The Causes for Backwardness of Islam World in the Thoughts of Imam Khomeini

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Abstract

Understanding the causes of the backwardness of the Muslim World has been the subject of research in the late three decades. Although much research has been done on this subject, cultural causes have been neglected. This is while culture seems to play an important role in the economic and political development of countries. The cultural crisis is one of the fundamental problems of the Islamic world that has been reflected in most of Imam Khomeini's speeches. The purpose of this study is to investigate Imam Khomeini's view on the cultural challenges of Islamic states using the theory of crisis of Thomas A. Spragens. The findings of this article refer to cultural problems such as westernization, division, self-destruction, emotional-spiritual dependence and crisis of meaning and identity, political and economic instability, the intervention of foreign powers, etc.

Keywords:

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Introduction

Contrary to Marxist ideas, which consider the economy as the basis of development, culture has an important place among political thinkers in the Islamic world. Attention to culture is so important that even the most appropriate way to achieve development and prevent enormous economic, environmental and social damage in society is considered a fundamental change in the culture of the country. Anthony Giddens (2002:22) refers culture as "the way of life of the members of the society, or of groups within a society. It includes how they dress, their marriage customs and family, their patterns of work, religious ceremonies and leisure pursuits". Imam Khomeini considers culture as the source of all the happiness and misery of nations and says in this regard: "Culture is the basis of the nation. "(Khomeini, 2009: 101) It is the basis of a nation's independence." "If we have a dependence in culture, we will become dependent on all of the issues." (Khomeini, 2009: 75) Therefore, the most important change that Imam Khomeini paid attention to before the victory of the Islamic Revolution was the cultural change. Today, the cultural crisis has become an uncontrollable phenomenon in developing countries; a factor that threatens Islam and all Muslims in the world. This article seeks to reconsider Imam Khomeini's statements about cultural dangers. The main question of the article is What are the most important causes for the backwardness of the Islamic world and what should be done to end it. This paper uses the Crisis Theory of Thomas A. Spragens to identify these problems and the solutions to overcome them in the views and thoughts of Imam Khomeini.

In the meantime, it should be noted that although the ideas of Imam Khomeini have always been considered by the Islamic world and even the West, but very limited researches have been done about the cultural challenges of the Islamic world based on Imam Khomeini's views. Therefore, the present study looks at the thoughts of the Imam and the Islamic world from a new perspective and examines them. Some of the works that have been published in this regard are as follows. Arefi (1999) in the article "The solution of the political unity of the Islamic world in Imam Khomeini's thought" points out that the idea of "unity of the Islamic world" has been one of the long-standing and fundamental intellectual pursuits of Imam Khomeini that has not been neglected during his social life. He explains how to achieve political unity in a crisis-ridden and fragmented. Jafarpisheh (2008) in the article "Imam Khomeini and the principles of Islamic government" has addressed the issue of what was the purpose of Imam Khomeini's uprising? Did he consider the oppression and dignity of the Muslims or did he consider material and economic issues? Relying on

the monotheistic view of the Imam, he emphasizes oppression and dignity in Imam Khomeini's thought. Fouladi (2008) in the article "Strategy for the Unity of the Islamic World in Imam Khomeini's Thought" examines the issue of unity in Imam Khomeini's thought and this article addresses questions about the unity of Muslims. What are the ways to strengthen unity? And what effects does it have on Islamic countries? Sotoudeh Arani and Daneshyar (2009) in the article "Pathology of International Relations in Imam Khomeini's view" seek to answer this question that what are the international relations challenges from Imam Khomeini's point of view? The authors state that Imam Khomeini believes that there is inequality and discrimination in the political structure of international relations; and this relationship violates the human rights of weak nations. From Imam's point of view, there are two camps in international relations: Those who hold power and use it to exploit the oppressed and the oppressed of the world who are exploited.

Ahmet T Kuru (2019), a professor of political science at San Diego State University in the US, in his book titled *Islam, Authoritarianism, and Underdevelopment: A Global and Historical Comparison* rejects the claims that Western colonialism caused socio-economic and intellectual problems for the Muslim world. He argues "The causes [of the problems] are human beings, particularly the religious authorities and the state authorities, as the ulema-state alliance created ineffective institutions in the Muslim world," he adds "until the mid-11th century, the Muslim world had independent scholars and merchants who made philosophical and economic achievements possible". So, the separation of spheres will lead to the rise of independent scholars and merchants. Timur Kuran (1997) refers to cultural problems as an obstacle to the backwardness of Muslim countries. He states "the missing element is the role of public discourse in keeping individuals from questioning, even noticing, social inefficiencies".

1. Theoretical Framework

One of the most important political theories that has been favored by researchers in the three last decades to analyzed how political ideas are formed is Thomas Spragens crisis theory He coined the concept of crisis theory in his book "Understanding Political Theory" in 1976. According to Thomas Spragens, the goal of political theory is to provide a holistic view of political society with a critical eye in order to understand it, eliminate its shortcomings and restore health to society by confronting and overcoming the roots of the disorder. In other words, the goal of political theories, according to Thomas Spragens, is to psychologically heal and contribute to

the political community through it in which the political problems of the society can be overcome and its challenges can be solved. This method determines the purpose and appropriateness of political theories, the theorist's method in writing his work, and ultimately its purpose. Thomas Spragens is one of the traditionalists of political science who believes in using historical, philosophical and anthropological methods in the study of political science. His efforts to understand political theories provide a theoretical, philosophical, logical, and practical framework that can be used to explore the internal logic and method of understanding each type of theorizing. Spragens presented a 4-level model that includes 1) observing crisis and disorder, 2) diagnosis of the problem and cause of the crisis, 3) imaginative reconstruction of the polis; and finally, 4) prescribing a solution to the problem. In Spragens' view, each political philosopher in his explorations is inevitably engaged in these levels, and so, applying this model will help the students of political sciences to practically learn how to politically think(Alavipour, 2019:1).

In the first step that he calls it crisis and disorderly observation, he claims that political thinkers of every age are highly realistic and that their political ideas are the answer to the problems of their political environment. Accordingly, political theories are not merely academic pastimes, but are deeply relevant to the practical and everyday issues of politics. They seek to provide a comprehensive picture and a relative understanding of the world of politics. (Barzegar, 2004: 48) Imam Khomeini also observed cultural crises in Islamic societies at this stage and suffered from disorder, weakness of the original Islamic culture. The second step, called "Diagnosis", is to look for the cause of the disorder, which is a causal discussion(Barzegar & Abbastabar, 2007: 55). Only the mind of a very strange person can remain calm after observing the disorder. In such a case, the heart and mind of a healthy person will make him study more. The natural motivation of dynamic "logic" to observe and the natural attention of the concerned mind leads to further research, the solution to the first problem in answer to "What is wrong?" It creates new confusion. The answer given in the disorder observation phase is itself the seed of subsequent questions. The excitement that initially led the theorist to research is still active, because at this stage no solution has yet been found to resolve the disorder. (Spragens, 2010: 79) At this stage, Imam Khomeini, after observing the disorder and cultural crisis in Islamic societies, could not leave this crisis alone and sought the causes of this issue. So, he recognized the pain at this stage and realized why and for what reason the Muslim community has suffered a cultural crisis.

The third step is called "Reconstructing the polis". Irregular observation raises another issue besides the problem of diagnosing causes. This is the matter of proper political order. If one recognizes the political situation in which one lives in an irregular way, it means that an orderly and correct system can be established. Therefore, the theorist must answer the question, what is the proper situation if this situation is bad? If this is the disease, what is the health? After recognizing the pain, Imam Khomeini sought to present a society that was favorable to his opinion. So, he rebuilt the present society, which was suffering from a cultural crisis, with his ideal society. The last step is the way of treatment and the last part of political theories is "Prescription", offering solutions, practical suggestions and recommendations. These recommendations are sometimes explicit and sometimes implicit(Davari, 1998: 270). In the last step, Imam Khomeini states his solutions and prescriptions to get out of cultural challenges and the lack of development. Recommendations that, if implemented, will address many cultural challenges. In order to understand the thoughts of Imam Khomeini according to the theory of crisis, one must first examine the conditions of time and his thoughts, in order to guide the reader's mind towards the desired subject.

2. Conditions and time of the formation of Imam Khomeini's ideas

Along with the internal developments in Iran and Islamic societies, time requirements have also been effective in shaping the views of Imam Khomeini. The basic issues and decisive developments of Imam Khomeini's lifetime can be considered as follows: the domination of liberalism in the West and the peak of its evolution, the birth, rise and decline of the communist system and Russian socialism (Leninism-Stalinism), the emergence and decline of some form of extremist and totalitarian ideologies such as Nazism in Germany and Fascism in Italy and Stalinism in the Soviet Union, the rise of nationalism, especially in the Middle East and the Islamic world, the spread of nationalist or racist ideologies based on Pan-Arabism and the rise of the Cold War. The advent of the United States and the former Soviet Union and finally in the end of his life, the relative victory of the West and liberalism in the Cold War and its effects on the attitudes of instrumental societies and individuals with relativistic and humanistic views on science and education, the emergence of postmodern theories, communication and the globalization of cultures and, most importantly, the religious and political awakening of the peoples of the world, especially the gradual rise and resurrection of the Islamic world. Also, the dominance of secularism, materialism, individualism and utilitarianism under the influence

of other principles of liberalism and the new attitude of the Western world are among the most prominent features of this period.

The above issues along with living in Iraq and Iran and studying with scholars such as Abdolkarim Haeri Yazdi, Mirzavad Javid Maleki Tabrizi, Mohammad Golpayegani, Mohammad Ali Boroujerdi, Mohammad Taghi Khansari, Abbas Araki and accompanying Ayatollah Boroujerdi had a tremendous impact on his political thought. In addition to the above issues, the political developments of the last two centuries in Iran, especially events such as the Constitutional Revolution, the Reuters and D'Arcy Concession, the black coup and Reza Shah coming to power, the discovery of the hijab and dealing with religious manifestations in Iranian society, the nationalization of the oil industry , the execution of the Fadaeeyan-e-Islam, land reform, the White Revolution, the 1920 uprising of the Iraqi people, the formation of Israel in the Middle East, Arab nationalism, etc., all pointed out that each of them contributed to the development of Imam Khomeini's political thought. It was in such an intellectual and political environment and by observing the cultural situation of the Islamic world that the perception of the existence of a cultural crisis in Islamic societies was formed in Imam Khomeini's thought.

3. The cultural crisis in Islamic societies

3-1. What is a cultural crisis

In the field of culture, any event that breaks norms, destroys values, deviates from social discipline, and jeopardizes the doctrinal foundations and the material and spiritual interests of society, is a cultural crisis. Dealing with such an event requires the management and process of managing the cultural crisis. Undoubtedly, society will be able to solve the crisis in the field of culture when it acts according to a clear and convincing model against the cultural crisis. For example, today globalization and in other words cultural globalization is one of the most important cultural problems of countries. This trend started in economics but did not stay in that area as expected and was extended to politics and culture. (Goodarzi, 2003: 139) There is no doubt that this trend has become a huge crisis today and even some opposition to the process of globalism is looking at these problems. The way countries deal with this crisis, if it does not rely on a pre-determined plan, is similar to turbulent actions and, in a sense, turbulent strategy, while if there is a suitable model and specific strategy, countries actively or super-actively will be face this crisis(Pourezzat, 2002: 42).

3-2. Imam Khomeini and Cultural crisis

Cultural crisis from Imam Khomeini's point of view is very complex and it is more difficult to solve it than other crises. Because in his view, this crisis has affected the minds and thoughts of Muslims and leads them to the desires of colonialism. Imam Khomeini recognizes the most important cultural crisis in the Islamic world as the cultural self-destruction of young people and intellectuals: It is unfortunate that our country, which has Islamic rights, Islamic jurisprudence, and Islamic culture, has ignored this culture, these rights, and has followed the West. The West in the eyes of a section of this nation imagine that they think there is no news anywhere other than the West. And this intellectual dependence on the outside is the source of most of the misery of nations and our nation. (Imam Khomeini, 1989: 17)

According to Imam Khomeini, colonial culture is much worse than the weapons of bullies. If the Third World fails to solve this important and vital problem, it will not be able to achieve transcendent growth, and this must begin with the children; also, schools and universities are contributing to this serious matter. Expressing and promoting Western culture in scientific and educational environments and attracting young people to this culture is one of the harms that is seen a lot in society. Imam Khomeini in the description of some of these intellectuals says: Even now, wherever you go, every parliament is made up of these intellectuals of ours, it's the same thing. The same words that were said when they gathered in the time of Taghut, now they say the same things again. We have not come out of our dependence and westernization and we will not come out soon.... Soon we will not be able to rid these intelligentsia and these "libertarian" classes of the content that has been injected into their [brain] for fifty years, thirty years, twenty years, and emptied themselves of their own, of their own ignorance, they cannot be corrected so soon(Imam Khomeini, 1989: 10-11).

Imam Khomeini had believed the current cultural crisis does not belong to any particular country and is taking root in all Muslim states, and has targeted all Muslims in the world: This West or East, which has dominated all Islamic countries, has been the focus of this cultural domination. In those centers, our children were educated in the same way that they were pro-Western or pro-Eastern when they came out of universities. The same young people that you see who are now working in different countries, either for China or for the Soviet Union or for the United States, and now they are working especially in Iran, many of them came from the same universities, that is, they came out with the training that you are nothing!(Imam Khomeini, 2007: 20).

Most scholars cite the West's goals in the Third World around the following axes: First; achieving cheap raw materials; second: expanding the monopoly market for manufactured goods and third; provide a basis for investing additional capital. (Saei, 2008: 175) The point that has been neglected and remains in most of these studies is cultural domination that forms the basis of colonization and exploitation of these countries. A country will not surrender to the West unless it feels culturally inferior and weak. That is why Imam Khomeini considers the biggest, most important and most difficult aspects of domination as cultural domination and mentions this as the great calamity of Islamic countries. The tragedy that has befallen the Muslim community for years, and until this great problem is solved, it will be very difficult to solve the rest of the crises. According to what is stated in the words of Imam Khomeini, the cultural crisis can be considered to include the following characteristics:

1- The culture that colonialism has presented to Islamic countries is completely opposite to the glorious culture of Islamic countries.

2- The goal is mostly the aggressive culture of the youth.

3- The West is trying to dispel the belief that if you want to progress, you must establish the same culture of the West and follow the path taken by the West.

4- Basically, "cultural aggression" has unique characteristics compared to military or economic aggression. Cultural aggression is usually invisible and intangible; it is long-term and long-lasting; it is rooted and deep; it is all-encompassing; it is calculated and has a wide range of programs and tools; it is broad and all-encompassing; it is effective and risky.

5- Fighting and destroying cultural domination is much harder than economic and political domination, and it takes years.

3-3. Mental dependence, a main factor

The human soul and body are the builders of thought when the human soul became dependent on the destructive and counter-cultural factors of that country; it will gradually become a creature that will only listen to the commands of aliens. This is where the cultural crisis in society begins. Imam Khomeini in explaining this issue says: It takes a while for us to have an independent culture; not a colonial culture that they dictated to us. They made our culture so that everything has changed now; it has become Western, and when we speak, our word is Western. When we name a street, we name a street in the west; let's name the western people: Roosevelt Street! Kennedy Street! , etc. These are westernization. Look all over Europe and you will not find a "Mohammad Reza" street; you will not find a "Nader" street. Our streets are also western streets! Our compliments

together are Western compliments. We found a spiritual attachment. This spiritual dependence is worse for us than anything else. They made the university in such a way that the people who leave it benefit for them. They propagated so much from the West, from the West moving forward, they propagated so much that they brought our young people from the same university to the West(Imam Khomeini, 1989: 11).

Another practical method of the enemy in order to destroy the national and Islamic culture is the spiritual dependence of Muslims on Western culture, and according to the Imam, universities and society, it is designed in a way that is in line with Western interests. The spiritual weakness of the youth towards the West has caused them to see the West as the best for aspirations and to pursue material prosperity, exploitation and unrestrained enjoyment in life and living within the framework of material and animal life away from spirituality, morality and humanity. One of the ancient methods of the enemy to expand its domination is to use deviant beliefs against genuine beliefs and values. They are trying to turn religion, which is the cause of awakening, dynamism, oppression, justice and the provision of happiness in this world and the hereafter, into a factor of isolation, isolationism, oppression, backwardness and monasticism. According to the Imam, "foreigners, especially the United States, have been trying for the last half century to deprive our culture and cultural and scientific programs of their Islamic-human-national content, and instead to authoritarian colonial culture." (Imam Khomeini, 1989: 14) According to Imam Khomeini, spiritual dependence on the West has caused the formation of another stage in the life of Islamic youth, and that is intellectual dependence. Western thinking has been rooted in the minds of Muslims for many years and has caused the intellectual influence of the enemies of Islam. They made us dependent on everyone around us. And as long as there is this intellectual dependence in us, all of us are of the opinion that we should bring everything from the West, and whenever we find any flaw, the West should treat it. As long as there is this dependence, we cannot gain independence. There is no way to be independent unless we know that we have a culture; We have everything ourselves; And we do not need the West in these matters; And what they give us is not the reality of growth; It is that they want to keep us to a certain extent ... We are now at a time that out young have all the Western form, and they have to be replaced, the brains have to be changed. (Imam Khomeini, 1989: 14-15) This intellectual dependence puts people in a situation where they not only feel alienated from their culture, but also avoid anything that has a national flavor. Domestic goods will no longer matter to the individual, nor will national

independence and dignity be achieved. Neither cultural independence nor economic and political independence will be important, and that is what the West is looking for. What they issue in the name of science, in the name of "culture", in the name of "progress and excellence", is different from what is belong to them. They think differently about Eastern countries. If they teach one, it is a partial teaching; and we must say colonial education. Everything makes us dependent on them at the same time and gives us nothing. We now think we all have some kind of dependence on everything. Above all, it is the dependence of thoughts. The thoughts of our youth, our old men, our educated people, our intellectuals, many of these thoughts are dependent on the West, on America. And so even those who do not have bad intentions and think they want to serve their country, because they do not know the right way and they believe that we should take everything from the West, have this dependence. And this dependence is the source of all the dependencies we have. If we have cultural dependence, it is followed by economic dependence; there is also social dependence; it is also political. That's all. (Imam Khomeini, 1989: 16)

4. Imam Khomeini's ideal society

Imam Khomeini's ideal society is a society in which the following cultural components exist: cultural independence, the rule of divine law; Becoming members of society into divine human beings, freedom of thought and awareness and awakening of the people.

4-1. Cultural independence

For Imam Khomeini, the most priority in society is than cultural independence. A society that does not have cultural independence will be colonized and dependent forever, even if it has apparently achieved political independence. He constantly addressed the Iranian nation, "You must try to regain what you have lost during the period of puppet regimes, among all of them the most important" is spiritual independence. (Imam Khomeini, 2007, vol. 3: 113) This cultural independence is not only for the citizens of the society, but at the top of them, the officials must be extremely careful and attentive. In this regard, Imam Khomeini said: "We say, sir, do not listen to others ... keep your independence, give up obedience." (Imam Khomeini, 1989, vol. 1: 287-288) Iranian officials should not only renounce obedience but should also help other Muslim nations to get rid of the domination of the moderns. "The Iranian nation hopes to free the hands of foreigners from "all Islamic owners and restore their independence (Imam Khomeini, 1989, vol. 8: 150)

4-2. The rule of divine law

What distinguishes Islamic societies from Western and Eastern societies is essentially the type of political system and the laws that govern it. In Islamic societies, instead of written human law, divine law prevails and other laws will be acceptable only if there is no conflict with this law. Therefore, the conditions that were achieved in Islamic countries due to the domination of the West or the East were by no means desirable and ideal for Imam Khomeini; Therefore, in the first step, the day after the Islamic Revolution, he tried to establish a divine law to rule the Iranian society once again with the formation of the Islamic Republic. Regarding the importance of the rule of divine law in society, He said: "In Islam, what rules is one thing, and that is the divine law. The Holy Prophet did the same, his caliphs did the same, and now we are obliged to do the same. The law rules. One has no authority -even if he is the Messenger of God, even if he is the Caliph of the Messenger of God-. In Islam, there is law, everyone is subject to the law and it is the law of God. It is a law found by divine justice. It is the law that is the Holy Qur'an, and it is the Sunnah of the Holy Prophet. We are all subject to him and we must all act on it. According to Islamic law, all are equal in front of laws. There is no difference between groups. "Even though the Holy Prophet was an Arab and spoke to Arabs, he says that no Arab has honor over non-Arabs, and no non-Arab has honor over Arabs." (Imam Khomeini, 1989, Vol. 9: 425).

4-3. Change of members of society into divine human beings

In the Western school, everything revolves around humanism. Therefore, what creates goodness and pleasure for a person and is not against the freedoms of others and the law will be acceptable; but in Islamic society, the goal is not only human pleasure in this material world. Everything revolves around the happiness of individuals and their becoming human beings. Accordingly, Imam Khomeini states the purpose of Islam as follows: "In Islam, all things are the prelude to humanization. (Imam Khomeini, 1989, vol. 13: 172) Therefore, the key to society's problems is to build a divine human being in strengthening spirituality. "Problems must be solved in an entire Islamic system, and spirituality must not be neglected, which is the key to problems. "We believe that the only school that can lead and advance society is Islam, and if the world wants to get rid of the thousands of problems it is facing today and live humanely, it must convert to Islam as a human being." (Imam Khomeini, 1989, vol. 5: 437).

4-4. Freedom of thought

The next indicator of a desirable cultural society in Imam Khomeini's point of view is the enjoyment of freedom of thought. In a culturally closed society, people will soon enslaved to other cultures and lose the power of reasoning. Such a society, not only will not achieve cultural independence, but will appreciate any product offered to it. Imam Khomeini considers one of the characteristics of a perfect human being to rely on argument and reasoning and to avoid the imposition of beliefs, and in principle he believes that the imposition of beliefs is impossible: "Islam is a religion based on argument and based on logic that not afraid of freedom of speech and writing (Imam Khomeini, 1989, vol. 10: 81) At the same time, in Imam Khomeini's thought, freedom finds meaning in the shelter of Islam and is not as final end in itself, so, its frameworks are determined by Islam and the interests of society. (Imam Khomeini, 1989, vol. 7: 459-460).

4-5. Awareness and awakening

The next indicator in Imam Khomeini desirable cultural society is awareness and awakening. A society in which young people are neglected and deprived of new science and technology will always be in need of foreigners. Regarding this awareness and awakening, he says: "The clear point that gives me hope at the end of my life is the awareness and awakening of the young generation and the intellectual movement, which is growing rapidly and, by the will of God Almighty, it will come its definite results that is cut off foreigners and the expansion of Islamic justice, "(Imam Khomeini, 2007, vol. 6, 284) Imam by Explaining the Islamic awakening among the Iranian nation and the need to share it with other nations said:

It must be shared with the nations; As in Iran, it was the Iranian nation that the catastrophes for Islam at the hands of the United States and its henchmen, the infamous Pahlavi regime, were the young people of Iran, and it was the Iranian people ... and it was the young Basij and Iranian nomads who together realized their duty, woke up and clenched their fists together, and with their fists, drove the tanks off the stage. Until the nations find such an awakening, and until the nations become one, they must know that they are doomed to corrupt governments and doomed to criminal America and other superpowers. Having all those reserves, all those possibilities. (Imam Khomeini, 1989, vol. 16: 325)

After describing the ideal society from Imam's point of view, according to Thomas Spragens' theory of crisis, the next step is to treat cultural challenges. The following are ways to treat the cultural crisis of the Islamic world.

5. Prescribing solutions to cultural crises from Imam Khomeini's Perspective

Imam Khomeini quotes the treatment of all the problems of Muslims in several prominent issues and believes that by relying on them, many crises of Islamic societies can be overcome, especially the cultural crisis, which we will describe:

5-1. Islamic Unity

The concept literally means harmony. Unity has two characters, the first is the inner unity and the second, the external connection. Also, unity in the word means oneness and, in the term, the meaning of unity is Islamic unity. The idea of the unity of Islamic nations originated from the basic principles of Islam, which says: "Muslims are all brothers and the Black Abyssinians are equal to Sayyid Qureshi and are brothers in terms of a common religious relationship. "The originality of the Islamic Brotherhood thought, as stated in the Holy Qur'an, does not require proof." Imam Khomeini's view is that if the relations of Islamic countries are focused on the common belief, unity of the word and other commonalities, differences and areas of separation will be reduced and a new and active identity will emerge. In Imam Khomeini's view, Muslim differences are rooted in geography, indigenous languages and cultures, and most importantly, the conspiracies and tricks of the hegemons of the world, who rely on the above elements, try to intensify differences, divisions and highlight differences. Disputes among Islamic countries must be resolved on the basis of strategic principles and methods. Dialogue, understanding, rapprochement, common feeling and belief in a common destiny constitute unifying categories (Behzadi, 2014: 53). Imam Khomeini's emphasis on the unity of the Islamic world as a cure for cultural problems is reflected in the Sahife-ye Noor. "We need unity for many years to come. The Holy Quran has always commanded us and instructed Muslims to unite for the whole world and throughout history. We need to achieve unity in practice" (Imam Khomeini, 1989, vol. 19: 15). "It is religious unity that creates this great and compact community. If you are interested in independence, have religious unity" (Imam Khomeini, 1989, vol. 1: 64). "The only way to restore the greatness and dignity of the vision of Islam and Muslims, the responsibility of protecting religious unity and brotherhood, is the only guarantee of the independence of Islamic lands" (Imam Khomeini, 1989, vol. 1: 192). "The secret of the victory of Muslims in the beginning of Islam was the unity of the word and the unity of faith" (Imam Khomeini, 1989, vol. 6:49). "The secret of all the troubles of Islamic countries is word difference and lack of coordination, and the key to victory is the unity of the

word and the creation of harmony ... and put aside from the divisions and sectarianism that are the basis of all misery and backwardness." (Message to the pilgrims of the Sacred House of God, 1979).

5-2. Cultural independence

One of the treatments that Imam Khomeini constantly emphasizes is cultural independence in Islamic societies. "The point of educating a nation is that the culture of that nation is the right culture." (Imam Khomeini, 1989, vol. 8: 89) "Dear nation of Iran and other oppressed countries of the world, if they want to escape from the evil trap of the great powers to the end, they have no choice but to reform their culture and independence." (Imam Khomeini 1989, vol. 15, 448) The correct education according to Imam is not possible without serious attention to Islamic culture and identifying the danger of the invasion of foreign culture and the resulting deviations. Therefore, a nation will never be free from the traps of demons until it recognizes the characteristics of colonialism and imported cultures. So, what guarantees the correct educational system and ultimately closes the way for the influence of the hegemons is the healthy and humanizing culture of Islam. What has caused this cultural independence to be lost is the dependence of Islamic rulers on the West and the East No, we do not compromise with any of the superpowers and powers, neither under American domination nor under the Soviet burden. We are Muslims and we want to live. We want to live a poor life, but be free and independent. We do not want this progress and civilization to be extended to foreigners. We want a civilization that is based on honor and humanity and maintains peace on that basis. The superpowers want to dominate the humanity of human beings and we and you and every Muslim are obliged to stand against them and not compromise. Imam also considered the reason for the opposition to the Islamic Revolution from the East and the West to be the same as not being dependent on them... Islam is neither Eastern nor Western and is a straight path, the Islamic Republic has been realized with the same understanding of Islam, and today, because it is neither leftist, the leftists oppose it, so, they oppose it." He knew the duty of Islamic scholars and all Muslims to end the oppressive situation in their country and in this way that it is the path to the happiness of hundreds of millions of people they should overthrow the oppressive governments and form an Islamic government (Navazani, 2005: 3). "It is not that true to step aside when we cannot form a general government, but all the things that Muslims need and that is the duty of the Islamic government, we should do as much as we can." According to Imam Khomeini "Anyone who states that the formation of an Islamic government is not necessary, has denied the need

to implement the rules of Islam, and has denied the comprehensiveness of the rules and the immortality of the religion of Islam."

5-3.Defending Islamic values

When Islamic rulers fall short of Islamic culture in the face of Western aggression, the enemy will become bolder and will invade new dimensions of Islamic values every day. Commitment and sense of responsibility of Islamic rulers, trust in God and reliance on their ability to resist these conspiracies can revive Islamic values around the world. Imam Khomeini said in this regard: "Muslims must with all the necessary means, to seriously confront the defense of divine values and the interests of Muslims." (Imam Khomeini, 1989, vol. 20: 316).

5-4. Introduction to True Islam

One of the negligence that has been done in the Islamic world and has caused the youth to turn away from their Islamic beliefs and absorb the culture of foreigners has been the failure to introduce true Islam by the elites and religious scholars. Imam Khomeini, addressing the pathology of this situation, addresses the Iranian nation: We have a duty to remove the ambiguity they have created regarding Islam. There is nothing we can do without removing this ambiguity from our minds. We must force ourselves and the next generation to clear up this ambiguity that has been found in the minds of even many of our educated people as a result of hundreds of years of misinformation about Islam. You must introduce yourself, your Islam, the examples of leadership and Islamic government, to the people of the world; especially to the university department and the educated class (Imam Khomeini, 2013: 130).

5-5. The benefits of unity

5-5-1. Resistance to foreign culture

One of the great virtues of unity is to stand up to Western culture, and if it is practiced, no foreign power will ever allow itself to invade Muslim territory and will be afraid of this great power. Imam Khomeini said in this regard:
A unity of true Islam. Forgive some of their own lusts, and join hands as brothers; to be brothers - all together in front of the West; Do not be westernized, Stand against the West. If they become monotheists, the Jews will no longer covet Palestine. This is because they do not allow you to unite. Those who want to take your resources away from you, want to take your wealth for free, want to plunder your underground and extraterrestrial reserves, they will not allow Iraq and Iran to unite; Iran and Egypt to unite;

Let them all unite the word. They will not leave. But this is not your job(Interview with the Lebanese newspaper Al-Safir, 1979).

5-5-2. Execution of Islamic rules

What separates Islamic states is the conspiracies of foreigners and divisiveness among Muslims. This factor has caused the rulers of some Islamic countries to abandon their reliance on their nation and turn to the West in order to be able to rule for a few more mornings. Instead of this apparent support for these governments, it is generally imposed to move towards the school of liberalism and abandon Islamic rules. It is as if many divine commandments are being abandoned by Islamic governments today under the pretext of conflict with human rights. Imam Khomeini said in this regard: "I hope that by considering the Islamic rule that all people and all Muslims are brothers, this country achieve its own interests and all Islamic countries overcome great powers and carryout the rules of Islam to the end ". He advises the Islamic rulers in another place: My message to the Arab and Muslim brothers is that let us put aside our differences and shake hands with each other, and at the same time and in alliance with all the non-Arab Muslim brothers, make Islam your only support. You can be a power that the superpowers will never want to dominate you and thus will not attack you from the left and the right, by having material resources that are in excess of account and, most importantly, the divine and spiritual reserve, which is Islam(Imam Khomeini, 2003: 64).

5-5-3. Divine happiness and mercy

In Islam, the destiny of human beings is not separate. All are equal and brothers and should strive to achieve divine happiness and mercy. But what makes this path not smooth is the existence of intellectual, ethnic, political and so on differences among their societies. Therefore, in the best case, they seek individual happiness instead of collective happiness. However, if the divisions and differences are ended, in the least possible situation, Muslims can guarantee each other's happiness. Imam Khomeini said in this regard: "Be together and there should be no division. With division there is all corruption and with reliance on God there is all goodness and happiness." (Imam Khomeini, 1989, vol. 8: 316) He knows the only way of salvation by taking the rope of God so, he referring to the verse of brotherhood, addresses the believers: "Consider this verse as well. "Hold fast, all together, to Allah's cord, and do not be divided [into sects]." All of you, be brothers so that in heaven, too, you will be brothers. If there is no brotherhood here, there is no known paradise for you." (Imam Khomeini, 1999, vol. 15: 476)

5-5-4. Acting on a religious duty

From Imam Khomeini's point of view, unity is a religious duty. This task is especially necessary and assumed by everyone, especially where more general interests are at stake. In special and critical circumstances, even Imam Khomeini considers the lack of unity as a kind of "suicide" and "collective suicide" (Jamshidi and Irannejad, 2012: 176). Today, we are obliged to avoid the difference of the word in whatever clothes and jobs we are in, and to turn to the Islamic unity that is constantly recommended by the book and tradition... At this critical time when our country and dear Iran are in great danger, the task of all groups and individuals is serious and huge. Weakness in the present and the division is considered as suicide and wasting the blood of the children of Islam(Imam Khomeini, 1989, vol. 4: 311).

Conclusion

In recent decades, a large part of the description of political ideas has been done by interpretive methods, such as hermeneutics, discourse, and so on. Thomas Spragens theory of crisis is also presented under these approaches. If the separation of political thought and the method of understanding political thought is to be assumed, then Thomas Spragens theory of crisis must be placed in the second category. Based on this method, to understand an individual's thought, Spragens provides a theoretical, philosophical, logical, and practical framework that can be used to discover the inner logic of any theorizing theory. Spragens describes how a thinker creates a theory in four steps: 1) Observation of disorder 2) Diagnosis 3) Reconstructing the polis and 4) Prescription.

A study of Imam's political thought regarding the cultural problems of the Islamic world shows that in Imam Khomeini's view, Islamic society is facing a cultural crisis. The origins of these problems back to emotional-spiritual dependence and self-destruction of Muslims in the West. Since the domination of the west on the Muslim lands, Islamic culture was neglected and the youth drowned in western culture. They forgot the philosophical and socio-economic achievements of the Islamic government between the eighth and 12th centuries. This situation caused not only the West to colonize and exploit Islamic lands, but also to direct the thoughts and ideas of the Islamic youth in the desired direction. Imam Khomeini warned of these cultural conditions. He invited the leaders of Islamic countries to cut cultural ties with the West. He, also, called for the unity of the Muslim world. Imam Khomeini described the ideal society a community with characteristics such as cultural independence, the rule of divine law, the transformation of

members of society into divine human beings, freedom of thought, and awareness and awakening. He called on Muslim nations to move towards this ideal society. Although Imam Khomeini's voice was well heard in Iran, it was lost in the fanfare of the Western media against the Iranian revolution. Therefore; The Islamic world is still unaware of many aspects of Imam Khomeini's thoughts and ideas. Ideas that can show the way to Islamic nations to get rid of tyranny and foreign interference.

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