

Take a Look at the Barriers to Exporting the Islamic Revolution in the Middle East

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Abstract

Victory of Islamic Revolution of Iran has had reflections in surrounding regions, especially in the Middle East because of its universal nature and that Iran's revolutionary leaders tended to export this experience to the region and the dependent nature of majority of dominant regimes and other factors such as oppression, injustice, differentiation and corruption at these societies. However, the reflections also faced some barriers and hence, a revolution similar to Iran's Islamic Revolution was observed in the Middle East states like Iran. In general, it could be mentioned that some domestic and regional and international factors have been considered as barriers to export Islamic Revolution in regional level. The data analysis method in this study is mainly based on qualitative approaches. Moreover, this study has applied data description and an analysis using documentary sources and referring to library.

Key words: Islamic Revolution, Islamic Republic, Export of resolution, Reflection of revolution, Middle East, Domestic barriers, Regional and international barriers

INTRODUCTION

Is the brilliant feature of fundamental religious Islamic movements is considered their farness, so that consequent periods of stagnation and resurrection are observed in them, the resurrections could be the fruit of severe mental, social and political crises simultaneously (Deukmejian, 2004: 31). However, in this regard, there is no doubt that one of the factors intensifying Islamic resurrection since late 1970s decade to the date has been victory of Islamic Revolution of Iran in Feb 1979. Victory of Islamic Revolution on Feb 1979 as an unpredictable social phenomenon led to change in political, social and cultural structures. The revolution caused collapse of Pahlavism Discourse and this Pahlavism discourse was replaced by Islamic Revolution Discourse and became later its manifestation in the system of Islamic Republic of Iran. However, in terms of Middle East, victory of Islamic Revolution in the critical region

after 70s decade in regional level played role in Islamic Resurrection and its revitalization. Iran's revolution, with its ideological approach and its religious orientation as a Islamic Revolution, could affect wide geographical area of Islam and especially West of Asia and North of Africa (called Middle East by west countries). Iran's revolution inspired the Islamic Ideology as the provider of happiness and success for all people of the world and hence, it could no limit its dominance just on the geographical borders of Iran. Hence, export of revolution was considered by the officials since the early days. However, despite to initial concerns in level of regional governors, the United States, West Europe and even USSR observed different barriers against export of Islamic Revolution in level of Middle East region and this declined the initial rapid movement. Now, it should be asked that what factors are considered as barriers to export of Islamic Revolution to the Middle East.

DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS

Export of Revolution

The concept of export of revolution refers to promotion of Islamic Revolution discourse, which could guarantee awareness and liberation of people (Dehghani Firozabadi and Radfar, 2009: 129). The strategic foundations of export of Islamic Revolution based on Islamism are

Access this article online



www.ijss-sn.com

Month of Submission : 01-2017
Month of Peer Review : 03-2017
Month of Acceptance : 05-2017
Month of Publishing : 07-2017

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associated with all social and political lifestyles. In fact, it could be mentioned that orientation of policies of exporting the revolution has been in such direction that Islamic Revolution has reproduced its strategic thoughts and meaning-identity system of it in other countries and has provided conditions for strategic competition with other actors of International Politics through this. The incentives and causes of exporting Islamic Revolution are as follows:

- 1- The requirements caused by Islamic nature of revolution and that the Islamic Revolution knows no border due to Islamic perceptions and believes that Islam should be exported all around the world and an attachment should be created between the revolution and Muslims across the world.
- 2- Appropriateness of the revolution, which all revolutionaries tend to export their revolution and make it as a model.
- 3- The Iranian nature of Islamic revolution of Iran: supporting the poor and supporting oppressed people and promotion of justice and fairness are the characteristics of Iranians, which are developed in Shiite school and can be considered among motivations to export revolution.

Imam Khomeini believed that export of revolution means promotion of values, experiences of Islamic revolution and also independence, achieving to human dignities and self-reliance and rejection of aristocracy, discrimination and racism (Fazelinia, 2007: 91). For the founder of Islamic Republic, export of the revolution was a divine duty (Soleimanizadeh, 2008: 120). However, Imam Khomeini was always emphasizing peaceful nature of inviting export of Islamic revolution, despite to common imaginations.

Reflection of Revolution

The aim by reflection of revolution is the impact of revolution beyond the geographical borders of original country. Reflection of revolution is associated with that part of results and effects of every revolution observed beyond the geographical borders of original country. About the difference between export of revolution and reflection of revolution, it should be mentioned that export of revolution is a kind of measure and policy made by authorities to affect other societies; although reflection of revolution is depended on the effects remained out of borders of country and it can't be necessarily the outcome of planning and applying the policies made in field of export of revolution; but also it is mainly because of the observations and the relations of revolutionary society and other societies and can have significant impacts, which have been not only unplanned, but also they have not been even predicted (Khalili et al, 2012: 50).

Take a look at some dimensions of reflection of Islamic Revolution in the region

Fawzy Girjis believes that Iran has not been able to change its revolutionary Islamic ideology to certain political power (Girjis, 2003: 239). Beverley Milton-Edwards also believes that Islamic revolution as a fundamental threat could not endanger the regional sustainability. Despite the prediction in early 1980s decade, never huge wave surrounded the region (Beverley Milton-Edwards, 2004: 157). However, many authors have rejected this claim. For example, Esposito believes that the Middle East gives the clearest examples of direct and indirect impact of Iran on policies of Muslims (Esposito, 2014: 19).

Victory of Islamic Revolution in Iran could have various and sometimes different reflections on public opinions, movements and governors in the Middle East. Islamic Revolution in Iran could revive identity of Shiites, establishment of Persian Gulf Cooperation Council, trend for observance of Islamic appearances, sensitivity to evolutions of Islamic world and finally, making excuse to suppress opponent Islamic movement by the regional regimes. In a conclusion of reflection of Islamic revolution, it could be mentioned that due to deprivation and suppression of Shiites, the revolution and its discourse have had reflections mostly on Shiites. The Shiites of Lebanon and Hezbollah have been mostly affected and in next step, Shiites of Yemen, Bahrain and Iraq and then Shiites of Turkey have been mostly affected by Islamic Revolution of Iran. However, it doesn't mean no reflection of Islamic Revolution of Iran on Sunnis.

Formality of Islamic resistance streams was intensified with the victory of Islamic revolution of Iran. Many fundamental movements were established in the region after victory of Iran's revolution and with the inspiration of it and the process of their fights were accelerated. These movements used Iran's revolution as a model and accelerated their own fights and this led to political awakening of Islamic communities. Such establishment was mostly tangible among Shiite groups like Bahrain Islamic Liberation Front, the Iraqi Dawa Party, Ansar Allah movement in Yemen and Hezbollah in Lebanon because of revolutionary identity of shire religion and other reasons. In regard with Sunnis, after victory of Islamic Revolution, Intifada (Stone uprising) was observed and also resistance parties like Islamic Jihad and Hamas were established in occupied territories because of peak of sense of humility of Palestinian people after failure of Arabs in wars of 1948, 1956, 1967 and 1973; increased suppressions of Israel, failure of peace and compromise plans and some successes of Shiite stream in Lebanon leading by Hezbollah in Lebanon on 80s decade.

These groups inspired Iran and didn't recognized existence of Israel and took armed actions to ask for Liberation of Palestine. Trend for observance of Islamic appearances like growth of using veil for women and increased participation in group prayers in mosques and increased trend for opposition to use alcoholic drinks and trend for Sharia could be counted as other reflections of Islamic Revolution on the Middle East. Under such conditions, some left open-minded and academic scholars showed some interests in Islamic trends with the victory of Islamic revolution. Even some regional governors like Saddam Hussein, King of Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Turkey began to observe some Islamic appearances to gain legitimacy and to calm Islamist people. They sometimes also tended to promote special type of non-revolutionary Islam and based on Saudi and Turkey style as Alternative of Islam exported from Iran. However, The US and Soviet and also West Europe were worry about the reflection and inspiration of Islamic Revolution in strategic regional level of West Asia and North Africa and typically used to participate in measures of regional governors to control waves of Islamic Revolution.

Islamic Revolution led to increased Islamic sensitivity to common fate and the evolutions of the Islamic world and especially oppressions and mass destruction of Muslims in Palestine, Afghanistan and Bosnia and other countries.

Stimulating sensitivity of public opinions of Muslims to fate of the nation and other Islamic countries could pave the way for presence of some Jihad forces to fight against Soviet Army after occupation of Afghanistan. However, this action also faced positive opinion of regional and west governors; because it is important for the West to weaken Soviet in the bipolar International System competitions by that years and also it was important for Arab governors to fight against influence of communist and realizing from Islamist opponents that was going to change into more serious danger with the inspiration of Islamic Revolution. In level of regional leaders, because of threatening foundations of power of these governors with the victory of Islamic Revolution and its universal claims in frame of export of Islam, the major part of reactions was negative. Particularly, Arab Emirates in Persian Gulf South Edge were worry about protests of poor Shiites of their societies because of inspiration of Islamic Revolution of Iran. They were afraid of collapse of their thrones because of conservative policy of their regimes, crisis of legitimacy and alliance with America. Establishment of Persian Gulf Cooperation Council, stimulation of Saddam's ambition and Iraq war against Iran and suppression of Islamist movements and streams are competent to be evaluated in this field.

Barriers to Export Islamic Revolution

If the reflection and the impacts of Islamic Revolution are accepted as a presumption due to the discussed issues, now the barriers to export the Islamic Revolution should be discussed as main research question. In answer to this question, some domestic, regional and international barriers to export of Islamic Revolution are referred here.

Domestic Barriers

Political-economic factor

As a result of interior disputes and revolutionary conditions and competition to gain power among different groups and parties, especially at the early years of Revolution, and as a result of advent of political-social crises, the domestic problems and disputes were manifested as barriers to export and extend Islamic Revolution to transnational borders more than before. Moreover, Imposed War of Iraq against Iran could cause some serious problems for the revolutionary regime of Iran. Economic structures of Iran were seriously damaged as a result of war. Moreover, war could decline energy of Revolutionaries and their energy was consumed to defend the country and the borders. As a result, the strategy of exporting revolution as an invasive strategy (whether in form of advertisements or in form of war and military conflicts) was replaced by economic strategy.

Geopolitical Factor

Before everything, this issue returns to the complicated issue of ethnicities and opponents of the Islamic Revolution, which were camped in neighbor countries and were playing role as pressure leverage in their hands against Islamic Republic of Iran. Existence of independence-oriented trends among Kurds and Middle East and Iran and the trends among Iranian Azeri people and people of Azerbaijan, especially in early 2nd decade and even in later decades of Revolution, could make new difficulties and changes for Islamic Republic of Iran. Intensification of this issue specially in critical conditions of the country could make serious barriers to idealistic policies such as exporting revolution and transferring message beyond the borders and this could affect national security of Iran seriously. In other words, in 2nd decade of the revolution, the foreign policy of Iran has been geopolitical policy rather than ideological policy because of various geopolitical factors (Falahnejad, 2005: 141-143).

Higher Financial and Media Power than Iran's Competitors

One of the problems with Islamic revolution and system of Islamic Republic of Iran after its establishment has economic problem. Although Iran is almost rich and powerful country, was not able to take measure for macro investments in same level with competitors like Saudi Arabia to promote its values to Islamic people and streams

because of destructions left by Imposed War, international sanctions and domestic needs. Some domestic sensitivity of public opinions of this country in field of financial supports for streams close to Islamic Revolution has created difficult and complicated conditions for Iran. Despite to the focus of Islamic Republic of Iran on media because of financial and technical limitations, no significantly effective media activity is observed by Iran to export revolution values. Although Press TV, Al-Alam and Sahar as Persian TV-Satellite media and Fars News Agency have been able to play role in news stream of the Middle East to some extent and have been able to promote some Islamist concerns of Islamic System; effectiveness of these channels and media is significantly lower than the effectiveness of media such as Al Jazeera, Al Arabiya and other Western channels active in the region like Arabic BBC.

Change in Iran's Behavior with Some Movements After the End of War

It should be noted that at the contemporary world, the alliance and attachments of countries, especially based on economic, financial, trade and industrial relations, has made countries interdependent more than before (Ghavam, 2014: 169). In such interdependence, Islamic Republic of Iran was not able to refuse to be affected out of such space. Due to needs of Iran to renewal of the destructions after 8-year war against Iraq and to solve the economic problems and to extend relations with regional and West states, finally some flexibilities were emerged in idea of exporting Islamic Revolution. In post-war period, Iran declined some of its supports of Islamic movements and advised some of them to try to solve their problems with the governments using democratic and peaceful approaches. It seems that such change in behavior against some Islamic movements was interpreted as a kind of fluctuating encountering and instrumental methods by some movements and in some cases, it could even suffer and even cut of Islamic Revolution of Iran by some nations.

Regional and International Barriers

Nation-State system dominance on international system

The nation-based foreign policy instead of nationalist foreign policy was the most important impact of victory of Islamic Revolution on Iran's foreign policy. In other words, Islamic Revolution of Iran as a revolution based on high Islamic ideals caused change of Iran's foreign policy from nation -state form to state-nation framework and the Islamic Republic considers itself as the forefront of prosperity and success of Islam (Haji Yusefi, 2008: 332-333). However, in international system, states and not people are the main actors of international policy and in most cases; permission of the states is required to address people, especially in macro scale. Realists present

state-based explanation of the world. Advent of state-based system dates back to collapse of the world in 15 and 16th centuries. Peace of Westphalia ended the 30-year wars in 1648 and is mostly considered as the appropriate jumping-off place for the new order (Brown and Ainley, 2012: 96).

In framework of state-based International System, the states have selected cultural relations since long times ago as a channel to communicate people of the world. Inspiration in practical field should be changes into policy in framework of state-based international system. Values, culture and policies of system in field of inspiration should be provided in such manner that no influence is interpreted (Haghpanah et al, 2014: 27). Revolutionary regimes like Islamic Republic of Iran challenge in fact the state-nation system, since sovereignty of states and their authority in their societies is declined with the expansion of internationalist and universal ideas of revolution. Here, the stress and challenge is in such manner that the revolutionary state tends to resist the foundations of its powers in the country; although impact of the revolution on the international system has nothing other than weakening of the state and the state-nation system. However, the Middle East countries make decision in framework of modern state and its requirements and the state-nation unit is the basis of their movement and not concepts such as nation and Islamic reconciliation of Islamic revolution, Islamic states in frame of Islamic nation and alliance of Muslims; although the Islamic states of the Middle East and other regions of the world behave in frame of state-nation system. Nationalism has been the main foundation for formation of countries at the current age. Therefore, Islamic countries are mainly familiar with concepts such as nation and Islamic reconciliations and behave in practice based on state-nation system and national interests. Hence, this issue has acted as an ironic wall against the reflection and export of Islamic Revolution to transnational borders.

A Religionist Iran in a Secular World

Iran is a religious society at the secular world. The situation can cause some threats to export of Islamic Revolution of Iran. It should be mentioned that the said conflict has cultural aspect rather than political aspect and is prior to political consideration and is also a fundamental conflict. So far, the behavior of the environment opposed to Islamic revolution has been mainly political-promotional behavior (Eyvazi, 2007: 145-146).

Negative Publicity of Arabs About the Shiite Nature of Islamic Revolution and Dominance of Royal Regimes

Although Iran is a Muslim country, Shiite nature of this country has made this country to be under condition of a kind of sense of geographical, cultural and civil isolation

against majority of Sunni Neighbors at least since the Safavid Era (Shah Islamic) till now. Shiite religion has played role as one of the most important factors dominating on preservation of national security and territorial integrity of Iran during its lifetime (Tahami, 2007: 173-175). Accordingly, the characteristics of Iran's Revolution and its Shiite features have been the main cases of conflict between Iran and Arab and Islamic countries. Maybe the factor of religion has led to the conflicts between Iranians and other Muslims more than any other factor (Falahnejad, 2005: 149). Accordingly, Esposito believes that despite to efforts of Iranians to promote revolution in more expanded Islamic frames, Revolution was picturing as a certainly Shiite measure (Esposito, 2014: 130). Although the attractiveness of Islamic Revolution is less declined for Shiites in Arab countries, Sunni Islamist groups, contrary to early years, do not show much interest in it. From perspective of Arabs, system of Islamic Republic of Iran was a religious system and even according to some of them, it was a tribal and Shiite system (Bakhshi Nikoo, 2014: 134).

Idealization of Iran's culture in frame of revolutionary Shiite culture and political nature of Iran in frame of export of Islamic revolution on one hand and presence of royal and dynastical regimes, lack of political participation, dominance of a dynasty on the national resources, close relations with West, inattentiveness to public values by the state and other factor on the other hand could make this country be afraid or promotion of revolutionary Shiite culture and export of Islamic revolution to people of their countries. Hence, they tried to prevent influence of values, norms, symbols and ideals of Islamic Republic and revolutionary Shiite culture in their countries. In fact, values, symbols and norms supported by Islamic Shiite culture and the values emphasized in Iran revolution export culture are not in consistence with values and norms of majority of these countries in the Middle East and Persian Gulf (Keshavarz Shokri, 2013: 84-85).

Publication of Negative News About Iran's Domestic Status

Publishing some news related to lack of observance of human rights in Iran has affected public opinions of the Arab World significantly. Basically, the opponents of Islamic Revolution, especially conservative Islamist people in Saudi Arabia abused any event and evolution in Iran and the international scene to discredit Islamic Revolution in eyes of Muslim forces. In addition to Shiism, they used domestic disputes and behaviors in Iran to discredit revolution entirely. In the media and publications of these countries, many issues are published about domestic disputes of Iran, political suppression of lack of political and civil freedoms for minorities (religious) and inability of the government to solve economic problems. Moreover, the claims of political parties opposed to Islamic Republic are published in these

media in wide range (Fakahnejad, 2005: 145-147). These countries try to show an awful image of Iran and scare people, so that they can make people have no focus on social and economic damages and also the pressures and oppressions in their country (Davidson, 2013: 301).

Iraq's Imposed War Against Iran

Islamic Republic tried to take benefit of the obtained opportunity after Iraq's assault to promote identity, goals and ideals of Islamic Revolution and to prove rightfulness and innocence of Iranian nation. Hence, defensive export of Islamic revolution was a priority for foreign policy of Islamic Republic of Iran. After victories of Iran in Beytalmoghaddas (Jerusalem) Operations, the importance and preference of this goal was increased in Iran's Foreign Policy, so that some analysis believe that export of Revolution has been the most important goals of Iran's foreign policy after occupation of Khoramshahr in 1982 (Dehghani Firoozabadi, 2013: 351).

At the beginning of war, the relations with nations through supporting liberal movements and inter-state relations were preferred. As a few number of countries and states were qualified to make relationship with them, the most effective way and mechanism to make relationship with nations in these years was supporting liberal movements (Dehghani Firoozabadi, 2011: 510). However, beginning of Iran-Iraq war and formation of common security-political models of regional Muslim countries and trans-regional powers with the purpose of preventing influence of Iran's revolution could prevent comprehensive continuity of export of revolution (Javedani Moghaddam, 2012: 58). In fact, imposing war was the peak of reaction of regional and international system to policy of exporting revolution and the policy of creating revolution cases like Iran. War forced Islamic Revolution to revise approaches of its foreign policy in practice. Presentation of the "Umm al-Qura" Theory was in fact revise of policy of exporting revolution and following realistic policy against idealistic policy. Hence, Iraq's attack to Iran caused decline of ideals of emerging government of Iran and made Iran to leave its transnational politics about export of revolution and support liberal movements and try only to protect its territorial integrity. Moreover, the war between Iran and Iraq and its continuity prevented following the policy of exporting revolution among people and different Islamic movements across the world. Heshmatzadeh MB believes that emphasizing obligations of war after occupation of Khoramshahr and the ambiguities in war front of Israel and Lebanon and using this opportunity by Iraq that led to failure of Ramezan Operations and survival of Iraq Baathist regime made the priority of exporting revolution become a secondary priority and some instruments and steps were also considered for it (Heshmatzadeh, 2007: 51-52).

Pan-Arabism

Arabs used to consider their language not only as their greatest art, but also used to consider it as their common wealth. The concept of Pan-Arabism has been mainly given as a synonym for Arab Nationalism. Arab nationalism is the political and spiritual expression of constant existence of Arab Nation (Saman, 1979: 97). Moreover, Arab Nationalism means effort of Arabic countries to create vast regional system. After victory of Islamic Republic of Iran, Iraqi Government took measure to impose war against Iran and gain leadership of Arabic World to gain legitimacy and also took measure for victory in war, so that it can revive the Pan-Arabism and old issue of Arab and Non-Arab to mobilize Arabs in Persian Gulf against Islamic Revolution and system of Islamic Republic of Iran and the ideology of the revolution that was anti-conservative and anti-royal ideology. In war time, Saddam was constantly reminding Qadsia war and overcoming Iranians by Arabs to his soldiers. At the level of Arabic World, this issue was intensified especially at the time that after occupation of Khoramshahr in 1982, Iran rejected the offer for peace and continued war to punish the transgressor. By that time, Arabs got serious doubt on Islamic Unity and supported Iraq and prevented Iran's victory at this war. Majority of Islamist groups complained about Iran-Iraq War and its continuity. The Pan-Arabism attitude is still existed about Islamic Republic and its desired values.

Acceptance of Resolution 598 by Iran

Acceptance of Resolution 598 by Iran was considered as weakness of Islamic revolution and its failure against Iraq from perspective of some people. From their perspective, the outcome of war could play key role in growth or decline of Islamic fundamentalist movements. In their view, victory of Iran on Iraq could be an important victory for Islamic fundamentalists; although acceptance of Resolution 598 declined the power of Islamism wave, especially at the Arabic World (Bohrani, 2002: 137). Accordingly, Olivia Roa believes that acceptance of peace by Iran's leader was perceived as acceptance of the existing status in the Middle East. Iran took more moderated policy in the Middle East to meet the tiffs with the conservative regimes (Roa, 2001: 177). However, the end of war and priority of renewal of country and opening the relations with the West and regional countries could practically lead to moderation of revolutionist and idealist face of Islamic Revolution and reduction of support of some Islamist and revolutionist streams.

Illustration of Exporting Revolution as Conquest and Anarchy

The imperialist imagination and occupation of a territory of revolution as it was existed in France revolution and belief in attitudes affected by Domino Theory in political and social evolutions made the meaning of

revolution interpreted as a synonym of conquest and anarchy. Creating turbulent and tense subjectivities full of publicities interpreting revolution as conquest and assault became the priority of publicity programs of opponents and enemies of Iran's revolutionary system. Considering such space, along with the reality that some extremism is naturally existed at the beginning of every revolution, revolutionary behaviors were conducted towards deviation and extremism in some cases (Eyvazi, 2007: 44).

Common Security Cooperation of Middle East Countries Against Revolution

In regional level, Arab neighbors of Persian Gulf established a council called "Persian Gulf Cooperation Council" and the main aspect of the council was its security aspect. The other regional effect (in terms of security) was closeness of Turkey and Israel to control Iran's Revolution (Falahnejad, 2005: 151). Moreover, the participants in Convention of the Arab League in Amman, Jordan on Nov 1987 (after one decade boycott of Egypt because of signing peace treaty with Israel in Arabic World) not only invited Egypt to come back to the group of Arab League countries, but also made decision to increase political-military functions of Cairo in the Middle East (Ehteshami, 1999: 82).

Confrontational Strategies of Superpowers

The other barrier to export of revolution was strategy of superpowers, especially America and Former Soviet and West Europe countries, to make Iran's revolution isolated. Both superpowers of that time had perceived the reconstruction of Iran's revolution, since Islamic Revolution of Iran was considered as a revolutionist model and third way and a new competitor for them in ideological terms. Both USA and Soviet Union tended to prevent the export of Islamic revolution of Iran that was the cause for instability from their point of view (Ramezani, 2007: 67). Hence, in the rest of paper, the confrontational strategies of superpowers (Former Soviet and West Europe countries) against revolution and its inspiration and export are mentioned in summarized form.

USSR

In regard with the USSR, it should be mentioned that although Iran's revolution was in conflict with socialist system in terms of its nature, the Soviets seemed satisfied by this issue; because independent Iran was more useful for them compared to Iran depended on the opponent block. Incompatibility of Islam with communism and the notified policy of Imam Khomeini about east superpower and fear of spiritual influence of Islamic revolution among Muslim republics of Central Asia and Caucasus raised concern of soviet officials. Such severe security concern of Islamic Republic of Iran brought this message for the officials of Former Soviet that they should prevent influence of Iran

in the region. One of the examples that showed that the superpowers and international system played role for the isolation of Islamic Revolution despite to their trend was Iraq's imposed war against Iran (Heshmatzadeh, 2007: 51). Lack of solving the crisis by "Brzezinski" and the "Carter Doctrine" based on deployment of rapid reactions was the main measure taken by America to fight against the impacts and outcomes of Iran's Revolution. Moreover, America could also sign bilateral security contracts with the regional states. On the other hand, the reaction of east Superpower to Iran's revolution and its regional reflection was manifested in for of soviet attack to Afghanistan (Falahnejad, 2005: 152).

The United States of America

Disclosure of Big Satan of American Dynasty by Imam Khomeini; America Embassy takeover; Tabas Event; threatening America's allies in the Persian Gulf region and the Middle East and more importantly, opposition of Iran's revolution with Americans made them found that Iran as a rebellion country should be under heavy pressures and threats to decline its extremisms and change its behavior and could be also controlled (Falahnejad, 2005: 155). In addition to taking measures such as signing bilateral security contracts with Persian Gulf littoral states and neighbors of Iran and establishment of new military stations, America forced allies in Persian Gulf establish regional security union (Persian Gulf Cooperation Council). Moreover, Americans threatened Iraq to achieve its regional receivables and the result of such action was imposed war against Iran. Also, Americans showed trend to fight against reflections of Islamic Revolution through empowering tolerance and moderation Islam in Saudi Arabia and other countries. Moreover, the US empowered regional allies, Israel and Turkey. Additionally, Americans charged Iran as Terrorism and violator of human rights and also introduced Iran as a factor of making barrier to the Arab-Israel Peace process and tried to illustrate destructive and rebellion vision of Iran in international looks and prevent propagation of message of Iran's revolution across the world.

The policies of America against Iran were focused on controlling policy after collapse of Soviet and America did its best to change the behavior of Islamic Republic of Iran. To achieve this goal, America created a chain of coalitions to control Iran in surrounding regions (Safavi and Homami, 2008: 94-95). At the post-revolution period, Americans took benefit of low-intensity conflict pattern in countering Iran. America has considered economic and weapon sanctions always as a part of policy of limiting and controlling Islamic Republic of Iran. Another measure taken by America to control and restrict Iran was imposing pressure on countries like China and Russia to prevent cooperation of these countries with Iran. Moreover, in

Sep 11 of 2001, America intensified these pressures on Iran through introducing Iran as one factor and base of Axis of Evil.

West Europe Countries

At the end months of Shah's Regime, the England had found that the regime of Shah was collapsing; although the nature of Islamic Revolution could prevent UK from agreement and association with revolutionaries. Although the France was involved in the Iran's revolution during presidency of Giscard d'Estaing because of residence of Imam Khomeini in this country, it showed no different behavior from other European countries with Iran after the victory of Revolution (Me'badi and Khodaverdi, 2006: 220-221). West Europe countries, in depth of cooperation with America and International System strategies against Islamic Revolution of Iran and Islamic Republic, played role despite to some limited tactical differences. Anyway, the main objective causes of confrontation of West Europe Countries with Islamic Revolution and policy of export of Islamic Revolution was consistency of these countries with America and the historical roots of such consistency dates back to the post-World War II period and the time that America was responsible to meet all needs of European people for renewal of these countries and preventing influence of Soviet.

Despite to the conditions after Cold War and collapse of Soviet, Europeans have not been able to become independent from the America and its dominance to the date even after many years after failure of European Defense Action Plan in 1954. As Islamic Revolution claimed for promotion of Islamic values to the world, advent of Islamism was considered as destruction of Eurocentric and Westcentric. This could make West Europe express concern like America and make dual policy to preserve economic-political relations with confrontational approach against Iran. Consistency of West Europe countries with the United States and the anti-west dimensions of Islamic revolution, verbal and practical policies (making the neither east not west policy; fighting arrogance, taking measure for kidnapping, stimulation and encouragement of liberal movements, trend for East, restriction of west-oriented celebrities) have been main confrontational causes of West countries with the export of Islamic Revolution. It should be noted that the subjective causes of confrontation of West Europe countries with the issue of exporting Islamic Revolution is caused by lack of proper perception of Islamic-Revolutionist lessons.

Hence, following the policy of exporting Islamic revolution in view of Europeans is considered as interference in affairs of other countries. Another issue is the civilization difference, so that Islamic Republic of Iran and West

Europe countries have no common point in field of understanding responsibilities and duties because of being in two different value, culture and civilization scopes. Iran Islamic Republic believes that this country is forefront of Islam, which is responsible for supporting national Islamic liberal movements through making policies such as rejection of dominance and reliance of the slogan “neither east, nor west”; although the European countries on the other side believe that they are guardians of European Christianity and promoter of liberalism school, which tends to develop these values to other points of the world. Another subjective factor is need of West to enemy and giant making and enemy making could be considered as an organized measure taken by the West to provide the conditions for legitimacy of confrontation against any kind of opposite thought with the West. Another subjective factor for confrontation of West Europe countries with the policy of exporting Islamic Revolution is fear of growth of Islamic and revolutionist and confrontational ideas at the states under dominance in the region, at which a barrier was defined by West countries.

In addition to subjective factors, the objective confrontational causes of west Europe countries with the policy of exporting Islamic Revolution including kidnapping of American diplomats, Iran’s Nuclear Issue that led to negative attitudes of West Europe and many countries, in line with USA, were trying to define Iran’s nuclear issue for achievement of peaceful nuclear weapons in framework of activity in line with producing weapons of mass destruction and specially nuclear weapons. Cooperation of European countries in sanctions against Iran could be considered as another objective factor of confrontation of these countries with the policy of exporting revolution of Iran. In addition to it, the issue of human rights is one of the issues, which America and Europe were trying to impose pressures on Iran typically. Another issue is terrorism. European countries have always charged Iran for supporting terrorism. This issue is cleared, especially in goals of US and West Europe against Iran, which is change in behavior of Iran in international level (Reis Dehkordi, 2011: 198-202). In field of controlling Iran’s revolution and exporting it, European countries also participated. In general, although East and West had separated and independent blocking, they had consensus against Iran’s Islamic Revolution and fear of its reflections in the age before collapse of USSR. However, at the unipolar universe after Soviet, US-leading confrontations of West powers and also cooperation of EU against Iran and their efforts to control inspiration of Iran in the region was tangible.

Using the Carrot and Stick policy

Following the Islamic Revolution of Iran and its reflection in the Middle East, countries, which were mostly involved

in Islamic revolution and were mostly affected by its reflections mainly because of presence of Shiites and historical deprivation at their societies like Arabic States of Persian Gulf took dual policy against it. On one hand, they took policy of suppression of opponents and on the other hand, they tried to control dissatisfactions through distributing money and bribery and taking some health, educational, economic and civic plans. The suppression approach has been rarely considered by the domineering scholars due to the international restrictions and some pressures over the years (Emami, 2001: 134). High financial revenues caused by oil economics like Saudi Arabia and Iraq helped this regime and were used as controlling instrument by the Carrot and Stick Policy.

The Space After September 11

Following victory of Islamic Revolution and some apparently Islamist policies of Arab Governors, growth of Extremist and jihadist Salafi-Wahhabi trends was observed in these countries. However, occupation of Afghanistan by the Red Army forces on Dec 24 of 1979, at the same time with these evolutions, made many Sunni Islamists to go to Afghanistan to stimulate and help their states for Jihad due to the bipolar system of those years and fear of West and Arabs of growth of the risk of presence of communist. This process led to relative satisfaction of Arab governors and Americans about the opponent Islamists, who believed that regional governors are depended on West and non-Islamic states. Salafi groups introduced fighting against communist and Afghanistan as their first priority and with their publicities and supports of regional countries, many Arabs went to Pakistan to fight against Red Army and were trained and attended in such war that had abundant benefits for America. These Arab fighters were named as “Arab-Afghan” (Zahedi, 2012: 105).

Interestingly, after that Red Army left Afghanistan on 1989 and after end of occupation of Kuwait on 1991, this process was still continuing. After failure of Baathist Army in common operations of West and Arab, many Arab governors were criticized by Islamists because of cooperation with Crusader infidels against an Islamic country. By that times, Islamists gained invasive mode. After the Afghanistan War, Bin Laden established Arab-Afghans and Al-Qaida to meet goals of international Salafi movement to establish Islamic government and deploy Islamic caliphate (Zahedi, 2012: 137).

It seems that continuity of presence of Arab-Afghans in Afghanistan was not significantly criticized by Arab authoritarian regimes because of becoming free from conflicts, which were even intensified by that time because of one decade Guerrilla fight. Moataz Salamt has said about travel of some Arab nationals to Afghanistan to fight

against soviet unbelievers and continuity of this stream till 2001 and terrorist attacks of September 11:

“In fact, travel of some nationals of Persian Gulf to Afghanistan since the time of attack of Former USSR to this country was not because of opposition to political systems of their country, but also these groups had trend for Jihad and even before the attack of America to Afghanistan, some of these groups were in contact with the embassies of their governments in Afghanistan and Pakistan. One sign that was not seriously considered was second migration to Afghanistan by the regional countries, especially Saudi Arabia and Kuwait several months before New York and Washington Explosions. Only 2 months before these attacks, abundant interior conflicts were existed in Kuwait towards migration of some young groups to Afghanistan. On July, it was rumored that some religious youths of Kuwait have been gathered together in Afghanistan to establish opponent front. In fact, some people of this group left Kuwait illegally after resigning from their job”. (Salamat, spring 2003: 129)

After September 11 2001 attacks and repetition of some other terrorist attacks in later years, which were attributed to Muslims by Wets media, Islamic Republic of Iran was in trouble in field of promoting its revolutionary and universal values. In frame of an Imperial Policy under the conditions after September 11 of 2001, ideologists of the American State mostly announced that their country has been responsible for extending good and justice to all around the world as selected race and tribe in the Bible (Todorov, 2007: 27). Ethnocentrism and powerism based on bordering with non-Western subjects and based on universal power of Western societies in controlling non-Arab communities in the George W. Bush administration was just replaced by increasing stimulation of multilateral cooperation of countries in frame of international institutes based on institutionalized Western values in the Obama’s Administration (Masudi, 2013: 398).

This kind of comprehensive, orthodox and ideological attitude, despite to some flexibilities in tactics and techniques in two administrations of George W. Bush and Barak Obama, caused interference of America in Bush’s period in frame of war-oriented discourse and confrontation with something that was called Islamic terrorism and extremism in West Asia and North Africa after September 11. The interference, despite to killing Osama Bin Laden and relatively daily bombards of Islamist groups by Western and American airplanes in Obama Administration, not only led to no increase in security for the region in practice, but also it led to increased number of radical trends of Neo-Wahhabi and Neo-Salafi in frame of excommunication idea. Such disorder and irregularity

at the world level and sense of fear of another identity could somehow damage inspiration of Iran’s revolutionary values in practice.

In fact, Islamist, revolutionist and anti-west nature of Shiite teachings of Islamic Revolution made Islam-phobia get also Iran-phobia nature because of some common concepts with Salafi and Wahhabi extremists like Isis and Al-Qaida. Coincidence of these events with Iran’s Nuclear Case, support of Tehran of some Islamist movements like Hezbollah of Lebanon and Hamas in Palestine, criticisms on human right status in Iran and growth of missile defense capabilities could intensify this process. Arab countries of the region like Saudi Arabia, despite to significant role of their nationals in terrorist attacks, abused Iran-phobia to control inspiration and Iran’s soft power in the region and across the world to escape from their responsibility against extremism and terrorism using western media.

Gradual trend of some movements towards reformist and democratic movements and disappointment from revolutionist movements

After intensification of Islamist activities on 1970 and 1980s decades, caused by events such as Islamic Revolution of Iran and jihad against USSR in Afghanistan, it was observed that the regional suppressive regimes at the same time with Westerns used extremism, terrorism and fundamentalism label to suppress liberal movements in West Asia and North Africa. Under such conditions, many opponent movements of these governors used the weapon of democracy and reformist movements to prevent conviction and suppression in public opinions of their own country and The International Community. These movements found that introducing them as a movement close to ideals of Islamic Revolution of Iran could result in heavy and negative consequences for the movement and the members. The promotional space created against Islamic Republic could provide conditions to introduce any kind of closeness to this country as a treacherous, influence, dependent and more importantly, radical and fundamentalist stream and provide condition for suppression of the movement.

Moreover, these movements tended to gain a kind of international support through use of democracy and reformist movements in addition to attract people without Islamist trends in the level of their society. In other words, under new conditions, using the democracy and introducing movement as a reformist movement was along with higher benefit and lower cost. Moreover, passing of time and lack of collapse of suppressive governors through revolutionary strategies, like Islamic Revolution and the movement of Imam Khomeini in Iran caused frustration among some

members of these movements. For example, although the Islamic Revolution association could at the beginning gain attention of people and could also conduct opposition of Shiites against Saudi Arabia through inspiration of victory of Imam Khomeini's movement and teachings of theorists of forefront missionaries movement; in late 1980s decade, it experienced fundamental change. The association changed its orientation from an invasive option to a balanced and modern attitude, so that it entered to a new stage that could be called as a reformist solution. This movement was focused on peaceful changes in political system and prevention of military conflicts. Ideological change in late 1990s decade led to change in centers for political activities. Change and evolution from revolutionist movement to reformist movement declined importance of Tehran as a place for activities of movement (Ebrahim, 2007: 157: 153-157). In regard with Bahrain, gradually trends of protective movement was observed towards introducing the movement as a democratic movement to limit labeling and suppressing possibility and to gain international supports. This issue made the movement in this country separate itself from Iran and Islamic Revolution (Bohrani, 2002: 180).

CONCLUSION

The Islamic Revolution of Iran is called as a revolution with reflections, since all features of a revolution with reflection could be absolutely considered for it. The revolution was a great and comprehensive revolution, which could practically lead to pervasive changes in cultural, social and economic system in Iran. Ideals of this revolution were not limited to Iran borders and were targeted to change regional system structures and even universal equations. Due to its transnational ideology, the revolution tended to prevent the region to have activity in west and tended also to prevent dominance of hand-puppet governors on oil and nonoil wealth of the region. Islamic Revolution of Iran used to reject any kind of compromise and attachment and tended to provide freedom to trace a new utopia and to challenge Anglo-American order dominated on the West of Asia and North of Africa. The revolution and its leaders, especially Imam Khomeini, claimed for export of values and inspirations of Islamic Revolution. Moreover, many experts have emphasized reflective nature of the Islamic Revolution. Hence, Islamic Revolution of Iran could empower the Islamist movements in the region and especially among Shiites. However, the early wave of supports of this revolution and its reflection among public opinions of Muslims was gradually declined. In regard with the barriers to export the revolution to West Asia and North Africa as the main research question, the hypothesis was presented: domestic and regional and international

barriers are considered as the barriers to export the Islamic Revolution. Domestic barriers are as follows:

- 1) Political-economic factors
- 2) Geopolitical factor
- 3) Higher financial and media power of Iran's Competitors
- 4) Change in Iran's behavior to some movements after the war

Some regional and international barriers are also as follows:

- 1) Dominance of state-nation system on international system
- 2) Religion-oriented Iran in secular world
- 3) Negative publicities of Arabs about Shiite nature of Islamic Revolution and presence of Royal Regimes
- 4) Publishing negative news about domestic status of Iran
- 5) Iraq's war against Iran
- 6) Pan-Arabism
- 7) Acceptance of Resolution 598 by Iran
- 8) Illustration of export of revolution as conquest and anarchy
- 9) Common security cooperation of Middle East countries against Iran
- 10) Confrontational strategies of superpowers including USA, Soviet and West Europe
- 11) Using The Carrot and Stick Policy
- 12) The conditions after September 11 attack
- 13) Gradual trend of some movements to reformist and democratic actions and disappointment from revolutionist movements.

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How to cite this article: Gonabad RA, Fayaz E, Naderi A. Take a look at the barriers to exporting the Islamic Revolution in the Middle East. *Int J Sci Stud* 2017;5(4):838-848.

Source of Support: Nil, **Conflict of Interest:** None declared.