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# Global Dimensions and Impacts of Iran's Islamic Revolution

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#### **Abstract**

The victory of the Islamic Revolution of Iran at the end of the seventies was one of the important events and developments of the 20th century, whose occurrence surprised all theorists and political analysts. However, assessing the impacts' dimensions of the Islamic Revolution on the international system was a matter that has still retained its significance from the first years of the victory of the revolution until now, i.e., almost three decades later, which has been an important topic of interest to writers and analysts in the region and around the world.

This article is an attempt to evaluate and analyze these effects, through which, the author is trying to discuss the nature and extent of these effects by citing the existing references and evidence using the writings and literature published in this context.

## **Keywords:**

Iran, Islamic Revolution, World of Islam, International System, Theories of Revolution.

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#### Introduction

The domestic developments of the countries, which are in fact the subdivisions and constituent parts of the international system, have always affected the regional system adjacent to them as well as the totality of the international system in various ways. A glance at the history of international relations clearly shows the process of interplay between the dynamics of domestic developments and the formation of new regional and international arrangements.

The occurrence of the Islamic Revolution of Iran in the last year of the seventies of the twentieth century was perhaps the last and at the same time among the most important classical examples of the revolutions, whose effects went with an unexpected speed beyond the national borders followed by important regional and international consequences.

We need to first review the philosophy and the process of the formation of the Islamic Revolution during the two decades of the sixties and seventies to better explain the dimensions of the influence of Islamic Revolution of Iran on the regional and international system in the eighties and nineties. Challenging the foreign policy of Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, and especially the fierce attacks of the revolutionary leadership on Israel and the US and addressing the Palestinian issue were actually among those things suggesting the regional dimensions and global impacts of the Islamic movement in Iran.

On a larger scale, and especially in the first years after the victory, by challenging the legitimacy and efficiency of the principles and laws governing international politics, the Islamic Revolution of Iran further broadened the dimensions and boundaries of its influence on the international system beyond its predecessors.

In a historical perspective, the effects of the Islamic Revolution on the international system can be examined in two periods before and after the Cold War. In this regard, it should be borne in mind that the Iranian Revolution came to a victory when the relations between the two Eastern and Western Blocs had been severely blurred due to Afghanistan occupation by the USSR and the countries of the world and the region had arranged in one of the two Eastern and Western camps. Since its victory, the Islamic Revolution of Iran seriously and practically challenged the old and traditional order of belonging and dependence on one of the two eastern or western blocs by presenting its new discourse entitled "Neither East, Nor West-but the Islamic Republic". Declaring the rejection of this classical order was the most important challenge that the Islamic Revolution of Iran made the international system face with, at the end of the seventies.

# 1. The levels and dimensions of the influence of the Islamic Revolution on the international system

Accordingly, the effects of the Islamic Revolution on the international system can be examined at three different levels:

- A. At the regional level
- B. At the Muslim world level
- C. At the international levl

# 2. The impacts of the Islamic Revolution at the regional level

The Islamic Revolution had the greatest and fastest impacts at the regional level, which is the first level and includes Iran's adjacent countries and neighbors. The waves resulting from the victory of the Islamic Revolution of Iran was soon reflected widely in the capitals of the neighboring countries and in the small and large cities of these countries followed by different reactions from the governments and nations in the region. While ordinary people and many elites, academics, and intellectuals in these countries considered this great development to be a good fortune and saw it as the source of positive and profound changes in the region, the majority of regional governments followed the occurrence of revolution in Iran with increasing worry and concerns and they were particularly concerned about the possibility of the waves and slogans of the Iranian revolution spreading to their own countries.

If such a likelihood occurred, it could plunge the future of these governments into a state of uncertainty and would bring a destiny similar to that of Mohammad Reza Pahlavi's government for them. In this regard, the policies of transnational powers such as the United States and some western countries are very important and need to be studied in raising the concerns and doubts of the regional governments.

In the first months of the victory of the revolution in Iran, western countries and above all, the United States of America did their best to maximize this sense of danger and negative and intimidating mentality of the regional leaders of the Iranian revolution by getting help from their propaganda tools and creating a psychological warfare, pretending that the leaders of the Iranian revolution are trying to export their revolution to these countries in the shortest possible time through resorting to physical and violent means. Although the leaders of the Islamic Republic were always denying every effort to physically export the revolution or interfere in the internal affairs of other countries, but nevertheless, they seemed always pleased with the influence and inspiration of the waves of the Iranian Revolution. For example, we can refer to Imam Khomeini's remarks in this regard: Saying that the revolution must be exported everywhere, they should not take the wrong

meaning that we are thinking of conquest and expansion. We consider all Muslim countries as our friends. All countries must own their place and borders. We want what happened in Iran and the people got away from the superpowers by themselves and cut the hands of those off their reserves and resources would happen in all nations and in all governments. This is our wish. The meaning of exporting our revolution is that all nations will awaken and free themselves from their suffering, the domination on them while their resources are robed and they live in poverty (*Sahifeh Noor*, 2000, Vol. 17: 249).

Although the most obvious effects of the victory of the Islamic Revolution at the regional level are found in the Persian Gulf States and Iraq, however, in other countries in the region such as Pakistan and Turkey, the phenomenon of the Iranian revolution was relatively welcomed at the level of governments due to their good relations with Tehran and since Islamabad and Ankara did not feel threatened by Tehran.

Iran's great northern neighbor, the Soviet Union, which at the time also occupied the Muslim and neighboring country, Afghanistan, interacted quite differently with the victory of the Islamic Revolution. The Soviets, on one hand, followed and welcomed the developments of the Islamic Revolution in Iran as a major anti-American movement in the region with particular sensitivity. On the other hand, they were concerned about its medium- and long-term effects on their Caucasian and Central Asian Muslim republics, and considering the slogan of "Neither East, Nor West-but the Islamic Republic" of Iranian revolution, they were always concerned about the intensification of the anti-communist atmosphere in the region. Iran's explicit position on the occupation of Afghanistan and its condemnation by Tehran were other reasons of tension in the relations between Tehran and Moscow.

### 3. The impacts of the Islamic Revolution at the Islamic world level

The Islamic Revolution of Iran probably had its most profound and deepest reflection and impacts on the second level, i.e., at the Islamic world level. The Muslim world here included all the neighboring Muslim countries of Iran and its neighbors, South and East Asia, the Arab Middle East, North Africa, and even Islamic societies in Western Europe and North America. An interesting point in this regard is the obvious emphasis and strong persistence made by the revolutionary leadership on this dimension of the revolution and its plans and ideas for the Muslim world. The following from Imam Khomeini sayings is quite illustrative in this regard: Muslims should know that after the Islamic Revolution and the draw of attention to the extraordinary power of Islam, the US conspiracies and plans from creating divide between Sunni and Shiite

brothers and attacking Iran, which is the center of gravity of the Islamic movement, to the deep and broad plan of assaulting on Lebanon and those atrocities, all and all aim to Islamizing and weakening the movement. It is not limited to Beirut and Lebanon, but Islam in everywhere, in Islamic countries, especially the Persian Gulf and the Hejaz, the center of divine revelation, are all the target. The first goal is to keep the rulers of the region blindfolded at the command of the US, and more painfully, dominated by Israel and make them accepting the disgrace of any humiliation and slavery. In such an atmosphere and great catastrophe, the Islamic nations should not be indifferent and they should not refrain from any effort to preserve Islam and Islamic countries (Sahifeh Noor, 2000, Vol. 17: 29).

Elsewhere, by emphasizing the unity of Islam, he warns that: The Muslims present in the benevolent places, with whatever nation and religion, should know well that the main enemies of Islam, the Holy Quran, and the great Prophet (PBUH) are the superpowers, especially the US and its corrupt daughter, Israel, who have greedily stared at the Islamic countries and do not hesitate to commit any crime or conspiracy to plunder the vast underground reservoirs of these countries. The key to their success in this evil plot is to divide the Muslims in whatever way they can ... Following that same book and tradition, Iran managed to rise up against them and made a revolution and won (Sahifeh Noor, 2000, Vol. 19: 46).

Admittedly by the vast majority of Western and indigenous analysts in the Muslim world, the Islamic Revolution of Iran brought important and decisive effects throughout the territory and domain of the Islamic world. To prove this claim, it is enough to make a short trip to the capitals of the Islamic world from Islamabad to Ankara, Cairo to Rabat, Kuala Lumpur to Jakarta or cities with a significant Muslim population like Urumqi in Xinjiang, China, and visit the streets, universities, and mosques in these cities to realize the reflection, the dimensions of the impact and influence of the Islamic Revolution of Iran in the Islamic world.

In describing the Islamic Revolution, Bernard Lewis depicts it as a genuine and authentic revolution and in the line of the great revolutions of history, i.e., the French and Russian revolutions. Acknowledging the importance and role of the Iranian revolution in the Islamic world, he then suggests that, this revolution had tremendous and profound effects on all societies with which it has a common discourse system, and in this sense, the Islamic world in its entirety was influenced by the Iranian revolution ("Speech at Dayan University, Israel", 1999).

The Islamization of the Palestinian issue is one of the strong manifestations of the impact of the Islamic Revolution on the relations and developments of the Islamic world. The rise, formation, and emergence of Hamas and the Islamic Jihad Movement in Palestine and their increasing power, and finally, the birth of the Intifada of the Palestinian people are all assessed directly or indirectly influenced by the Islamic Revolution in Iran. The Palestinian Islamic Jihad can be mentioned as an example among Palestinian groups that have been heavily inspired by the Islamic Revolution in Iran. In his book, Revolutionaries and Reformists in Contemporary Islamic Movements in the Middle East, by referring to the influence of the outbreak of the Islamic Revolution in Iran on the contemporary revolutionary movements in the Islamic world, Barry Rubin specifically focuses on how the Palestinian Islamic Jihad movement has been influenced by the Islamic Revolution of Iran and its distancing from the Nationalist and ethnic tendencies as the activity pillars of other Palestinian groups and movements. According to him, the welcoming of the Islamic Revolution model by the student movements at Palestinian universities is the result of the frustration of the Palestinian youth regarding the performance of ethnic-based organizations such as the Muslim Brotherhood (Revolutionaries and Reformers, 2003).

Another manifestation of the presence of the Islamic Revolution in the Islamic world can be referred to as Iran's effort to create Islamic solidarity between Islamic nations and governments. This effort can be seen at three official, semi-official, and unofficial levels. At the official level, this effort is made within the framework of the Organization of the Islamic Conference and bilateral diplomatic efforts taking place between Tehran and the capitals of the Islamic world. The culmination of this effect can be observed in the years of Iran's presidency of the Organization of the Islamic Conference by hosting Islamic world leaders in Tehran in 1997. At two semi-official and unofficial levels, Iran's efforts in using the Hajj traditions to awaken, alert and move Muslims towards unity and alliance as well as Tehran's initiatives to unite Shiites and Sunnis, holding of scientific conferences aimed at the rapprochement between Islamic religions and so on may be noted. The announcement of International Quds Day as well as the Week of Unity are seen as two examples and implementation strategies by Iran for achieving the above goals.

## 4. The impacts of the Islamic Revolution at the international level

Finally, the effects and reflections of the Islamic Revolution at the world and international system level can be studied in the context of the long-term and major achievements of the revolution. Challenging the status quo in the international system, which is strongly in favor of the dominant superpowers and to the detriment of small and weak countries, is the most important challenge between Iran and the imposers and supporters of the status quo in

the international system. Some manifestations of this challenge and the protest of the Iranian revolution to what the revolution's leader called the "Global Arrogance", including the Eastern and the Western ones, can be seen in the following statements: For many years, the widespread propaganda by the governments of the East and the West has led the Muslim nations ask for their help and believe that the advances of these weak countries lie in tending to one of these two superpowers. However, to either side they tended, after a while, these nations realized that the superpowers do nothing but capture them and take away their treasures and loot their sources. In our age, the nation has found that the Shah has dissipated and lost all our reserves and sources due to a connection with the West, especially with the United States, and so with the East. He has also wasted our human resources. The people realized that the extraordinary crimes committed by Shah is due to his connection with the superpowers. That is why our nation has stepped up and other countries, including Islamic countries came to notice this fact as well and realized by studying their history that all the hardships imposed on the nations have been done by these superpowers. And Islam, which has well made all the aspirations of mankind available to him, is well-equipped with rich laws that anybody who pays attention to them will inevitably, tend to Islam. Muslims, after many years of neglect, are now awakening and started to pay attention to Islam a little bit, and hopefully, they will pay more attention to Islam and recognize and understand Islam as it is, and if they correctly understand Islam, their tendencies toward the East and the West will be completely cut off" (Sahifeh Noor, 2000, Vol. 14: 183-184).

Nevertheless, the Islamic Revolution's attack continued to target the US and its role in the international system, and especially, in the Middle East region. This general strategy of the Iranian revolution can be clearly found in the following sentences: The most important and most painful issue faced by Islamic and non-Islamic nations under domination is the problem of America. The US government, as the most powerful country in the world, does not hesitate in making any effort to further devour the material resources of the dominate countries. America is the number one enemy of the world's poor and needy people. America commit any crime for its political, economic, cultural and military domination over the world under control. The US exploits the oppressed people of the world with its vast propaganda organized by international Zionism (Sahifeh Noor, 2000, Vol. 13: 84). Iran's strong protest over the "Veto Power" in the UN Security Council, in addition to challenging unfair economic relations between industrialized and developing countries, and also the one-sided cultural relations between the north and the south all are prominent examples of the confrontation between the

fundamental principles of the Islamic Revolution and the conditions prevailing the international system in political, economic and cultural spheres.

Another important feature of the Islamic Revolution in the contemporary history can be mentioned as its placement among the most decisive revolutions in the world. Marvin Zonis is one of the writers who cites the Iranian Revolution as one of the three great and lasting revolutions in history (*Sacred Rage*, 1996), and Robin Wright, an American controversial writer and journalist calls it the last great revolution of the modern age (*The Last Great Revolution*, 2000).

Along with the recognition of the Islamic Revolution of Iran and the dimensions of its impacts on the regional and international environment by statesmen, politicians, analysts, and public opinion, the academic circles became gradually so interested in studying the phenomenon of the Islamic Revolution and comparing it with other world revolutions. Theda Skocpol is one of these people. Later, other academic thinkers added new dimensions to his studies by analyzing and critiquing his ideas and thoughts. Ahmad Eqbal, a researcher, expressly states in explaining and confirming Skocpol's theory in comparing the Islamic Revolution of Iran and the French Revolution that just as the French Revolution is seen a turning point and the beginning of a new era in Europe, the Iranian revolution exactly played the same in creating and launching a new era in South and West Asia, and more generally, in the Third World ("Comments on Skocpol", 1983, 293).

Reinhard Schulze, in his book entitled *Modern History of the Islamic World*, while describing the role of Iran and the Islamic Revolution in the Islamic world, addresses its importance in shaping the modern history of the Islamic world. In part of his book, he describes Iran as the most important candidate for the role of hegemony in the Islamic world after the Islamic Revolution and refers to it as Saudi Arabia's most important rival in the Muslim world. However, he does not see Iran's effort successful to fulfill the role he calls the birth of a new Republic in the Third World (2000, 226).

Nonetheless, he acknowledges that the Islamic Revolution is considered a symbolic beginning for a new era of the self-confidence in the Muslim world. An interesting point in Schulze's analysis and evaluation of the role of the Islamic Revolution in Iran in the Islamic world is his ironic reference to the fact that the victory of the Iranian revolution in 1979, coincided with 1399 AH or the last year of the fourteenth century AH, which can be seen a symbolic sign of the fact that the fifteenth century will be the revival and role-playing century of Islam (*Modern History of Islamic World*, 2000).

The revival of Islam and the rise of revolutionary Islam as an important and decisive factor in the political and social equations of the Islamic world is regarded as one of the major achievements of the Islamic Revolution of Iran. Many writers and analysts think the dimensions and scope of Iranian influence is not limited to the regional environment and neighboring countries of Iran and look for the effects of this change in North Africa and East Asia as well (Mutalib, 1990, 877).

According to scholars such as Mohammad Abu Bakr, the experience of the Islamic Revolution of Iran brought a new and popular figure of Islam to the gates of the Muslim countries of East Asia, including Malaysia. Being inspired by the Iranian Islamic Revolution in East Asia, and in particular Malaysia, never confined to the popularity of the masses; rather, it led many political parties to introduce Islam and resorting to Islam by modeling the Islamic Revolution as a mechanism and a weapon to attract votes for themselves ("Islamic Revivalism and the Political Process in Malaysia", 1981).

Hossein Mutalib, Professor of Political Science at National University of Singapore, with referring to the extent and process of the Islamic Revolution of Iran's influence on East Asian political and social movements and currents, specifically mentions examples from Malaysia and acknowledges that just after the Islamic Revolution in Iran, movements such as the Malaysian Islamic Youth Movement (ABIM) and also the Islamic Party of Malaysia, inspired by the model of the Islamic Revolution of Iran, asked for resorting to Our'an and the Sunnah and their role as legal sources for formulating laws ("Islamic Revivalism in ASEAN States: Political Implication", 1990, 884).

In addition to the regional effects of the Islamic Revolution's victory on the Middle East and the Islamic world, the occurrence of Islamic Revolution that had led to the overthrow of Mohammad Reza Pahlavi and the collapse of one of the West's allies, especially the United States of America, created massive waves on a global scale in the international system. Losing a strategic ally in the region by the United States somehow had disrupted the power balance between the two superpowers in favor of Moscow and the inability of the US and the West to effectively support the Shah in countering the revolutionaries was considered an irreparable embarrassment for Washington. This reached its peak when the Iranians deeply humiliated the Americans and challenged the US position as a superpower in the international system for the second time in less than a year by capturing the US embassy in Tehran and taking American diplomats hostage who were spies from their point of view in the cover of diplomacy plotting to overthrow the nascent revolutionary government. Perhaps this is the reason that many analysts saw the Iranian Revolution a major defeat for US imperialism. Overthrowing a US-backed regime without the US being able to do anything to save it, along with Iran withdrawal from CENTO Treaty, which led to its collapse, and finally, ending the regional gendarmerie role are as other regional and transregional effects of the Iranian revolution.

From the perspective of some analysts, such as Fred Halliday, cutting the hand of foreign countries and ending the intervention of foreigners, especially the powerful European countries and the United States of America with a history as long as the Iran's modern history from the nineteenth to 1979 was one of the most important achievements of the Islamic Revolution. An interesting point from Holliday's view point is that Iran, which was a country so influenced by the outside world in the pre-revolutionary period, at once turned into the most effective and influential country and actor in the region with the victory of the Islamic Revolution and could strongly influence its neighborhood from east to Afghanistan and from west and south to the Arab world ("Iran's Revolution: The First Year", 1989, 19).

When it comes to the effects of the Islamic Revolution on the international system, we encounter different and varied perspectives on how and to what extent these effects appear. But despite all these differences, the principle that the Islamic Revolution despite all the pressures and threats and covert and obvious attacks made against it, could not only survive and continue but also increased its influence on regional and international arrangements seems to be a fact encompassing the common denominator and the minimal level of all these analyzes. Eric Hoogland, the New York Times famous writer, introduces the spirit of survival and continuity of the Islamic Revolution despite all the efforts made to overthrow it as the most remarkable fact about Iran and its place in the international system ("The Islamic Republic at War and Peace", 1989, 4).

The Iranian Revolution was a major disaster for the capitalist world and what is called the evil empire of America for many leftist writers and thinkers around the world, even in the United States. Richard Falk, Michel Foucault, and Edward Said were among the thinkers and writers who looked at the revolution with such an approach at least on the eve of the Islamic Revolution and in the early years after the victory.

Based on such a view, the Iranian Revolution exemplifies a popular uprising from the Third World to combat oppression and injustice aimed at establishing a system based on social justice, fair distribution of wealth, and in stark contrast to the principles of the capitalist world (Falk, "Iran's Home-Grown Revolution", 1979).

Despite its Shiite nature, due to the open, comprehensive, and meticulous look of Shia scholars, the Iranian Revolution could quickly and easily gain significant and lasting influence throughout the Sunni world. According to authors such as Elizabeth Mayer, one of the reasons for such influence should be sought in this fact that recognizing and fully respecting the Sunni minority and its main sects have always been emphasized by the leaders of the Iranian revolution and is also stated in the constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran ("Law and Religion in the Muslim Middle East", 1987, 133).

The basic and major question raised here is that Why and how the Islamic Revolution never led to the second Islamic revolution of its kind in the Islamic world despite its tremendous and great impacts on the formation and ascension of Islamic movements in the Islamic world and why it did not bring the overthrow and collapse of the governments in those countries and the establishment of an Islamic Republic like Iran. Asif Bayat is one of the analysts who believe that the main reason for this was that the victory of the Islamic Revolution in Iran, along with the effectiveness and sending a revolutionary message to Islamic societies and popular movements in the Muslim world, also sent a kind of wake-up message for the governments and leaders of these countries. Thus, the leaders of countries like Egypt, learning from the victory of the Islamic Revolution in Iran, tried to prevent the repetition of the Iranian revolution in their own countries by adopting different approaches and solutions, sometimes with giving limited freedoms and sometimes by sectarian and intense repressions ("Revolution Without Movement, Movement Without Revolution", 1988, 169).

According to many observers and thinkers who have written books and articles about the Islamic Revolution, its roots and its effects on its surrounding environment, the occurrence of the Islamic Revolution in Iran has had a tremendous and unquestionable impact on the emergence and success of the phenomenon of revolutionary Islam as an ideology; a phenomenon that could manage soon to take step in the contemporary world history shoulder by shoulder and along with other revolutionary ideologies (AmirArjmand, "Iran's Islamic Revolution in Comparative Perspective" 1986, 414).

The Islamic Revolution had one major characteristic and difference compared to other revolutionary ideologies in the West emerged in the 20th century. Accordingly, contrary to ideologies like Nazism and Communism, not only it did not spend much of its energy and potential fighting a phenomenon as religion but benefited from all the potentialities of religion as a phenomenon rooted in the beliefs and faiths of the masses at the service of the revolution and revolutionary ideology (AmirArimand, 1986, 414).

By introducing the idea of the *Islamic Ummah* as a political unit and actor in the international system and trying to explain and promote it, the leaders of the Islamic Revolution of Iran challenged the most fundamental principle of international politics since the Westphalian era till now at least at the theoretical dimension, i.e., the nation-state. From this perspective, the division of countries based on the geographical boundaries is a western initiative and souvenir that has been imposed on other nations by force and coercion, including the Muslim world (Zubaida, 1988, 3).

One of the important and remarkable features of the Islamic Revolution that has drawn the attention of observers and analysts has been its relative success and prosperity in Islamic economics such as Islamic-based laws taxation and banking systems as well as in in political fields such as religious democracy. Sami Zubaida, an author, analyst, and professor at the University of London writes in this regard: The experience of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the field of politics is very different from that of its neighbors. Discourses such as legitimacy and satisfaction are complete Islamic phenomena that are considered in Iran and has made the post-revolution Iran incomparable to its Arab neighbors in terms of openness and pluralism and somehow turned into the closest one to the Western modern ("An Islamic State? The Case of Iran", 1988, 6).

### Conclusion

As shown in this article, there is considerable consensus among the writers and theorists of the revolution on the importance of the Islamic Revolution of Iran and its similarity and value with all the great and classical revolutions of the world, including three revolutions in France, Russia and China. The Islamic Revolution of Iran seems to be succeeded in leaving profound and significant effects on the international system at three international, regional and Islamic world levels. On the global impacts of the Islamic Revolution of Iran, one can name the challenging of the bipolar system at the end of the Cold War and before the collapse of the Eastern Bloc, and then challenging the authenticity and legitimacy of the unjust structure of the international system in the economic and political spheres, including the structure of the UN Security Council as the most significant impacts. Challenging the power and glory of the United States of

America and humiliating it seems to be another bold role-playing of the Iranian revolution in the international arena. The Iranian revolution changed the face of Islam on a global scale, especially in the Western world and blended it with politics. The Islamic Revolution brought a kind of selfreturn and political and social life renewal for the Islamic World so that the passion of revolutionary Islam encompassed the streets of Cairo, Beirut, Riyadh, Islamabad, and other capitals of the Islamic world from the first months after the victory of the revolution in Iran. The triumph of the Islamic Revolution in Iran also created some kind of self-confidence and hope in third world countries and gave hope to these countries to achieve true independence and the release of political and economic dependence on the global power centers.

### **Notes**

- 1. Bernard Lewis, professor at Princeton University and an American controversial orientalist, made the above remarks in a speech at the Raymond McLair Institute of Higher Studies at Tel Aviv University on January 18, 1999. The full text of the lecture is available at: http://www.tau.ac.il/dayancenter/mel/lewis.htm
- 2. For review of more analyses, see: Encyclopedia Britannica (2007) under: International Relations: The Iranian Revolution p. 142.
- 3. Michel Foucault and his views on the Iranian Revolution are one of the notable examples in this regard. To read more on this, see the following resource: Afravy. J, and Kevin B. Anderson (2005). Foucault and the Iranian Revolution: Gender and the Seductions of Islamism. Chicago: Chicago University Press.

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