of this explanation can be found in the debates of Ptolemy's theory of rotation of planets in a circular orbit. In fact these theoreticians - despite knowing that the orbit of rotation of planets was oval- due to the sanctity that the scientific community had for circle and for movement in a circular path, attempted to draw small circles in the oval orbital path. Thus they tried to show although the movement of planets at the macro face was oval, they followed a circular path of rotation in revolution around their own axis.

A more recent and more relevant example to our subject is contemporary Lockean scholarship. Analyses reveal that Lockean scholars in the west have almost since three decades discovered that liberalism -which is rooted in the political philosophy of Locke and his liberalism - was not much dependent on the liberty-seeking principles of mankind. In other words, these Lockean scholars by

decoding the political philosophy of Locke found out that the bedrock of the political philosophy of liberalism originating from Locke rested on a kind of racism and sponsorship of colonialist, exploitative and even fooling policies.[1]

Further investigations show that incidentally, such an inference from the theory of political liberalism based on the political philosophy of Locke although a little devious, it is not very wide off the mark. This was because in order to safeguard the trend of liberalism in England and establish a consensus locally, he had no alternative except to rely on the system of slavery and propose a new plan for the "New World" – i.e. America. This proposal being planned to achieve domestic liberalism and economic nationalism, attempted in a process of self-development and expansionism, to guarantee the structure of the great empire of England through feedbacks of the achievements of liberalism and nationalism (Cf. Shariat , 2000). It goes without saying that such a clear footprint is not stated in any of the textbooks in which the dominant scientific view is normally mentioned in. [2] The reason for such an affair can be attributed to the commitment of the Locke theoreticians belonging to the school of liberalism. In reality, these Lockean scholars are aware that the popular and nationalistic theory of Locke is not based on a very convincing and firm foundation. Nevertheless, considering that they do not have a suitable and worthy alternative for it, while criticizing the liberalism of Locke and also the entire project of liberalism, they try to discuss only that part of the liberalism that does not harm the innate cohesion of the doctrine.

Following this introduction, the present article attempts to show that in what manner and with what explanation the "republicanism" in the Islamic Republic of Iran claims to confront, challenge and even enter into a dialogue with "republicanism" of the liberal civilization of the modern world. Basically, with the existing instruments, is

confrontation and engagement in a dialogue possible for the two current movements of Islamic tradition and liberalism? What instruments are necessary in order to achieve the objectives under consideration? Where are the paradoxes and weaknesses? How can they be overcome? Finally, what state of affairs can be predicted for the future?

First: Foremost Difference

Usually one gets the wrong impression that the foremost difference between the 'Ummah' i.e. the community of the Holy prophet of Islam (SA) started between the Shiite and Sunni sects over the succession of Imam Ali (AS) (Halabi, 1993, p.51; Cf. Enayat, n.d., pp.41-98). whereas the essence of the issue is something else. In reality, the difference of the Shiite followers was not about consensus or unanimity on the succession of Imam Ali (AS). Rather they differed on the manner of succession of the Prophet of Islam (SA). In other words, by following Imam Ali (AS) the Shiites believed that succession of the holy prophet was basically an issue that was only determined by God and neither the Prophet of Islam (AS) nor any other person could determine a successor for him unless he was granted the permission to do so by the Exalted God. However, the Sunnis right from the very beginning by electing Abu Bakr as the immediate successor of the Holy prophet of Islam (SA) and the head of the Caliphate, took the first step towards severance of relation of God with man and making politics a worldly affair. However, the Shiites pursued another approach as the foundation of politics and by commitment to Imamate attempted in some way to perpetuate the transcendental rule of God in continuation of the prophetic mission. With their theological and principal discussions and clear arguments of Divine grace, the necessity of guidance and perpetuation of emanation from the Exalted God the Shiites reasoned that the

sovereignty of God was necessary and uninterrupted (For further study Cf. al-Helli, 1993; Muzaffar, 1998). Basically the philosophy of occultation of the Savior is also explained with this conception. It is clear that with the Major Occultation and the absence of an immaculate leader, the Shiites were faced with the problem of formation of government (Muntaziri, 1990, pp.193-213).

Abu Nasr Farabi was the foremost political philosopher of the Islamic period who took steps towards resolution of this political problem. However, he too when faced with the occultation of the savior Imam did not find a note-worthy response (Farabi, 1980). Farabi who was profoundly influenced by the philosopher king of Plato – or according to the interpretation of Fathullah Mujtabai, the ideal king of Iran – decided to revive the circle of prophetic mission - in the struggle with authoritarian politics before some of the Sunnis - by replacing the philosopher king of Plato with the Shiite Imam. However, because of the gap between the power of theorizing and his deviant way in practical politics created such a split between the sphere of theory and the area of practice that until the establishment of the Islamic Republic of Iran, the political circle of the Imamate remained practically blocked. In reality, Farabi's biggest drawback was his profound philosophizing on the subject of the ruler of the Utopia and his opinion in maintaining truth and reality. Thus in defining the role of republicanism and defining the area of public expedience, political thought was placed in such a circumstance that it practically stopped the Shiites from public participation in establishing a government (Cf. Tabatabai, 1994).

With the arrival of the Islamic revivalists such as Seyyid Jamal al-Din Asadabadi (to some: Al-Afghani) and his followers, a new idea towards rejoining religion with politics within the sanctuary of Islamic unity came into being. However, the traditional differences continued as before. By erasing the myth of the umbrella of Divine shadow of

the kings of countries where Islam was practiced, Seyyid Jamal al-Din Asadabadi launched a thorough struggle against totalitarianism and colonialism. Once again everything had to be built anew. The killing of the Iranian king Nasserruddin Shah Qajar was much easier than the slaying of the last Caliph of the Abbasid dynasty during the Mongol invasion. However, the question of succession was once again cast in doubts while Seyyid Jamal al-Din Asadabadi had not presented a clear plan of the philosophy of politics.

The whole efforts of Seyyid Jamal al-Din Asadabadi were directed at awakening the Muslims and pushing them toward a better future. Yet, considering that this awakening was not complemented with a cohesive, appropriate and efficient plan, the liberty-seeking movements of the Muslims did not reach their goals (Cf. Mutahhari, 1366). On the surface, the main objective of the majority of these movements was a return to unconventional ethics of the dawn of Islam. Even initial theorizations as mentioned by Naini in the book "Tanbih al-Ummah va Tanzih al-Millah" were quite pioneering and promising. However, the advent of the Constitutional Revolution of Iran and following it, the downfall of the Ottoman empire directed the issue of elimination of superstition towards two trends of "reaction" and "abstraction" arising respectively from the two origins of religious conservatism and non-religious breaking of traditions. A group horrified at their own isolation, wanted a return to bigotry in the realm of religion while another group horrified at the existing vacuum held that the only way of salvation is that, "one must become westernized throughout."

With the advent of the movement of Imam Khumeini, a new efficient theory in the sphere of politics for the rule of a competent and fully -qualified jurisprudent emerged. According to this theory, the guardian jurisprudent ruling is neither "the light of God", nor "the shadow of God". Rather, he is considered to be the representative of

the Messiah Twelfth Imam (AS) as a result of whose rule, he would spread justice and equity in the Muslim territory – a representative who faces dismissal and loses his legitimacy in case of proving to be incompetent (Cf. Imam Khomeini, 1979). This theory was able to infuse harmony in the society and create unity among Muslims and especially the Shiites of Iran. In a miraculous way, this theory had launched an independent movement within the bipolar system of the 1970s against the ruling world order. Finally, this theory with the successful management of eight years of defense against the world order revealed practically that it could be regarded as an efficient center of gravity for Iranian Muslim society in overcoming the domestic problems and departing from the liberalist order of the international system. However, after the passing away of Imam Khumeini, it appears that the efficiency of this theory is being challenged by some people. The question whether the weakness lies in the core of the theory or in its ingredients is an issue that has been scrutinized and critically analyzed for more than a decade, but due to several reasons it has still not been able to reach a reliable conclusion in our academic circles. In the present article, it is shown how the paradoxical cohesion of republicanism and Islam - that have been put into practice together in order to safeguard the concept of the Imamate and remove the failings of the participation of the public in the political philosophy of previous eras - is substituted within the framework of the constitution of the Islamic Republic by a civil government.

Second; Globalization of Liberalism

it is Often thought that liberalist political systems have been founded on mere scientific achievements. A part of this attitude appears to be correct, but disregarding the messages of Christianity in the foundations of the liberalism industry is considered to be a big

mistake in understanding the whys and wherefores of globalization of liberalism (Cf. Shariat, 2001). The reason for such negligence in understanding the foundations can be traced to the constant interaction of modernism and the capitalist system of the West on the one hand and the gradual expansion of the teachings of Christ on the other. The argument is not about the good and evil of this worthy and unbecoming rise and expansion of Christianity. Rather, the important point is the awareness of the opponents of globalization concerning a situation that is normally shaped on the basis of national and religious proofs. It is clear that the common ground of both these opponents is the issue of cultural identity – one in that of national culture and the other in the framework of religious culture.

From the point of view of liberalism, non-violent dialogue and discussion with nations is not too difficult. In reality, liberalism and nationalism have both traversed a correlated path for globalization. In other words, one can reason that in a three-hundred year process of the development of political philosophy of Locke, liberalism and nationalism have always been two inseparable elements in the global arena. Again in other words, one can say that liberalism and nationalism considering that both have rational origins- although being paradoxical - have no other alternative for their globalization except to be tolerant of one another.[3]

The problem discussed above is in reality the strong point of the religious opponents of the globalization of liberalism. In other words, the religionists by resorting to religious proofs hold that because of benefiting from common sense, does not enjoy the necessary status or qualification for confrontation with religion. From this point of view, liberalism in spite of all its civilizational achievements is based on common sense, so it rests on some roots. This understanding of liberalism also arises from two assumptions in the methodology of religion and the epistemological origin of the school of liberalism. We

shall continue with the discussion of the particular methodology of the Shiite school in finding its way into politics in the next chapter. However, in general, one must admit when the discussion centers around religious methods, the debater is a fallible mind unless the "chosen one" is a divine appointee or an apostle of God. therefore, in the absence of an infallible mind, the question always arises that how one can become aware of a truth that "the self" has received.

As to the second point, one can say that basically, it was for abstinence from the secular intellect that liberalism movement decided to start with a reliable minimum of the teachings of Jesus Christ (firm teaching) thus in order to create a unified global order, it made arrangements for its "adopted consensus politics" on the basis of tolerance towards the three axes of life, property and freedom derived from the teaching of Jesus Christ. In this manner, it becomes clear that firstly, liberalism is also based to some extent on the ethical teachings of Christianity. secondly, the truths for which the followers of a religion have regard i.e. their own legitimacy and the illegitimacy of liberalism in the form of adopting religious teachings and refusing liberalism are not in a very sharp contrast.

therefore, life, property and freedom formed a thought that Locke, the founder of liberalism derived from the political bedrock of his own era and inspired it into the body of the political thought of the West as a dominant and efficient 'fashion'. Although the liberalism of Locke is quite different from the post-Locke liberalism, that which Locke founded, based on the economic nationalism, domestic liberalism and the centrality of 'tolerance' was always the focus of the liberalists in all the trends of the liberalism project of the west. The philosophy of Locke manifested itself more than anything else in the viewpoints of Thomas Jefferson, the letters of the federalists and the establishment of a presidential system of government in the eighteenth century. However, a general review of the overall structure of certain models

of structures of political systems; a general comparison between presidential and parliamentary systems of the west; the manner of the interaction of the powers and their impact and influence on one another show that political elites of the west have always been trying to organize a reasonable and reconciled charter. They have sought to organize it in such a way that while maintaining the integrity of sovereignty and cohesion of the power of government, it could also be an efficient method towards guaranteeing the three principles of life, property and freedom of man. This charter under the influence of the thought of Locke was implemented initially in England (in an unwritten form) and later on in America and France (after the revolutions of 1776 and 1789). Gradually and occasionally, it was approved as an imported fact in many countries of the world - without taking into consideration the historical upheavals – an aspect on which rests the civilization of the west and the international system at present.

Third: Iranian Parliamentarism

Parliamentarism in Iran like many of other production of the west has from the very outset been a written down charter and immature. Thus even after the passage of almost a century since the establishment of the first parliamentary assembly, it has not earned its rightful place yet. Below, the two contexts of the shaping of the theory of parliamentarism in the Constitutional revolution and the Islamic Revolution are analyzed concisely.

a) Constitutional Revolution

Also from the very beginning, theorizing on parliamentarism in Iran was more often external and under the influence of political ideas and thoughts of the west. A review of the ideas of Naini (political theoretician of the constitutional revolution) in his book "Tanbih- al-

Ummah wa Tanzih al-Milla" - appearing to be modeled on the political theories of Kawakibi - reveals how Naini and his contemporaries by separating the three powers of knowledge, self-vigilance and self-examination and finally, those of the deterrence and withholding, paved the way for the disintegration of the theory of unity of government in Iran without presenting an alternative theory in its place. In this book, Naini in a way not quite logical, has attempted to show that firstly, being a Muslim is in no way an obstacle to development and the reason for the backwardness of the Muslim nations lies in the despotism of the rulers, not in their Muslims.

Secondly, extracting the principles of combat and battle of Islam against despotism, he obtains the approval of the jurisprudents with the constitutional revolution.

In the introduction of this book, Naini has attempted to explain how Christian and European nations who experienced a course of religious dictatorship for a thousand years, gradually and after the Crusades regained their composure and sought to "eliminate the root of all evils i.e. totalitarian governments" making it the most important of their objectives. His material right from the first pages of this book is extremely emotional and hasty. So it appears that he has entered the discussion of the Constitutional Revolution from a defensive position solely in order to show that Islam is not approving despotism and that the reason for the under development of Iran as well as the rest of the Muslim states is non-Muslim despotism. However, in practice, considering that he lacked a comprehensive understanding of the philosophy of parliamentarism (that which the liberalists in the west with regard to the unity of government had restructured in the nucleus of the theory of separation of powers) his theory was faced with an inherent contradiction in the bond between tradition and modernity.

The above-mentioned deviation refers to the recognition of the majority that finds its way in the framework of Naini's theory. Naini

has not formally expressed the acceptance of the majority view. However, his categorical remarks in the discussion on participation and equality, and what he explains in response to the fallacies of those asking for a legitimate or religious government necessitate their culmination in the creation of an "illegitimate constitutionalism". However, the inherent contradiction of the theory also lies in the substitution of the jurisprudential government for the dynastic government. The fact that -due to the Major occultation of the Immaculate Imam - renders Naini desperate in practicing his theory.[4] This contradiction shall be analyzed in greater detail below.

b) The Islamic Revolution

The advent of the Islamic Revolution in 1979 showed that the old political system did not have the ability to tolerate the new movements and developments of society. In fact, the Islamic Revolution can be regarded as the second phase and continuation of a movement that had occurred prior to it for establishment of House of Justice but had deviated later. However, this time benefiting from the experience of the Constitutional Revolution, the overall arrangement of the forces was in line with the objectives of those asking for a legitimate or religious government. In reality, the main wave of the constitutionalists in restructuring Iranian civilization that was performed under the slogan of modernization, was not quite successful. This very issue caused the supporters of religious government as the latent opposition in the political system to make use of traditional institutions for procuring the tools required for setting in motion a popular revolution revolving round the jurisprudential Islam.

The Revolution speedily gained victory. However, the elites leading the Revolution who were in fact considered to be the representatives elected by people for fundamental legislations and

planning or writing down the constitution, were faced with difficulties in designing a dynamic domestic structure as an efficient model for moving the political system towards a specific direction. The proposed general plan for the legislative assembly was quite similar to the structure that was injected by the Constitutional Revolution. The only difference was that this time instead of the required appointment of fully -qualified religious jurists, there was the Council of Guardians as the supervising body of the constitution and as the Islamic manifestation of legislation at the top of legislative institutions.

At the beginning, with regard to the jurisprudential leadership of Imam Khumeini, and the emergency conditions of war, the structural problems and certain directions of the constitution in moving away from Islamism or being contradictory to it were not very clear. So it appeared that everything was in order. Thus republicanism, Islamism, the concept of separation of powers and their interaction with one another, and the question of rights of the nation and sovereignty of the government –all seemed to be interactive and acting in unison and solidarity. Of course, from the very beginning it appeared that the presence of the three pillars namely, the leader, the president and the prime Minister for running the executive power would involve certain confusions. Even the continuation of this discussion culminated in the supplements of the constitution and elimination of the office of Prime Minister from the structure of the executive power. However, the main problem remained there. In reality, the problem of the constitution would arise from a more important issue i.e. understanding the democratic tools for designing a republican system. In other words, considering that both the primary and secondary proponents of the combination of republicanism and Islamism were faced with a serious problem in terms of seeking legitimacy for the political system, they were compelled to tolerate republicanism and Islamism side by side without preparing the requirements of this combination. The result

was that in the course of more than a decade since the demise of Imam Khumeini, the combination of the forces arising from Islamism and republicanism instead of moving towards the unity of government, practically engaged in a struggle as rival forces. Therefore, it seems that finding a solution to this problem will be one of the theoretical and practical requirements of the Islamic Republic in the years to come.

Fourth: Paradox of the Islamic Republic

It is a difficult task to identify and evaluate the various dimensions and theoretical bases of the Islamic Republic of Iran in one look. At least in the short run, the Islamic Republic of Iran is the product of reformist movements that occurred in concert with the movements of Islamic revivalism in the Muslim world. However, for simplifying the task one can scrutinize the objective-oriented construction of this current that came to the fore within a written law known as the constitution. In fact, by taking a look at the structure of the constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran, with reference to what has been mentioned on the subject of the rule of the liberal political system, the theoretical foundations of the Islamic Republic of Iran shall become much clearer. Anyhow, the angle being investigated in a positivist method adopted here appears to be extremely narrow and one-dimensional.

The discussion of the constitution and the point whether despite the existence of religious laws one can regard the man-made laws as the criteria and sources of rules or decisions is an argument that started during the constitutional period with the political theory of Sheikh Fazlullah reading "Constitutionalism must be religiously legitimate". This was in contrast with rival interpretation of scholars such as Naini. However, the discussion continued even after the martyrdom of Sheikh Fazlullah. In fact, the idea that was proposed in

the form of a combination of two concepts of republicanism and Islamism in the structure of the political system of the Islamic Republic of Iran can be considered as a befitting response to the two above mentioned discourses of the constitutional revolution. "Islamic Republic - without any addition or omission" is the historical statement that still needs to be reflected upon and analyzed after the passage of almost three decades from the history of the Islamic Revolution. It is a complementary and appropriate aspect that can be considered as the historical mission of Shiite scholars throughout the two movements of traditionalism and modernism in the period of the Major Occultation of the Immaculate Imam and appointment of jurisprudents as his general deputies. In this way, the worthy appointment of the Imam for the affairs of government is materialized. Furthermore, the issue of non-divine selection does not harm the divine legitimacy of the selected religious authority.

In the first part it became clear that based on the Shiite political theory, every kind of verdict is conditional upon the approval of the competent and fully-qualified religious authority. However, the appointment of the religious jurisprudents generally -as is evident from the text of the narratives of the Immaculate Imam- does not directly and categorically assist in identifying the best-qualified and the most virtuous jurisprudent. Thus the land is practically devoid of a ruler unless the gathering of jurisprudents rally round a particular jurisprudential authority. However, even in this impractical form of agreement too, there is an element of choice. In this manner, as soon as they gather and agree on somebody, the theory of nomination of the leader by God that is considered as the starting point of the foremost dispute and the point of distinction between the Shiite thought and the Sunni one would be wavered. Even the question of manifestation is not considered a suitable explanation for restructuring the theory because immediately upon the entry of the element of selection in the

process of succession, the entire theory would be put to question. Therefore, two issues were put into consideration namely: the proposal of Islamic government and the democratic republic. It is clear that the proposal of Islamic government because of lack of access to the infallible Imam and contradiction of the form of election with the system of rule was not practical according to Shiite teachings. However, the Islamic democratic republic also basically, would relegate religion to the level of "the secularized mind of the Muslim individual" - an aspect that in the course of time could have been basically at odds with the understanding of the foremost disciples of the Islamic religion. Nevertheless, in 1979, there was the possibility that people would not agree on the Islamic character of the public. However, the approval of 98.2 percent of people for the Islamic Republic revealed that people had accepted that their republicanism be supervised by jurisprudential authorities. So, wherever the secular mind transgresses the bounds of religious commandments, the jurisprudential authorities would deliver an award preventing its execution. In this manner by substitution of "arbitration" for "rule" a sort of possibility for entry into politics and opening an opportunity for Imamate and its perpetuation had come into existence. Additionally, a solution for justification of the paradoxical nature of republicanism and Islamism would also be presented. It is clear that after the reappearance of the Twelfth Imam, arbitration and rule would be combined but until then, the arbitration of the religious jurisprudential authority would continue over the public.

Nevertheless, a study of the structure of the Islamic Republic of Iran reveals that the architects of this system caused such confusion in the division of power that basically, the unity of the government was confronted with disorder. This phenomenon did not reveal itself in the first decade of the Revolution for two reasons: The first one was the outstanding and unique personality of Imam Khumeini in leadership

of the Revolution who was considered as the founder of the Revolution. The second one was the fact that basically, in the first decade of the Revolution, a powerful "executive authority" with a motive to raise such a case did not exist.

To sum up, that the structure of power in the constitution of Iran is in a manner that it has transformed the sovereignty of the government in its present circumstances into a system that is neither "presidential" nor "parliamentary", nor "jurisprudential". Rather, it is a combination of all three that in the form of a domestic model is a new proposal of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Conclusion

As it was said, it is evident that the macro-project of liberty seeking in Iran in the recent century has been accompanied with two elements borrowed from the cultural and religious context of Iran as well as the experience of the west (republicanism). There is no doubt that for formulation of the structure and composition of society, it is necessary to make use of both these achievements - one for preserving identity and the other for being present at the arena of competition. However, political extremism of this era and the unequal struggle between tradition and modernism, have- instead of making use of tradition for designing the framework and of liberalism for producing the tools as well as for competition in the international arena- reached a stage where a yawning gap has been created between tradition and modernism. Thus the coexistence of Islamism and republicanism is being challenged. Here the argument is not about toleration, tolerance, or righteous reaction of the competing groups. The discussion is about whether these two i.e. Islamism and making use of rational tools of contemporary man can be linked together and be turned into an integrated whole in the light of the wisdom of government. This is because it is only in this case that national unity is created and it is

only under the backing of this unity that isolation, destitution, ferocity and fear arising from insecurity shall be transformed in to sympathy, action, love, trust and ultimately, security which arises from sincere faith.

Thus "Islamic republic" is a new explanation that through bonding religion to politics - and of course not uniting them - is able to implement a new industry in the field of globalization of liberalism with the help of a self-awareness originating from the non-secular Shiite religion. Explaining the complexities of this paradox and reflecting on the two legislative and secular aspects derived from the fallible mind are extremely difficult. However, a macro perspective of the issue in a philosophical way and dichotomies found in the paradox of the world of nature including physical and spiritual, external and internal, objective and subjective, the elite and the laymen, may provide a remarkable contribution to understanding the nature of this paradox. In fact, with this interpretation it becomes clear that the intellectual thinker and the architect of the Islamic republic in his ontology has taken note of two viewpoints. One is religion in whose holistic perception of existence, claims a guidance that rests on the basis of human dignity and his individualism. The other is politics, with whose experimentalist perception claims a discipline that in its ultimate objective manifests itself in the society and only on the basis of general agreements in the city-state. This is a mission that the Islamic Republic has focused upon with its combined internal and external perspectives. However, out of negligence it has not been equipped with necessary instruments to reach it. Things culminated in a point where some people started to use tools with infrastructural and sometimes illegitimate principles due to the complexity of the paradox of the Islamic Republic. Misunderstanding the political tools of the liberal system also made some people take into consideration and rely on insufficient, ineffective, and inefficient ways and means.

Undoubtedly, the global wave of liberalism and the phenomena arising from it such as scientism, non-religious rationalism, feminism, defeat of tradition and the triumph of the phenomenon of modernity all seek to make the Islamic republic theory appear to be subject to crisis. However, this analysis shows that the main problem of the Islamic Republic of Iran in this confrontation does not lie in the theoretical and conceptual arguments pertaining to the manner of linkage of republicanism and Islamism (that nowadays is emphasized excessively). Rather it arises from the ambiguity in the definition of power and unity of government - a unity that is the pre- requisite for establishment of a city-state and of every industry even in the non-political spheres. This concept deserves a serious and new consideration.

Notes

1. Cf. Arneil, 1996a, pp.60-74; 1994, pp591-609; 1992, pp.587-603; Glausser, 1990, pp.199-216; Lebovics, 1986, pp.567-582; Poliakov, 1971, pp.144-154; Davis Brian Davis, 1975; and also for a critical survey on Locke's philosophical views, especially on his theory of knowledge and Molyneux question, Cf. Bracken, 1974.
2. Cf. The New Encyclopedia Britannica, vol. 7, 1998, p.435; Yolton, 1998, pp.648-650; Ayers, 1998, pp.665-687; Clapp, 1972, pp.487-503.
3. John Locke was the foremost western thinker of the new classic period who discovered a systematic relationship between philosophy of tolerance and globalization of a school. Discovering the missing link of this evolutionary movement, which he termed as " economic nationalism", he became the architect of a new industry in the sphere of international politics.
4. Cf. Muhammad Husein Naini, Tanbih al-Ummah wa Tanzih al-Milla ,edited and annotated by Seyyid Mahmud Taleqani (Tehran, Enteshar Publishers, 1982).

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