



Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah's Contributions to Political Thought

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Abstract: According to many strategic analysts, Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah, the Secretary-General of Hezbollah in Lebanon, is a skilled practitioner of psychological warfare who, under specific conditions, can shift the dynamics of regional conflicts in favor of the Axis of Resistance. This perception stems from the understanding that political struggle often involves tactics of deception, yet Nasrallah is widely regarded as remarkably truthful—so much so that even Shimon Peres, the former president of the Zionist regime, described him as Israel's "most honest enemy," acknowledging his strategic awareness and analytical acumen in regional and international affairs. Such political foresight has enabled Nasrallah to make accurate predictions regarding global developments, particularly concerning the future of the Zionist regime. Hezbollah strategically frames its confrontation with Israel through specific events, often articulated by its Secretary-General. This study aims to analyze the political views and ideological framework of Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah.

Keywords: Political Thought, Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah, Hezbollah, Islamic Revolution, Zionist Regime, Axis of Resistance.

Introduction

Sayyad Hassan Nasrallah was born in 1960 in Karinthia, east of Beirut, and given the economic problems of Lebanon in those years, he moved with his family from the village of Al-Bazourieh in southern Lebanon to work in Beirut. However, after the outbreak of the Lebanese Civil War in 1975, Nasrallah and his family were forced to return to their hometowns. In the same year, after getting acquainted with Imam Musa Sadr, Sayyad Hassan Nasrallah joined the Amal movement and a year later, he left for Najaf to study Islamic jurisprudence. As soon as he arrived in Iraq, he met with Sayyad Abbas Mousavi, and thus, Mousavi became a disciple and guide of Nasrallah. But after two years in Najaf, due to Saddam Hussein's harsh policies against Lebanese clerics in the country, Nasrallah, like many of his companions and teachers, returned to Lebanon. Thus, he began another phase of his life after returning from Najaf. After arriving in Lebanon, Sayyad Hassan Nasrallah continued his religious education; Because Sayyad Mohammad Hussein Fadlallah and Mohammad Mahdi Shamseddine had established a seminary in Baalbek. After the Zionist regime invaded Beirut in 1982, Nasrallah with some of his clergymen and comrades, left the Amal movement because of a split within the movement, and thus, the groundwork was laid for the formation and establishment of Hezbollah in Lebanon. However, in the mid-1980s, Sayyad Hassan Nasrallah left Baalbek for Beirut to become one of Hezbollah's leading figures. Since 1992, Sayyad Hassan Nasrallah has been the secretary general of Hezbollah in Lebanon, which has a political organization and a military branch called the "Islamic Resistance". As a popular political figure in Lebanon and the Arab world, he plays a very important role in Hezbollah's military operations and political decisions in this country. After the assassination of Sayyad Abbas Mousavi; the former Secretary-General (1992) still retains the role of a political and military leader. Nasrallah, as Hezbollah's secretary general since the 1990s (2022), is considered one of the most enduring figures in Lebanon's political landscape. Nasrallah is the official spokesman of Hezbollah in Lebanon and his speeches on various national and religious occasions in the country, It is considered as an important part of Nasrallah's political thought and

military discourse. In fact, Hezbollah chooses specific events for describing the confrontation with the Israeli enemy that often expressed these positions by its Secretary-General. Accordingly, this study seeks to examine the views and political thought of Sayyad Hassan Nasrallah, Secretary General of Hezbollah in Lebanon.

1. Background of political thought in the Arab world

Over the past years, many efforts have been made by scholars and experts in academia to understand political thought in the Arab world. In this regard, the subject of many books and articles of thinkers has been to recognize the basic assumptions governing Arab or Islamic thought and also the factors affecting their formation. In most cases, experts and thinkers have attributed the exceptional impact of political and geopolitical events to the formation of Arab / Islamic thought and few experts deny this influence. This means that an Arab / or Muslim in the geopolitical space around him belongs to a religious world beyond its borders, the Islamic world. Arab and Islamic thought are intertwined, and therefore the events that have taken place in the geopolitical atmosphere of the West Asian region throughout its history, have had a great impact on the emergence of political and Islamic ideas. In this regard, André Miquel, the famous French orientalist, defined Islam as an "indivisible" religion (the principle of the indivisibility of Islam). But before him, the British-Lebanese Orientalist Albert Hourani tended to confine the Arabs to his Islamic identity and distinguish between Arab Christians and Muslims. Today religion, identity, and ethnicity have lost their former meaning. But given the intellectual and political developments that have taken place in the Arab world, including the rise of Arab nationalism, modernism, and secularism, led to the creation of the term "return to religion" as a political and cultural component at the international level in general and in the Arab world in particular. Thus, there was a greater fusion between religion and identity. The emergence of new nation-states that represent the religion of Islam, brought religion and identity together, and as a result, religion emerged as an ethnic phenomenon that affects the behavior of Muslims and other monotheistic religions (Judaism and Christ). When the intellectual renaissance of the Arab world began after Napoleon Bonaparte visited Egypt, Most modern thinkers

focused on the need for Islamic reform to adapt it to the requirements of the modern world Europe. Thus, three main issues, namely education, the status of women, and structural reforms in government, came to the attention of thinkers and experts. At that time, most thinkers were aware that Islamic laws and values were declining, which led to the collapse of Islamic societies, especially the Arab ones. This concern for religious reform had many consequences; because the connection between religion and identity became the main focus of discussion among various thinkers and experts in the world. However, the roots of religious tensions, conflicts, and violence that have led to the political, security, and economic instability of Arab societies can be traced to the intellectual renaissance of the Arab world. Given the very complex problems that Arab thinkers faced after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and the end of World War I, Three questions occupied the minds of these thinkers: What factors led to the rise and fall of Arab societies? What is our identity? Why are we not able to form a cohesive nation and government that is respected by other countries? These questions, which have been asked since the beginning of the nineteenth century, in turn, continue to be the basis of the thinking of most scholars in the field of political thought in the Arab world. This was especially influential in the political and cultural developments that took place after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and the French mandate of Lebanon. For this purpose, it is necessary to explain the different currents of political thought in the Arab world during the time of Muhammad Ali Pasha in Egypt, from the beginning of the nineteenth century. Three consecutive orientations in Arab political thought can be identified, which are examined below.

2. Three consecutive orientations in the political thought of the Arab world

2.1. Tendency to modernity by religious reformers

This tendency first emerged with the views of Sheikh Tahtawi. He studied at Al-Azhar University in Cairo and then traveled to France during his four-year stay in France from 1826 to 1830, he was fascinated by the symbols and appearances of French society. He also emphasized educating the people, improving the status of women, and their interest in knowledge. He concluded that there is no Islam in

France, but that most people still behave like good Muslims; while there is Islam in Egypt, but there is no real Muslim. Therefore, after returning from France, he played a leading role in the modernization of Egyptian society, which coincided with the reign of Muhammad Ali Pasha. Tahtawi spread the "tendency to modernity" not only in Egypt but also in other Arab societies. He was the founder of modernist thought; According to Tahtawi, society needs comprehensive terms that should start with religious institutions. His views on Egyptian society were later developed by prominent scholars at Al-Azhar University (Muhammad Abdu, who later became the Mufti of Egypt). This modernist movement found many followers in Syria, Lebanon, and Iraq, both in Muslim and Christian communities; who lacked a religious background. Here, this can refer to influential Egyptian personalities such as "Ahmed Lutfi el-Sayed". He significantly expanded the Egyptian press and greatly influenced many other Muslim and Christian thinkers during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. However, in one of his most famous books, "Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age 1798-1939" (1962), Albert Hourani distinguished between Christian and Muslim thoughts about modernism and secularism. According to him, Christians were more secular; Because Muslims were bound by Islamic traditions, which considered religion to be the fundamental element of the state and society. Hourani devoted certain sections of this book to the debates of "Mohammad Abdu" and "Anton Farah" about secularism. Hourani's remarks later became the standard discourse in many other writings on Arab political thought. In particular, "Alsharabi" extended this concept (secularism) to a principled approach based on the different religious roots of the thinkers of the Arab world (See: Corm, 2016: 242).

2.2. Arab secular nationalists and modernism

A prominent feature of the second orientation of Arab thought is the dominance of the ideas of Arab nationalism, which were largely intertwined with secularism, and in this orientation, Muslim and Christian intellectual activists are also observed. This political thought (Arab nationalism) emerged with the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and the suppression of the caliphate in the new Turkey. Before this important historical event, Arab thinkers were divided between those

who advocated Islamic unity and allegiance to the Ottoman Empire (al-Afghani or Shakib Arsalan) and those who defended the national rights of the Arabs. From the perspective of pro-Ottoman Arab thinkers, European colonial ideals in the twentieth century posed a serious threat to all nationalities living in the Ottoman Empire and for this reason, there was a need for a joint global response based on Islamic unity between Arabs and Turks. Advocates of Arab national rights, on the other hand, accused the Ottoman Empire of failing to carry out reforms and the modernization process; because these reforms have not been able to resist the colonial greed of the powerful European nations. They believed that the Turks were responsible for the fall of the Arabs and that Islam was a positive factor. With the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and the Caliphate, the ground for the emergence and growth of Arab modernist nationalism was laid by Jamal Abdul Nasser and major Arab nationalist parties such as the Ba'ath Party or the Arab Nationalist Party.

2.3. The spread of Arab critical thought in the face of Arab defeats

The third orientation emerged after the defeat of the ideas of secularism and modernist Arab nationalism. To compensate for this defeat, one of the measures taken was the test of short-term unity between Egypt and Syria (1958-1961) which was intended as the beginning of a larger movement for the unification of the Arab world, to break the boundaries imposed by the 1916 Sykes-Picot Agreement. The second test was the lightning defeat of the Arab army against Israel in 1967, which ended with the occupation of the Sinai Peninsula, the Golan Heights in Syria, and the West Bank (ruled by Jordan) by the Zionist regime. These two events provoked strong criticism from many Arab intellectuals, some of whom were Marxist and nationalist ideas. They wrote many studies and books to examine the main reasons for the inability of the Arabs to unite to meet many of the challenges of the Arab region. For example, can refer to challenges and weaknesses in confronting the Zionist occupation of Palestine, support for the Palestinian people to regain at least some of the land lost in the 1967 war, and passivity against the neo-colonial policies of the United States and its allies and the failure in economic and social development.

It must be acknowledged that the Zionist regime was able to expand its territory during several wars with the Arab governments. Disagreement among the Arab world, passivity between them and the authoritarian and personal interests of the rulers of these countries, the games, and mistakes of international orientations, and the full support of the United States of America and its allies for the Zionist regime led to the inability of the Arabs to confront the Zionists. In the meantime, only guerrilla and sporadic clashes between Palestinian fighters had been able to inflict some blows on the Zionist regime. Because part of the Palestinian conflict with Israel took place inside Lebanon, the Zionists entered Lebanon to confront them. Thus, in 1982, the Zionist regime invaded Lebanon and occupied Beirut, the capital of this country. These events showed that secularist and nationalist ideas had failed to respond to their contemporary crises and that new idea needed to emerge to deal with the political and social developments of the age. Under such circumstances, thinkers such as Imam Musa Sadr, Ragheb Harb, and Sayyad Hassan Nasrallah emerged and confronted the Zionist regime by founding the Amal movement and then Hezbollah. It is worth mentioning that since the Islamic Revolution of Iran under the leadership of Imam Khomeini was also fruitful at this time and had achieved many successes, its teachings were considered by the above-mentioned thinkers. With this introduction, in the following, the foundations of Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah's political thought will be examined.

3. Fundamentals of the political thought of Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah

3.1. The open letter and manifesto of Hezbollah

When it comes to the strategy and political thoughts of Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah, Secretary General of Hezbollah in Lebanon, It is necessary to address the principles and intellectual foundations of this party as a manifesto of Nasrallah's thought. The "Hezbollah Manifesto" or "Open Letter" of 1985 is crystallized in the thoughts of Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah. On February 16, 1985, Hezbollah formally declared its existence after reading the declaration of its existence. The statement said in part: "We are often asked: Who are we, the Hezbollah, and what is our identity? We are the sons of the ummah (Muslim community) - the party of God (Hezbollah) the vanguard of which was made

victorious by God in Iran. There the vanguard succeeded to lay down the bases of a Muslim state which plays a central role in the world. We obey the orders of one leader, wise and just, that of our tutor and faqih (jurist) who fulfills all the necessary conditions: Ruhollah Mousavi Khomeini. [...] We do not constitute an organized and closed party in Lebanon, nor are we a tight political cadre. We are an ummah linked to the Muslims of the whole world by the solid doctrinal and religious connection of Islam, whose message God wanted to be fulfilled by the Seal of the Prophets, i.e., Muhammad. This is why whatever touches or strikes the Muslims in Afghanistan, Iraq, and the Philippines and elsewhere reverberates throughout the whole Muslim ummah of which we are an integral part". Thus, the party clearly stated its position towards the influential national, regional, and international powers. At the national level, Hezbollah considered the Kataeb (or Phalange), at the regional level, the Zionist regime and its allies, and internationally, the United States and France as stubborn enemies of the Middle East. Open Letter 1985 While Officially Announcing Hezbollah's Positions, emphasized the strategies for developing this thought, which was based on the principles of Islamic thought (Shia). It is noteworthy that between 1995 and 2009, due to national, regional, and international events, fundamental changes took place in a large part of the manifesto's ideals and goals. But the ideological background of the manifesto based on resistance and jihad against the Zionist regime and its allies (especially the United States and Britain) remained firmly as the underlying principles of Hezbollah and, consequently, Nasrallah. It must be acknowledged that Hezbollah is considered alongside the Shiite movements in Lebanon, which was influenced by the Islamic Revolution and the thoughts of Imam Khomeini. Most of Hezbollah's main leaders (Sayyed Abbas Mousavi, Mohammad Hussein Fadlallah, etc.) have been educated in Qom or Najaf, and religious activists active in Hezbollah are also influenced by this group. In any case, the fundamental element in the thought and action of Hezbollah, and consequently of Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah, is enmity with the Zionist regime and its eradication. According to the party's first manifesto in 1985, the following four axes form the basis of Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah's thinking:

1. The withdrawal of the Zionist regime from Lebanon and the liberation of Holy Quds and Palestine
2. Withdrawal of the United States and France and their allies from Lebanon and removal of the intervention of the colonial governments from this country (In other words, the political independence and cutting off of foreigners from their interventionist actions in Lebanon)
3. The submission of the Kataeb (Phalange) to a just government and their trial for crimes committed by the American-Zionist incitement against Muslims and Christians (in Lebanon)
4. The Lebanese people must decide for themselves the future and destiny of this country freely and without foreign interference (America, France, Saudi Arabia).

Therefore, the foundations of Hezbollah's political legitimacy, according to its manifesto, are based on the following four principles, which also include the principles of Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah's political thought:

1. The gradual development of the legitimacy of the resistance (in line with international developments and political changes and the priorities of the Lebanese government)
2. Freedom in the Islamic sense is the natural right of man and the basis of all rights
3. In the Islamic concept, man is attributed to a single principle that honors and respects man as the essence of creatures (the principle of human dignity)
4. Religious and cultural diversity in Lebanon is considered a rich and valuable resource

On the other hand, Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah, Secretary General of Hezbollah in Lebanon, when speaking at a live press conference in Beirut on November 23, 2009, read the party's new "manifesto", which surprised many people around the world. The Second Manifesto is, by and large, the only ideological platform published by the party, and 24 years after the publication of The Open Letter (1985), Hezbollah has been the main tool of worldview and goals for the whole world for decades. The New Manifesto (2009) consists of an introduction and three chapters:

1. Status of the international system (domination and hegemony)

2. Domestic policy of Hezbollah (in Lebanon)
3. Presenting the views of this party on the Arab-Israeli conflict (Palestine and compromise negotiations).

The new manifesto (2009) reflects the political and military transformation of the party since its publication in 1985 and explains the group's strategic vision for the future. The manifesto, presented during the organization's 17th political meeting, provoked a wide range of reactions inside Lebanon and around the world. While many observers interpreted the document as an undeniable sign of Hezbollah's process of moving towards "moderation" and full political integration in Lebanon, Others, however, objected to the fact that the ideology had not undergone any major ideological or strategic changes. On this basis, can be said that Hezbollah's view of the world and its enemies is the same as the first open letter in 1985, and given the state of the world, in 2009 there was only a slight change in the tactics of fighting the enemies (the United States and the Zionist regime). In other words, there is a deep continuity between the two manifestos theoretically, and only a small amount of change has taken place in the practical confrontation with the enemies. In particular, the 1985 Open Letter generally rejected any foreign presence or intervention in Lebanon and the Muslim ummah and also insisted on fighting the presence and influence of the West in the Islamic world, as well as fighting for the destruction of the state of Israel [Israel Regime]. The 2009 Manifesto, on the other hand, endorses and develops similar concepts, but reflects a higher degree of political complexity. For example, while Hezbollah's open letter in 1985 viewed the United States and the West as an evil and repressive force in the Islamic world, In the Manifesto of Principles 2009, describes the US World Program under the phrase in search of global "hegemony" and emphasizes the negative effects of globalization on the identity of Muslims and the Arab world. However, at the macro level, the principles and ideas of Seyyed Hassan Nasrallah based on the Hezbollah Manifesto can be explained as follows (Qasem, 2006: 109-113):

A. Resistance: Hezbollah reiterated the need to adhere to the choice of resistance to preserve the unity of Lebanon. This commitment

requires the support of the Mujahedeen and the facilitation of jihadist operations and the participation of the Lebanese army in the liberation operation. The government must support the resistance politically because resistance is the only means that can block the enemy and prevent the enemy from gaining advantages from its occupation. That is why Hezbollah rejects attempts to compromise with the Zionist regime and will do its utmost to thwart attempts to establish relations with the enemy.

B. Abolition of political sectarianism: Political sectarianism is the main cause of corruption in the Lebanese system, therefore, the candidates of Hezbollah must work with the cooperation of their sincere friends to abolish political sectarianism.

C. Issue of election law: Hezbollah believes that the scope of the electorate should be expanded, and for this, the election law should be amended and the whole of Lebanon should become a constituency and the legal age of voters should be reduced from 21 to 18.

D. Political and Mass Media Freedoms: Hezbollah believes in the need for freedom and emphasizes religious rites and respect for the heavenly religions and Hezbollah candidates will try to pass laws to guarantee freedom of political activity. In the field of mass media, the organization of these media should be based on the coherence of their propaganda function with the Lebanese identity, culture, and civilization and the mass media must also be committed to public etiquette and ethics. Hezbollah candidates will also try to defend their rights against the private media's adherence to the above-mentioned issues.

E. The issue of citizenship: About the issue of citizenship, modern laws should be enacted so that any person eligible for citizenship can obtain citizenship without discrimination and tribal, racial, or religious extortion, also Citizens of the seven villages and the Arabs of Wadi Khalid must also be given citizenship.

F. The issue of war refugees: Preparations must be made for the return of refugees from all parts of Lebanon, an acceptable solution must be found for the refugees in the occupied border area, and a plan must be prepared for the development of the displaced areas.

3.2. Shiite political culture and Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah

The foundations of Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah's thought have also been adapted from Shiite political culture. The most important elements and concepts in Shiite political culture are The principles of Imamate, waiting for the savior, occultation, martyrdom, Taqiyyah, justice and Enjoining to Good [Ma'ruf], and Forbidding from Evil [Munkar]. Also among the religious institutions in Shiite culture, we should mention Ashura, mourning, taziye, and the tradition of remembering the martyrs which have the potential to provoke and mobilize the people and to inspire the spirit of struggle and revolution. The element of ijtihad and the authority (Marja'at) and the institution of the mosque and the pulpit are also among the factors influencing the Shiite political culture (Masoudnia et al. 2014: 34). In this regard, the most important indicators of Shiite political culture are Imamate and Velayat-e-Faqih, anti-tyranny, jihad and martyrdom, symbolism (Ashura culture). Should be noted that the foundations of Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah's thought are also consistent with the above indicators. Accordingly, the foundations of Nasrallah's thought are plotted in the following diagram:

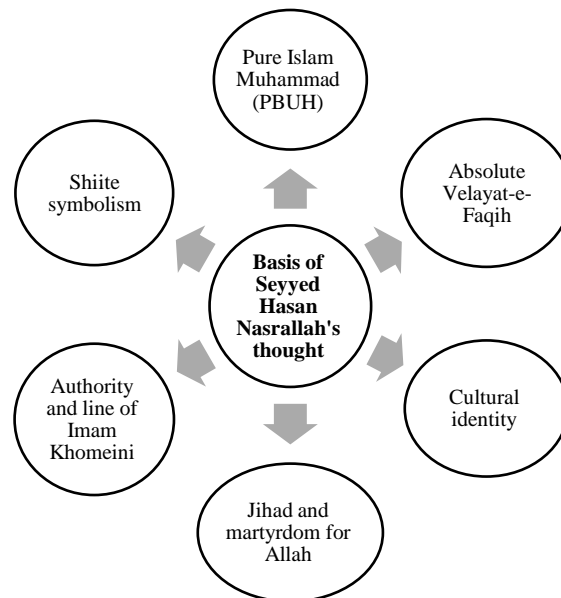


Chart (1): Fundamentals of Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah's thought

1. Pure Islam of Muhammad (PBUH): Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah proposes the implementation of the divine commandments of Islam as the only solution to the problems of human societies in any place and time and says: We are an Ummah committed to the mission of Islam and we want all the people and the oppressed of the world to discuss the heavenly mission of Islam because the mission of Islam is to achieve justice and peace, as well as to establish confidence and stability in the world. Hezbollah and, according to it, Nasrallah, are trying to implement the rules of Islam based on the evolved view of the Islamic community and the acceptance of Islam as a government, But in doing so, Hezbollah rejects the use of violence and coercion of the people and does not want Islam to be imposed on others, does not accept the imposition of other people's ideas and systems and does not want Islam to rule Lebanon by force. In general, Hezbollah in its Open Letter (1985) accepts Islam as a policy of survival. In this regard, Nasrallah believes that Islam, as an ideological and political thread, connects Hezbollah to all Muslims in the world and he points out that

we, the son of the Ummah of Hezbollah, consider ourselves a part of the Ummah of Islam in the world.

2. **Absolute Velayat-e-Faqih:** Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah says about proving the theory of Velayat-e-Faqih: "The law of Muslims is the divine law that God Almighty has revealed to His Messenger Muhammad (PBUH) and its halal and haram will be like this until Doomsday and the reason for this is the immortality of the religion of Islam. Now, should this eternal law be silenced and not enforced when the Infallible Imam (Imam Mahdi (as)) is hidden from view? And is it logical for the Imam to leave the Muslims and not tell them how to solve their problems at this time? Therefore, during the time of absence (Imam Mahdi (as)), we need a leader who can, with complete mastery of religion, verses, and hadiths, first extract religious commands and rules and know the tradition of the Messenger of God and Second, to execute it carefully and delicately with the characteristics of justice, courage, ability, and awareness. This Velayat is the Velayat that God gave to the Holy Prophet and the infallible Imams. Not in the sense that the Supreme Leader has the same spiritual status as the Prophet and the Imam, but in the sense that everything that God has given to the Prophet from Velayat, whether in communication or practice, is also the responsibility of the Vali-e-Faqih and this is the meaning of the words of Imam Khomeini who said: "The Velayat-e-Faqih is the Velayat of the Messenger of God".

3. **Authority and line of Imam Khomeini:** The discourse of Hezbollah and Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah is based on following the commands of the Qur'an and the Sunnah of the Imams of the Infallibles, as well as the rulings and fatwas issued by the Velayat-e-Faqih, who is also the source of Marja and manifested in Imam Khomeini, the leader of the Islamic Revolution of Iran, he knows his cultural sources and believes that the Supreme Leader in the face of attacks from East and West against the Muslim Ummah in the world and efforts to destroy the concepts of the mission of Islam and plunder the wealth of Muslims and exploit the talents and capabilities of the Muslim Ummah to take control of the fate of Muslims, guarantees and specifies policy and political orientation. Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah says: "(Thought) of Imam Khomeini is an ideological support in

building the country." Nasrallah also stated in another speech: "In our opinion, Imam Khomeini is a religious authority, Imam, and leader in every sense of the word. Every great religious leader in every religion in the world is like this. But the Imam is more than that for us. He is the symbol of the revolution against the tyrants, the arrogant, and the authoritarian regimes. So Imam Khomeini succeeded in breathing the spirit of hope into the souls of the oppressed. He revived the theory of the will of nations against the will of the arrogant. Thus, the Imam is more than a religious symbol for us. It is important not only for us but for all the oppressed in the world. This spiritual relationship existed between us and the Imam even before the Israeli military invasion in 1982 (Qasem. 2006: 175)."

4. **Shiite symbolism:** Hezbollah's use of symbols of the Shiite religion to convey its messages and encourage its followers has been very effective. Despite the differences in the culture and society of Iran and Lebanon, this is another manifestation of Hezbollah being influenced by the foundations of the discourse of the Islamic Revolution of Iran. Symbols such as Ashura, the martyrdom of Imam Hussein (AS), and the battles of Mohammad (PBUH) and Imam Ali (AS), etc. made Hezbollah more capable of conveying messages such as jihad, martyrdom, perseverance, resistance, and tolerance. The use of these slogans and the encouragement of unity and brotherhood in Shiite thought caused individuals to join the group to renounce being a member of a deprived tribe in a country torn apart by the war of various tribes (Heshmatzadeh, 2006: 69). Hezbollah used symbolic Shiite events as a political weapon and exposes the deprivations and injustices against Shiites within the sectarian system. By firmly adhering to Imam Khomeini's ideology, Hezbollah seeks to end foreign influence in Lebanon, establish an Islamic system based on social justice, and prepare for the liberation of Quds.

5. **Cultural identity:** Given Hezbollah's strong connection to Imam Khomeini's thought and way, we quote a saying from the Imam in this regard: "Culture is the source of happiness and misery of nations" and "If culture is reformed, society will be reformed as well." Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah and Hezbollah, as a movement to resist Israeli threats, have a clear cultural vision. This vision flourished after a

decade of involvement with various cultural and political currents. In the second decade of its movement, Hezbollah was able to form a broad cultural movement. This strengthened the Islamic resistance movement so much that it was able to defeat the enemy. It is better to quote Dr. Maher Jarrar on the importance of the cultural dimension that played a role in the victory of the movement: "Israel was so saturated in its culture that it used every opportunity to develop it and suddenly, he found Hezbollah as his rival in this matter. [...] Hezbollah culture surrounds all aspects of its social, political, and economic life "even involved in determining the basic aspects of human life, and all the affairs of society, small and large, as well as simple and acute, function" (Hamad, 2001: 63-64).

6. **Jihad and martyrdom for Allah:** "Abdelilah Belkeziz" describes Hezbollah's struggle as follows: "Hezbollah fighters are not only trained in military academies, but they are also seminary graduates. They not only learned the techniques of carrying weapons and war but also benefited from the cultural, jurisprudential, and political history of the religion. On the battlefield, there are clear examples of what they have learned. They are unique in contemporary history as believing fighters, and this is a great blessing given to them. These cultural, educational, and training experiences of Hezbollah, especially the Shiite religion, are crystallized among all nations and generations" (Belkeziz, 2000: 55-56). In this regard, Sheikh "Hassan Hamada" in describing the weapon of martyrdom noted: "Martyrdom for Allah is and will remain the weapon of Hezbollah, but it is not a material weapon of Hezbollah military weapons and ammunition. Its power is all-encompassing and unlimited, and no weapon can counter it. A weapon that stands up to the sword with blood" (Hamada, 2001: 118). By placing the spirit of martyrdom on the battlefield against Israel, "the figures of the spirit of martyrdom are innumerable in comparison with the material powers and forces, and the effects of its efficiency are far greater" (Belkeziz, 2001: 51).

However, it can be said that the foundations of Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah's political thought express Islamic culture and do not belong to a particular intellectual tendency and in a sense are comprehensive and complete. Therefore, he (based on the principles of the religion of

Islam) believes that a nation that does not have the spirit of martyrdom and readiness will fail in awareness and adherence to its duties. Accordingly, Hezbollah's success in mobilizing its forces has been because its policy is in line with Islamic teachings. Also, the existence and guidelines of the Supreme Leader, namely Imam Khomeini, and after him, Ayatollah Khamenei, the realization of the objective model of jihadi will, with a realistic approach, have been effective in this regard. Here, after recognizing the basics of Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah's political thought, to better understand his intellectual system, his defense doctrine will be examined.

4. Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah's defense doctrine

The defense doctrine of Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah can also be drawn in the following diagram:

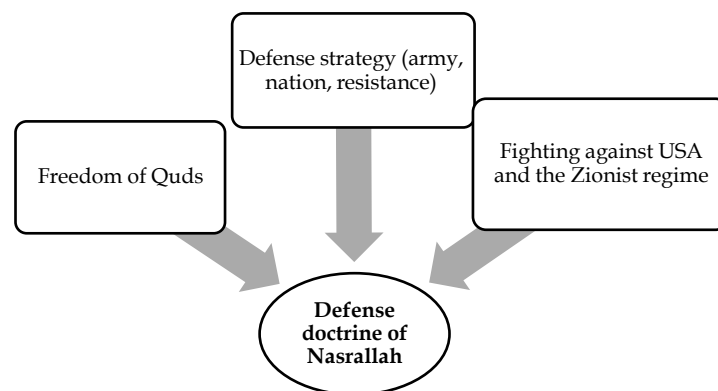


Chart (2): The defense doctrine of Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah

1. **Defense Strategy (Army, Nation, and Resistance Trio):** The development of a new Lebanese defense strategy reflected the Israeli army's invasion of the border village of Adaisseh in August 2010, in which one Lebanese soldier was wounded and three others were killed. The new strategy of coordination between the army and the resistance (Hezbollah) to defend the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon against the attacks of the Zionist regime is considered a necessary principle. In this regard, the Lebanese government emphasized the triple coordination of nation, army, and

resistance to liberate the occupied Lebanese lands and to defend Lebanon's territorial integrity against any violation of Lebanese rights to its water resources through all legitimate means. Accordingly, Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah also pointed out: "there is no option to support Lebanon other than the golden equation of 'army, nation, and resistance' against the Israeli enemy, and this is the strategic response that our nation and government have against the enemy."

2. Two enemies: the fight against the USA and the Zionist regime:

It is very clear that Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah speaks in his speeches on various occasions about the struggle against Israel and the United States. In this regard, he stated in one of his speeches: "[...] the work of this Israel is over forever. This decline began with the defeat they suffered in 2000. A failure that they called a strategic failure. Israel will leave the territory of an Arab country unconditionally, humiliated, defeated, and under the blows of resistance, and this is strategic damage." He also spoke in another speech about the United States: "The United States not only supports terrorism, but it is also terrorism itself and it's at the top. We stand against this terrorist, the most significant example of which is the Hiroshima massacre." In addition, Nasrallah stressed in his speech that the United States is ignoring the rights of the Islamic Ummah because of its interests in the Middle East and the survival of the Zionist regime and provides all the facilities to this regime and, in return, calls the Mujahideen who defend their homeland and religion terrorism.

3. A priority: the liberation of Quds: The issue of Palestine in general and the liberation of Quds, in particular, is one of the fundamental principles of the doctrine of Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah. The war with the Zionist regime is based on survival. From Nasrallah's point of view, Israel is a usurper and criminal regime, and it has usurped Islamic lands by force and massacres. Therefore, to establish stability and security in the Middle East, All the lands of Palestine, Quds, and other Islamic lands [Such as Golan Heights] occupied by the Zionist regime must be recaptured and the Israeli regime must be destroyed, and peace and stability will not return to the Middle East until this regime is destroyed. Therefore, we must fight Israel so that Palestine and Quds return to Islam. In this regard, Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah

stated: "It is necessary for the Muslim nation to choose jihad and resistance as the baggage of their lives, and to make resistance their main task for the recapture of Quds and Palestine. [...] According to the promise of Allah Almighty, Israel will be destroyed soon. The day will come when Muslims in Quds will pray for honor, freedom, dignity, and historical victory, while no trace of the flag of the Zionist regime and the Star of David will remain."

It is worth noting that in November 2004, the positions of Hezbollah leaders, including Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah, which has been strengthened in content and method since the first victory in 2000, were based on three pillars, all of which emphasized the strategy of Islamic resistance in the current and future stage. These three axes were:

1. Resistance Leader Insists on Israeli Withdrawal from Occupied Farms of Shebaa, which has been much talked about recently and a serious effort to secure the release of Lebanese prisoners in Israeli prisons (and Palestinian and Arab prisoners) through indirect dialogue with the Zionist regime (via Germany).
2. Continuation of the defensive situation of the resistance in Lebanon and its south in general and in particular for the liberation of Shebaa farms. The continuation of this situation can be through the establishment of a complete resistance system in the military and practical fields or through the upgrading of various capabilities (long-range missiles).
3. Revealing the fact (by the Secretary-General) that as long as Israel's hostility against Lebanon, Syria, and Iran continues, the Axis of Resistance and Hezbollah will continue their struggle against this regime. Hostile positions are frequently seen in the important speeches of Ariel Sharon, Shaul Mofaz, and Moshe Ya'alon. But during this period, no real military operations have taken place in southern Lebanon or inside occupied Palestine to justify these threats.

Finally, according to the previous discussions, the dimensions of Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah's political thought can be drawn in the diagram:

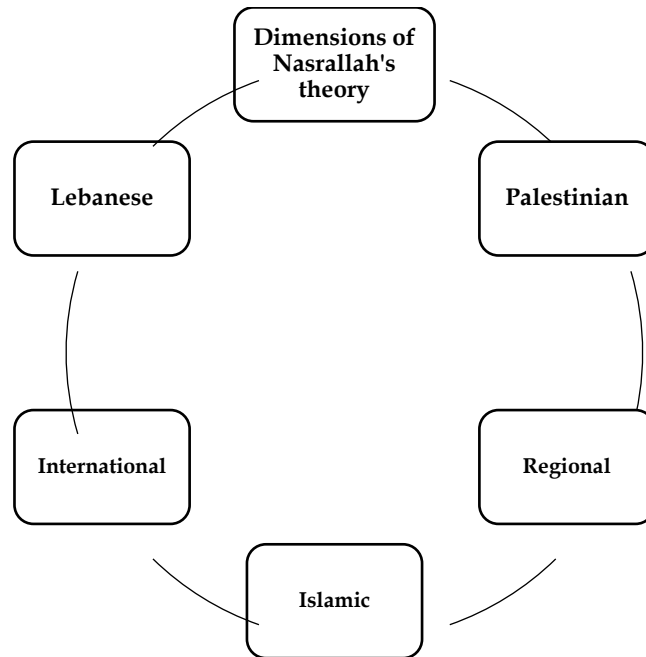


Chart (3): Dimensions of Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah's political thought

4. Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah and the paradigm of writing and publishing lectures

Before examining the paradigm of writing and publishing the speeches of Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah, it is necessary to briefly explain how to strengthen his eloquence and rhetoric. It should be noted that Sayyed Abbas Mousavi, in teaching his students, including Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah, prepared them for future public speaking and as a result, each of his students had to prepare a short lecture or sermon for each session and present it to his teacher and classmates, the teacher then asked his students to comment and discuss the language and content of his discourse (Khaton, 2002: 222). As mentioned in previous discussions, Nasrallah irrigates his speech with the doctrine of Shiite political culture, the ideas of Imam Khomeini, and the Islamic Revolution of Iran. In this regard, Nasrallah noted: "This [Hezbollah] movement must have a clear vision and act through a coherent ideology based on the principles and policies of Imam Khomeini and following the principle of absolute Velayat-e-Faqih, which we believe

in" (Noe, 2007: 26). In other words, the establishment of Hezbollah was based on the principles of the Islamic Revolution of Iran and its leadership was Imam Khomeini and consequently follows its religious and political guidelines (Islamic Revolution). These are the principles and concepts that have made Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah especially famous since 2000. In addition, in Nasrallah's speeches, a kind of argumentative ideas about various issues, including political, religious, cultural, etc., spread, especially after the 1990s, and took on a new shape after the liberation of southern Lebanon in 2000. It should be noted that since the early 1990s, through Nasrallah's popular speeches on various national and religious occasions, the paradigm of writing and publishing Nasrallah's speeches has attracted the attention of most of the world media, experts in scientific and research centers, and defense and strategic studies. In recent years, the analysis of Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah's ideas has emerged in the form of a paradigm for writing and publishing his speeches. Nasrallah's speeches are a combination of writing strategies that include a conception of legitimizing Hezbollah's identity and political discourse, epic writing, promoting a culture of resistance and authority (Marja), and a unique style of reasoning. Therefore, first of all, the written strategies of Nasrallah's speeches, in a sense, show the use of Islamic sources and authority (Marja), which in turn is considered a factor in understanding the thought and actions of Hezbollah and its leaders. In other words, the written and oral strategies of Hezbollah leaders, both in practice and in theory, are based on the teachings of Islamic principles and, consequently, authority (Marja). Secondly, following this policy, they point out that the fruits and results of the resistance operation are displayed in the memorials of the martyrs, commanders, and founders of Hezbollah; So much so that most people who attend those communities see the culture of resistance as a political reality. Thus, the paradigm of writing and publishing the speeches of Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah can be drawn in the following diagram:

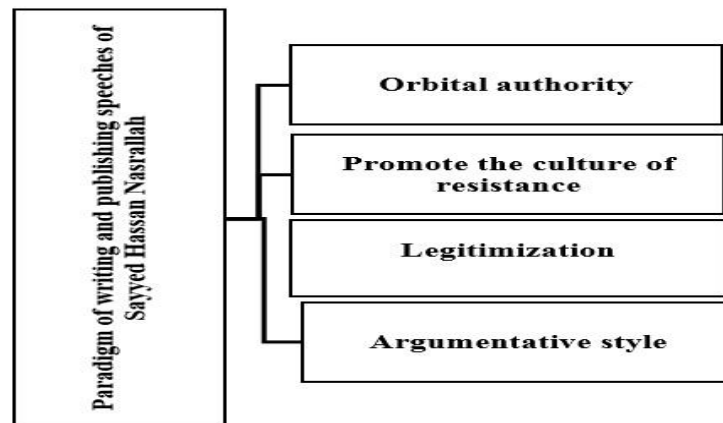


Chart (4): The paradigm of writing and publishing the speeches of Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah

It is worth noting that Hezbollah's first victory in 2000, gave special credit to this party and made it the driving force of social and cultural changes in the Lebanese Shiite population in particular and in the Arab world in general. After the famous speech of Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah on the occasion of the liberation of southern Lebanon (2000), Nasrallah's influence outside Lebanon, including Palestine and the Occupied Territories, expanded significantly; the fruit of this speech ignited the fire of the second intifada in Palestine and turned Hezbollah into a symbol of resistance against the Israeli occupation. "Phenomenon of Nasrallah" with its argumentative style, which delivered speeches through television, satellite, and other audio-visual media, led to the success and legitimacy of Hezbollah and the Islamic Resistance throughout the Arab world. It should be noted that Nasrallah's remarks are the compass of Hezbollah's political and religious discourse. For example, the vast majority of music and films about the resistance contain Nasrallah's speeches, and Hezbollah leaders and members have also borrowed their argument from Nasrallah. In this regard, Nicholas Noes explained that Nasrallah's speeches have largely become the "voice of Hezbollah" (Noe, 2007: 99). Nasrallah's words can be seen in Hezbollah's ideology as a combination of structural diversity, or they can be seen as written

strategies. Hezbollah's written strategies are adapted from the 1982 Open Letter, or Hezbollah Manifesto, which contains the thoughts of Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah. Consequently, Hezbollah's political manifesto often addresses the practical relationship between legitimate resistance and the Lebanese government. Hezbollah's political manifesto is the discourse of an "Islamic" system to defend what is called comprehensive defense; That is, resistance is considered a project (Saade, 2016: 166). This is an articulation of the vision that a society or community is seen in the speeches of Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah and the writings of Sheikh Naeem Qasim, the Deputy Secretary General of Hezbollah. It should be noted that this, to legitimize the concept of resistance and the position of Hezbollah in the Lebanese political structure, has been done through the "Resistance Society". For example, Hezbollah's ideological activities mean the creation of a Lebanese society with the concept of a "resistance society"; That is, a society that is fully committed to the long-term armed struggle against Israel with Hezbollah at the forefront. This concept was recently introduced in one of Sheikh Naeem Qasim's speeches at the commemoration ceremony for the martyrs of the Lebanese University's Faculty of Science, which was organized by one of Hezbollah's institutions (IICC, December 8, 2008). In doing so, they categorize and summarize Hezbollah's internal decisions and then explain them to the public. Nasrallah's speech is therefore a verbal translation of Hezbollah's strategic and political decisions. In other words, Nasrallah's words, which form a major part of Hezbollah's discourse strategies, are often clearly seen in the Arab and international media. In this sense, the "Phenomenon of Nasrallah" refers to the emergence of the Secretary General of Hezbollah as one of the influential political figures in West Asia. In general, it should be noted that Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah, through the internal structures of Hezbollah, which includes a constant re-reading of history, has succeeded in negotiating its political presence in Lebanon (legitimizing Hezbollah's discourse) and beyond through the complete reconstruction of national narratives. Doing so creates new political frameworks through which Lebanese political actors are linked.

Finally, the conceptual model of Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah's political thought can be drawn in the following diagram:

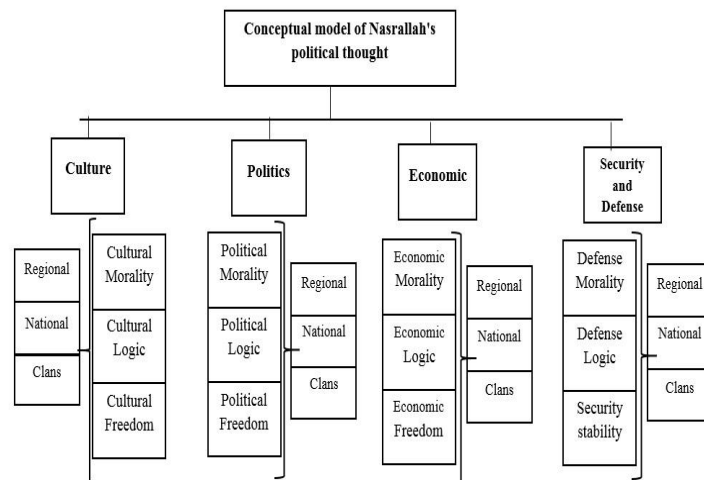


Chart (5). Conceptual model of Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah's thought

Conclusion

Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah in an open letter in 1985 (statement announcing the existence of Hezbollah) emphasizes the intellectual framework, leadership, and popular base and in his intellectual philosophy, accepts Islam as a policy of survival and like the test of the achievements of the Islamic Revolution of Iran, it introduces the Islamic system, but rejects the test of the Umayyad and Abbasid rule and does not consider them "Islamic". Nasrallah believes that Islam, as an ideological and political thread, connects Hezbollah to all Muslims in the world. Also, Nasrallah, the Qur'an and the manners of the Imams of the Infallibles (AS), as well as the rulings and fatwas issued by the Supreme Leader, who is also the Marja and is manifested in Imam Khomeini, the leader of the Islamic Revolution of Iran, knows the sources of Shiite political culture and he believes that in the face of the attacks of the East and the West against the Muslim Ummah in the world and the efforts to destroy the concepts of the mission of Islam and plunder the Muslim wealth and exploit the talents and capacities

of the Ummah to control the fate of Muslims, the Supreme Leader determines the basic policy. In addition, although Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah's political thought flourished in Lebanon; its regional and international effects are not hidden from anyone. In other words, these ideas have Shiite and Lebanese principles as well as Islamic and Arabic symbols, expanding significantly at the regional and international levels and Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah's thoughts can be considered based on authentic Lebanese identity but with global goals. The explanation of Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah's political thought appeared in the form of a paradigm of writing and publishing speeches. All forms of this discourse refer to a set of ideas from which different meanings can be derived according to different political contexts. One of the most important of these ideas refers to the development of a culture of resistance. Therefore, can be acknowledged that the political thought of Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah with Lebanese dimensions (revival of Lebanese identity), Palestinian (the issue of the liberation of Quds), regional (being a role model for many countries in the region), international (European and American media and other countries pay attention to Hezbollah leader's speeches and positions on regional and global issues) and Islamic is recognized.

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