Investigating the Effects of the Israeli Nation-state-building Process on the National Security of the Islamic Republic of Iran; and Reactions to these Effects

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Abstract:

The rise of Israel in the Middle East has created a complex situation in terms of regional security. Israel, like other actors in the international system, has to complete the state-nation-building process. This issue is one of the challenges that the Zionist regime has always faced. This regime has based its existence on a special and complex identity that at first glance, this special identity can be considered a strong point for the survival and formation of a society; But the specific characteristics of this identity based on race and its lack of demographic diversity have created challenges for this regime. The Islamic Republic of Iran, both as a country in the Middle East and because of its inherent and inherent conflict, has always been exposed to the security and economic threats of this regime. Threats that are inherent in the Israeli nation-state-building process. This study is a detailed and explanatory study of the identity and interests of the Zionist regime, which is the basis and shape of the state-nation-building process, and as a result, its behaviors and actions in the international arena, especially in the West Asian region. And will ultimately answer the fundamental question of what effects the Israeli nation-state-building process has on the national security of the Islamic Republic of Iran..

Keywords: State-nation building, Identity, Benefit, Israel, National Security, Islamic Republic of Iran

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Introduction

Issue: If the government has not passed the state-nation-building process well, not only will it not meet the needs of its society and people; Rather, it will become a major cause of instability, disorder and tension in society, the region and even the world. Israel is no exception. The Islamic Republic of Iran, as one of the countries of the Middle East and due to its inherent and inherent conflict, has been exposed to the security and economic threats of this regime, which stems from its state-nation-building process; At present, Israel is one of the main problems of foreign policy and national security of the Islamic Republic of Iran at the regional and international level. Importance and necessity: Considering the negative role of the Zionist regime in the developments in the region and the fundamental enmity with the Islamic Republic of Iran, understanding the developments and challenges of this regime is of strategic importance; Because it allows us to manage and deal with it effectively. On the other hand, lack of attention to this important issue leads to the adoption of incomplete or incorrect policies against the Zionist regime, which leads to a waste of resources.

Objectives: The present study has two categories of objectives. Theoretically, it seeks to uncover a clear understanding of the state-nation-building process in the Zionist regime and its effects on the national security of the Islamic Republic of Iran. Practically and since Israel is the strategic enemy of the Islamic Republic of Iran; It aims to strengthen the expertise and help decision-makers in this field to recognize the challenges and adopt reciprocal policies against the Zionist regime. Questions: The main question of this research is: What effects does the state-nation-building process in Israel have on the national security of the Islamic Republic of

Iran? The sub-questions in this regard are: What are the reasons for Iran's hostility to Israel? What is the nature of Israel's threats against Iran? Hypotheses: The process of state-nation-building of the Zionist regime, in political, economic and security-military dimensions, has a direct and indirect impact on the Middle East region and the actions of the Islamic Republic of Iran. The Islamic Republic of Iran has naturally reacted to this process, and these reactions have had and continue to have important implications for the Middle East.

Research method: In this research and according to the subject, descriptive-analytical method which is a qualitative method will be used. Using this method, the researcher will seek to identify and then explain and analyze the state-nation-building process in the Zionist regime and then explain its impact on the national security of the Islamic Republic of Iran. Since it is not possible to use the field observation method for the present study; The necessary data will be collected, processed and analyzed through library and article library resources and information.

Research background

So far, numerous researches on international and regional issues related to Israel have been published in books and articles in various languages. These include issues such as Israel's wars and peace with countries and groups in the region, Israel's internal security and threats, and Israel's influence in areas such as Africa and South America. An examination of the available sources shows that the existing studies and researches have been written mostly in the field of foreign policy and international relations with emphasis on the aspect of higher policy. (Haji Yousefi, 2003, Ajorlou and Haj Zargar Bashi, 2009

and Eslami, 2014) Numerous studies have also focused epistemologically on Israel's identity and governance structures. (Derakhsheh and Sadeghizadeh; 2017, Zeidabadi; 2002). Few books and researches have been written about Israel's challenges in completing the state-nation-building process, and there is a lack of fundamental research on the regime's actions in the field of state-nation-building. Another innovative aspect of this research is the analysis of the reactions of the Islamic Republic of Iran against this process and the study of the national security of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the light of the nation-state of Israel; Which is completely original and innovative in its kind. In addition, the study of the effects of these actions on the national security of the Islamic Republic of Iran has been neglected so far. This research is an attempt to fill the research gap in this field of contemporary history of Iran and Israel.

Conceptual and theoretical foundations

A country's foreign policy, including its discourse and non-discourse practices, plays a decisive role in that country's position in the international system and patterns of friendship and enmity with it. On the other hand, the decision-making of actors in international politics is based on how they interpret the world and how they perceive their role in it. Israel, as a state formed on the basis of specific identities and norms, has a special view of foreign policy and national government (Smooha & Sammy, 2000, pp. 565-630), so this research cannot be explained in the context of purely rationalist theories. For the theoretical preparation of this research, a theory should be used that, in addition to paying attention to the material dimensions of power and interests, also has the possibility to address the normative and cultural dimensions. Accordingly, among the theories of international relations, the constructivist approach is a suitable framework for the analysis of Israeli foreign policy.

Constructivists, in one dimension, accept the "state-centered ontology" as the mainstream, that is, they see states as the main actors in the international community. (Porcel Quero, 2001, p. 27). On the other hand, unlike realists, they are not satisfied with the material dimensions, that is, while paying attention to the importance of the material dimensions, they also emphasize the "semantic and linguistic dimension of structures". (Hopf, 1998, p. 190). Constructivists believe that the evolution and growth of international relations requires an interaction between domestic and international politics. They also believe that governments' understanding of the world around them is the basis of their behavior, and that this understanding is influenced by identity and interests. (Baylis et al., 2001, p. 17).

According to this theory, it is necessary to understand how governments perceive their own interests and the conditions of their environment. From the constructivists' point of view, it is the norms that construct governments and enable them to gain a particular understanding of their own interests. In other words, norms build the identity and interests of the state. Thus, the identity and interests of states are a social construct that has a decisive influence on their behavior.

The constructivist approach in the field of foreign policy believes that it is beyond the objective distribution of power (rationalists 'perception), "perception" and countries' perception of the distribution of power of others. These perceptions come from the imagination of a nation that enables them to interact with the environment. Identity allows nations to make sense of the world, to classify other

beings, and to construct a hierarchical reality in which "self" and "other" and friend and foe are defined. This constructed world has value implications; they also shape their actions. The state, which is based on social construction, participates in this collective mentality and understands the world in this context, defines friends, enemies, interests, desirability and threats, and shapes its external actions. It is in the light of these definitions that states and nations find the current state of the international system "tolerable" or "intolerable"; Other countries are categorized as friends, enemies, and neutrals, and their actions will be considered "threats" or "friendships." With these ideas, governments seek to "change" or "maintain" the existing order, unite with one country, and act against another; The strength and weakness of these friendships and animosities also depend on perceptions, in this context, they make situations meaningful for themselves. They define their spheres of influence, recognize their necessities and needs, and, in a word, "formulate their foreign policy." (Baylis et al., 2001, pp. 38-39).

Since Israel, as a state formed on the basis of specific identities and norms, has a special view of foreign policy and the national state, this research cannot be explained in the context of mere rationalist theories. On the other hand, after the Revolution of 1979, Islamic Iran, regardless of geopolitical conditions, severed ties with the Zionist regime and pursued a policy in the Middle East that was incomprehensible in the form of the rationalist-materialist paradigms of realism and liberalism. Perhaps the constructivist paradigm can better explain this behavior. According to this view, the determining factor in the behavior of the Islamic Republic of Iran was not objective material factors, but norms that had a direct impact on the interests and identity of Islam-

ic Iran. Thus, using the constructivist paradigm, we will continue to explain the effects of the Israeli regime-state-nationalization process on the national security of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

The Impact of Israeli State-Nationalization on National Security and the Actions of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the West Asian Region

Israel's threats against the national security of the Islamic Republic of Iran stem from ideological and intellectual confrontation. This confrontation is permanent and is the only form of threat that is likely to change due to different regional and international conditions. (Abtahi and Torabi, 2017, pp. 27-53). And depending on the changing political, international, regional and domestic economic conditions in each of the two countries, it may take different forms. Accordingly, the direction of the state-nation-building process of Israel is the confrontation with the essence and existence of the Islamic Republic of Iran. The Iran-Israel conflict is a war between two historically conflicting idealists and is a war over the presence or absence of one of the parties. Israel defines its existence with the absence of the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Islamic Republic of Iran defines its existence with the absence of Israel (Ebrahim Nia et al., 2018, pp. 30-59). Undoubtedly, for every country and political system, an accurate and realistic knowledge of the factors that threaten its existence, security, and vital interests is of paramount priority. Because these types of threats, known as "strategic threats" because of their breadth and depth of implications, can easily create serious obstacles to a society's general movement toward progress and development; Or basically endanger the existence and identity of a country.

Whereas gaining the preparedness necessary to deal with any threat naturally involves significant costs; Any imaginary thing is seen as a strategic threat, a waste of resources and, consequently, a serious vulnerability; In the face of threats, accurate and realistic knowledge of the factors that threaten the existence, security and vital interests of any country is of paramount priority.

According to constructivist theory, in order to understand the origins of conflict or cooperation between governments, it is necessary to see what they think of their own interests and their own environment; How do they acquire these ideas and how does this idea become specific to their political and defense policies? (Haji Yousefi, 2003, p. 53). Identities affect the security of states and human beings by directly interfering with identity boundaries, shaping agents' perceptions of threats, and creating identities that are seen as threatening by others. In addition, it is through the security process that governments make other governments a source of threat or enemy; That is, by identifying them as "dangerous others," they require special action outside of everyday practice and define "exceptional" situations. (Moshirzadeh and Massoudi, 2009, p. 261). By magnification, Israel imagines the Islamic Republic of Iran as a threat and a source of insecurity for itself, and by identifying it as an enemy seeking the destruction of Israel (a dangerous other). Takes special measures and, by defining an exceptional situation, introduces Iran's nuclear program as a threat to its very existence.

Israel, on the other hand, seeks to maintain a well-established definition of itself in the face of this "other dangerous"; Also: magnifying the Iranian threat has contributed to some domestic goals in Israel; This prompted former Israeli prime ministers Yitzhak Rabin and Shimon Peres to make sense of advancing peace with the Palestinians in the 1990s, and Netanyahu is now using it to resist pressure from Washington. (Parsi, 2011). In completing the process of state-nationalization, Israel is inevitably a serious threat to the Islamic Republic of Iran in the three branches of military, economic and political-propaganda, which were mentioned in detail in the previous speech. In this speech, it is necessary to point out the objective consequences of these threats (which are rooted in the process of state-nation-building of Israel) on the national security of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Consequences of the relations between the Islamic Republic of Iran and Israel on the national security of Iran

The Islamic Republic of Iran does not give any legitimacy to the Zionist regime and believes that this regime should disappear from the pages of the times (Ebrahim Nia et al., 2018, pp. 57-59). In other words, it can be said that one of the main goals of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran in relation to Israel is its destruction. Since governments pursue goals in their foreign policy and pursue interests, it remains to be seen what goals and interests the Islamic Republic of Iran pursues from its hostile relations with the Zionist regime.

Governments usually have goals and interests that, of course, cannot be categorized, and there is no consensus in international relations on these goals and interests. But it is generally said that governments pursue "national interests" in their foreign policy. It is also believed that one of the most important national interests of a country is to ensure its "national security". (Ghavam and Zargar, 2010, p. 57). This

section seeks to answer the fundamental question of what the consequences of Iran-Israel hostile relations have been for Iran's national security. To answer this question, the reasons for the animosity between the two sides must be investigated.

Reasons for Iran's hostility to the Zionist regime

In this section, it is necessary to examine the two categories of ideological and non-ideological (strategic) reasons for Iran's hostility to Israel. Many experts consider the most important reason for the Islamic Republic of Iran's non-recognition of the Israeli government to be ideological. (Abdullahi, 2002, vol. 1, p. 178). For ideological reasons, it is argued that it is clear to everyone that the Zionist regime is occupying the land of Palestine and has no legitimacy. The Zionists occupied the land of Palestine by any means possible, and with the help of the great powers, they established the state of Israel. Since the establishment of this government, the rights of the Palestinians have been ignored in various ways, and Israel has had the highest rate of violations of international law in the field of international relations. Thousands of books, articles, and hundreds of conferences and seminars on human rights abuses by the Israelis have been written, but there is no room for their reproduction here. All this causes every human being, as a human being (regardless of religion, race and ethnicity), to condemn the Zionist regime as an occupier and illegitimate regime. (Abdullahi, 2002, vol. 1, p. 190).

Therefore, the Islamic Republic of Iran, as a religious government that considers itself a preacher and protector of human morality, cut ties with the Zionist regime and demanded its destruction. The nature of the Is-

lamic Republic of Iran as a state that seeks the liberation of the occupied territories and finds any justification for the legitimacy of the Zionist regime unacceptable is in conflict with the nature of the Zionist regime. In other words, the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Zionist regime have two conflicting natures and there is no possibility of compromise between them.

As mentioned earlier, the leaders of the Islamic Revolution saw their opposition to the Pahlavi government and the need to overthrow it mainly as a result of the Shah's conflict and his policies with Islamic principles. The leaders of the Islamic Revolution, especially Imam Khomeini, believed that the Shah sought the destruction of Islam in Iran and its complete westernization. (Khomeini, 1999, vol. 1, p. 181). Hence, they opposed any of the Shah's policies in this regard. Among the most important objections to the Shah in this regard were, on the one hand, his puppetry and dependence on the great powers, especially the United States, and, on the other hand, his recognition of the usurping Zionist regime. The discourse of the Islamic Revolution was formed in opposition to the United States and the Zionist regime. Hence, the conflict with them is considered part of the identity of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Accordingly, the survival of the Islamic Republic of Iran is in opposition to the Zionist regime. According to realists, the most important task of the government is to maintain its survival, and the rest is in the next stage (Bilis and Smith, 2004, p. 106). Based on this, it can be said that the Islamic Republic of Iran is one of the most realistic governments in the region, because it opposes the usurping Zionist regime mainly on the basis of the need to maintain itself. This is true if we consider the ideological (religious) nature of the Islamic Republic of Iran more important than its (Iranian) territorial nature.

But the second reason for the hostile attitude of the Islamic Republic of Iran towards the Zionist regime is related to the goals and objectives of Israel's foreign policy, which is the most important threat to the countries of the Middle East, including Iran. Here, referring to some of the principles of Israeli foreign policy at the moment, we enumerate the most important strategic threats of the Zionist regime towards the Islamic Republic of Iran. In his book, Israel Shahak reveals the true intentions of Israel, using oral and written Hebrew sources. He spoke about the principles and tools of Israeli foreign policy:

1- "... Israel's foreign policy has, first and foremost, a regional scope (the Middle East region from Morocco to Pakistan).

2. The two main goals of Israel's regional policies are to gain hegemony in the Middle East and to support the stability of regional regimes, with the exception of the Islamic Republic of Iran and (except for a short period) Iraq.

3. Israel does not seek peaceful economic development in the Middle East. It also does not believe in peace in the region. The main goal of Israel is to form a coalition against the Islamic Republic of Iran, if necessary, to wage a hot war against it, of course, under the title "War for Peace in the Middle East."

4. Israel seeks regional hegemony for two reasons. First, every government naturally seeks to increase its power. Second, Israeli policies, both in relation to the Palestinians and in relation to others, have an ideological dimension ..." (Shahak & Mezvinsky, 1997, p. 67).

Now, considering the principles and goals of Israel's foreign policy, it is necessary to point out its most important threats to the Islamic Republic of Iran. The most important threat to Israel against the Islamic Republic of Iran is an ideological threat. Beyond the ideological threat, the author believes that the Zionist regime is also the biggest strategic threat of Iran in the region. Here we return to the main discussion of the nature of the Israeli threat to the Islamic Republic of Iran and its dimensions. Israel's security threat to Iran has military, economic, and political-cultural dimensions, which have naturally provoked appropriate reactions.

Israel's threats against the Islamic Republic of Iran Military threat

Israel is one of the most powerful players in the Middle East in terms of conventional and non-conventional (nuclear) weapons; And it has always tried to prevent itself from being attacked by Arab countries or any other country with a deterrence strategy. As Avner Yaniv puts it, "it is the deterrent to all of Israel's strategy and its end" (Yaniv, 1987, p. 1). This issue was considered by the Zionists even before the formation of Israel. From the point of view of Israeli strategists, maintaining military superiority in the Middle East is one of the tools of successful deterrence (Rostami, 2005, p. 49). From Israel's point of view, Iran is a strategic enemy that must be prevented from increasing its power and influence in any way possible. Hence, it pursues a policy that, as a result, weakens Iran and increases its own power over it. So this kind of Israeli view of Iran is an aggressive one.

On the other hand, the military doctrine of the Islamic Republic of Iran is defensive and based on a "strategy of threat against threat" or reciprocal threat, which has several basic axes; The development of the country's de-

fense industry, enduring the first blow, the ability to strike a second blow, including missile strikes and defense diplomacy. (Danesh Ashtiyani and Rostami, 2016, p. 5). Nevertheless, a distinction must be made between Israel and other countries. The Iranian leadership emphasizes the readiness of the Islamic Republic of Iran to defend itself against possible threats from the Zionist regime, as well as the announcement of a strategy for arming the West Bank and supporting all militant groups against the Zionist regime shows; The military doctrine of the Islamic Republic of Iran against the Zionist regime is beyond defensive and has an offensive position.

Now, in this situation, the fundamental question is whether Israel will launch a military attack on the Islamic Republic of Iran. As we have said, the basis of Israel's strategy in recent years has been based on deterrence. This deterrence is mainly based on aggressive makeup. This means that Israel has tried to maintain its military superiority by preventing attacks on enemy countries and preventing enemies from invading its territory. The question is, will Israel launch a nuclear attack on enemy countries, including Iran? The author believes that given the nature of the Islamic Republic of Iran, which is based on the slogan of the destruction of Israel; The possibility of a direct Israeli nuclear attack on Iran is very small, but the possibility of a non-nuclear attack, also for prevention, is very likely. It seems that Israel will launch a nuclear attack on Iran only in two cases. The first is that Iran will use nuclear weapons in a pre-emptive strike on Israel, and the second is that Iran will launch a nuclear attack after Israel's first attack on the country with conventional weapons. Both options are currently completely ruled out due to Iran's lack of access to nuclear weapons.

From the author's point of view, if Iran turns from a security threat to a strategic threat, a pre-emptive Israeli attack will be inevitable. For example, what makes Iran one of the strategic threats to Israel is Iran's acquisition of a nuclear weapon. As the Israeli Minister of Defense stated in 1995; If Iran enriches uranium, or obtains the plutonium it needs through existing reactors, Iran's facilities will be attacked. (Mottaghi, 1997, p. 89). The assassination of nuclear scientists in the Islamic Republic of Iran is also cited as an example of this claim.

Economic threat

In addition to military threats, Israel has always sought to pose various economic threats to Iran's national security. In general, in the national security strategy of Israel (especially in recent years), economic power has been of great importance (Afrim Inbar, 1997, p. 39). The rise of Israel's economic power is simultaneously pursued with the aim of weakening the economies of other countries in the region, especially Iran. Especially given that any attempt to balance military forces requires strong support for economic capability, and economic weakness is itself a major threat. Therefore, Israel pursues the growing economic weakness of the Islamic Republic of Iran as a serious policy. On the other hand, some believe that US economic sanctions against Iran have been designed and implemented heavily overshadowed by Israeli provocations and its pro-lobby; And in principle, the interests of these sanctions have been more in favor of Israel (Sharbaf, 2012, p. 60).

The weakening and economic isolation of Iran has been one of the main goals of sanctions. On the other hand, one of the main goals of Israel in recent years is economic ambition in the region. Israel is pursuing spe-

cific economic goals in the Middle East, as Shimon Peres points out in the new Middle East. In this sense, the Middle East is an economic region; Not a cultural complex in which Israel can play a leading role (Perez, 1990, p. 49). Experts believe that in this way Israel is seeking to de-identify itself from the Middle East. According to which, by requesting a Middle East market, this country seeks to achieve the goal of weakening Pan-Arabism as a distinct identity and imposing a Middle Eastern idea. (Taghipour, 2010, p. 35) This view, reflected in the views of most Arab leaders and scholars, also threatens Iran's national security. The Middle East is a purely Islamic region, and its de-identification means the elimination of Islam as a common ground for cooperation and interaction, including economic interactions; Which could ultimately pave the way for Israeli economic domination.

Political-propaganda threat

The most important and actual threats of Israel against the Islamic Republic of Iran, at present, are the political and propaganda threats of that country. One of the propaganda threats of the Zionist regime is to magnify the security threats posed by Iran. This regime has always tried to introduce Iran as the biggest security threat to itself and the region (Afrim Inbar, 1997, p. 42). While Iran is practically in the third tier of Israeli security threats. Of course, the reason for this magnification is somewhat clear, because, as mentioned earlier, Israel defines its existence in the presence of the enemy. One of the areas in which Israel is heavily focused on propaganda is the propaganda about Iran's efforts to acquire nuclear weapons and the extent of its threat to the Middle East and the world (Afrim Inbar, 1997, p. 45). By propagating against Iran's nuclear program, Israel is not only trying to overshadow its non-compliance with the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty; Rather, it tries to make the countries of the region and the world pessimistic and distrustful of Iran (Amiri, 1995, p. 19).

The issue of Islamic fundamentalism and the support of the Islamic Republic of Iran for it is another major axis of Israel's propaganda threats against Iran. At the regional level, Israel has always presented this issue as a threat from Iran to other Islamic countries in the region. Another focus of Israel's propaganda threats against Iran is to instill Iran's role in slowing down the Middle East peace process. In Israeli propaganda, Iran's opposition to peace in the Middle East is propagated in a way that can be considered a reason for the failure of these negotiations, and the attacks are carried out in such a way that a cause-and-effect relationship arises between the two. For example, it is obvious that the continuation of Iran's opposition to the Middle East peace process and the possible failure of this process will have a very destructive effect on regional security. (Amiri, 1995, p. 20).

Highlighting Iran's opposition to Middle East peace becomes even more important when we realize that the most important obstacle to peace in the region is Israel itself. And in principle, some Israeli analysts do not consider the position of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the exchange of the peace process to have any practical effect. Analysts such as Lubrani believe that Iran's views on the Middle East peace issue have not had much effect on the negotiation process (Mottaghi, 1997, p. 49). In general, Israel's goal in these propaganda and political threats is to destroy Iran's relations with other countries and Iran's regional and international discredit.

Consequences of the threat

Consequences of the Zionist regime's military threats against the Islamic Republic of Iran

Israel's military-security threats against the Islamic Republic of Iran have various consequences for Iran. The most important positive consequence of the Israeli threat is the preservation and expansion of national unity and cohesion within the country and the strengthening of the "positive and progressive image of Iran among the Islamic countries." Due to Israel's repeated threats against the Islamic Republic of Iran, the Islamic Republic of Iran has enjoyed a privileged position not only among the masses, the people of the Islamic community, but also among many Islamic states; And this has led, in spite of the fact that the Islamic Republic of Iran is not directly involved in the Middle East peace process, the views of the Islamic Republic to have a profound effect on this issue (Hosseini, 2003, p. 27).

Explaining the negative consequences of the Israeli military threat against Iran, it can be said that the most important consequence is the expansion of the arms race in the region. Whereas the Zionist regime is a serious threat to many countries in the region, and since it has advanced weapons; Israel's strategic ambitions and unbridled expansionist ambitions have forced other countries in the region to develop their capabilities to counter the regime's threat. It is natural that, for the Islamic Republic, given its economic problems and limited foreign exchange earnings, it is not at all acceptable to enter into this costly arms race; But despite this fact, the security implications of this race are so serious that there is no choice but to take reciprocal action.

The Israeli threat also increases the risk of investing in countries in the region, including Iran. Foreign and even domestic investors, in addition to guaranteeing their return on investment, are concerned about the principal of their capital. It is clear that Israeli military threats could jeopardize the security, investment, and continuity of the country, which is one of the most essential factors and preconditions for the country's development. The Israeli military threat may also lead to unusual allocations and in some cases not to the Islamic Republic's resources. Countering Israel's military threats forces the Islamic Republic to use its limited and valuable resources for unproductive purposes; And even worse, by changing the capabilities and possibilities of the Zionist regime, by making the current investments made useless, it will again invest heavily in new areas. Of course, this is not specific to the Islamic Republic of Iran, and in principle the nature of the military threat requires that each country, by changing the form of the threat, rebuild, and possibly transform, its major capabilities and tools to counter the threat. In addition to the military threat of the Zionist regime, the direct consequences of which were explained in the preceding lines; There are a number of other threats that are either not essentially military in nature or that are at least not directly involved in military means. The following are the most important consequences of this threat in the economic, political, and social fields.

Consequences of the economic threats of the Zionist regime against the Islamic Republic of Iran

The Israeli threat in the economic-technological field is very serious, given the Zionist regime's extensive ties with the world's economic-industrial centers and poles. One of the well-known figures of Israel considers the blow to the Iranian na-

tional economy and livelihood as one of the most effective ways to confront the Islamic Republic and even overthrow it.

In this regard, the Zionists are trying to prevent the flourishing of Iran's economy and its scientific and technical development by creating obstacles and sabotage in the way of cooperation between the Islamic Republic of Iran and other countries of the world (Safavi, 2019, p. 160). It is important to note that "for any cooperation between the Islamic Republic" and countries such as Russia and China, under the pretext of "dual use (military and civilian) of Iran" of their capabilities, pressure is being exerted on these countries to cut off such cooperation. Israeli pressure on Russia to cut off nuclear, defense, and even technical cooperation with the Islamic Republic, as well as pressure on China, North Korea, and the United States under the pretext of aiding missile, nuclear, and weapons of mass destruction, including chemical and microbial weapons.

Consequences of the Zionist regime's socio-political threats against the Islamic Republic of Iran

In the field of international politics, the Zionist regime intends to destroy the image of the Islamic Republic of Iran through large-scale and extensive propaganda and to provide grounds for its international condemnation; He has also succeeded in cases such as the bombing of the Jewish Center in Argentina, as well as the conviction of the Islamic Republic for allegedly violating human rights with the help of the United States.

In the socio-cultural field, the threat of the Zionist regime is of special importance. Whereas the main root of Israel's conflict with the Islamic Republic of Iran is the ideological nature of the system that governs Islamic Iran, and ideological systems

are usually uncompromising; The Zionists are desperately seeking to de-ideologize Iranian society through cultural and social measures (Mah Pishanian, 2010, p. 62). The cultural, ideological, and ideological transformation of the Islamic system is being pursued by the Zionist regime, relying on tools such as radio, satellite, and satellite programs. In this regard, the Zionist regime has recently "handed over" satellite channels to the opposition of the Islamic Republic.

The reaction of the Islamic Republic of Iran to the threats of Israel

After understanding the nature and type of Israeli threats against the Islamic Republic of Iran, the important issue is to deal with these threats and how to ensure the country's security. There are two views to explain this issue (Mottaghi, 1997, p. 23). According to the first view, the root of all Israeli threats against Iran lies in Iran's opposition to its legitimacy as well as its regional policies. If the Islamic Republic of Iran has nothing to do with the Zionist entity, the Israeli regime will have nothing to do with Iran. Based on this analysis, on the one hand, it is argued that the two countries are geographically distant from each other and therefore do not have a new conflict of interests. On the other hand, it is argued that Iran (regardless of the type of government it has) is strategically a natural ally of Israel. As a result, the only way to ensure Iran's national security is for the country to stop opposing Israel's legitimacy or claiming the need to destroy it. Obviously, based on the nature of the Islamic Republic of Iran, such a thing is not possible. In other words, this view is based on the fact that the Islamic Republic of Iran is empty of its nature; Because not opposing Israel (even if it does not lead to its recognition) means falling

short of the essence of the Islamic Republic of Iran. Proponents of her case have been working to make the actual transcript of this statement available online. The Islamic Republic of Iran has its own values that it must work to promote. Iran's national interests are secured when these values spread and even become universal.

The second view is based on the acceptance of facts, meaning that the Islamic Republic of Iran, as a religious government in Iran, has both a value identity and a territorial identity, and must maintain both. Given this dual nature of the Islamic Republic of Iran, the Zionist regime seeks to destroy it and is the most important security threat to it. Therefore, the Islamic Republic of Iran must confront the threats of Israel.

Given the nature of the Islamic Republic of Iran, the question must be answered as to how opposition to Israel and its regional policies, including the Middle East peace process, serve Iran's national interests. In other words, the author assumes that opposition to the Zionist entity is a tool in the hands of the Islamic Republic of Iran to secure national interests, including national security. How this happens is that the following mechanisms are significant:

A. Tying Iran's national security to the Islamic Ummah

The Islamic Republic of Iran, as an Islamic country in which an Islamic government has been established, is of interest to the Muslims of the world. The Islamic Revolution of Iran, which was a popular revolution against tyranny and colonialism, created such excitement in the hearts of Muslim and even some non-Muslim and freedom-loving nations that it is still considered as a model for their actions. The leadership of Imam Khomeini and the slogans of the Islamic Revolution have

been so attractive that many people (Muslims as well as non-Muslims) have fallen in love with the Islamic Revolution and its aspirations and goals. Hence, any threat to this revolution is and will be reduced as a threat to the body of the Islamic Ummah.

The main reason for this way of thinking among the Islamic Ummah and its continuation, despite all the propaganda efforts of the West against the Islamic Revolution, has been the adherence of the Islamic Revolution and the Islamic Republic to its aspirations and goals. In other words, this widespread support for the Islamic Revolution and the Islamic Republic will continue if this country maintains its principles and goals. One of the most important principles and goals of the Islamic Revolution and the Islamic Republic of Iran has been to fight against oppression and colonialism and to support anti-colonial and liberal movements. Hence, it is obvious that the Islamic Republic of Iran cannot accept any oppression and domination; Whether in relation to Iran or in relation to other Islamic nations. Supporting the aspirations of the oppressed people of Palestine and opposing the Zionist regime and its main supporter, the United States, have been the slogans and basic principles of the Islamic Revolution and the Islamic Republic of Iran. And adherence to it will continue the support of the Islamic Ummah for Iran. Although this support may not have a material aspect, it is a great source of power for Iran spiritually.

B. Opposition to Israel in opposition to the United States

There is a kind of entanglement between Iran's opposition to the existence of the Zionist regime and the hostile relations between Iran and the United States. Of course, there is no consensus on which is the other cause or which one can be more important. Some be-

lieve that the key to US-Iranian relations lies in Iran's opposition to Israel; And if the Islamic Republic of Iran at least publicly renounces this opposition and in particular does not obstruct the Middle East peace process; The way is open for the normalization of relations between the two countries. They believe that, in fact, Israel is the main obstacle to improving relations between Iran and the United States, and that it has made every effort to do so in recent years. According to this view, the Islamic Republic of Iran, in order to achieve some kind of regular relations with the United States, must somehow get its foot out of the Arab-Israeli issue.

Others believe that the key to Iran-Israel relations lies in Iran-US relations. In other words, if the Islamic Republic of Iran can normalize its relations with the United States, it can prevent Israel's hostility and threat to its national security. According to this view, there is no need for Iran to recognize Israel or abandon its slogans; Rather, if it can somehow de-escalate its relations with the United States, it will prevent Israel from threatening the Islamic Republic of Iran. Because American interests in the region are not limited to Israeli interests.

But in fact it can be said that neither of these two views has a practical guarantee, so that if Iran does not oppose the Middle East peace process, the United States will stop intervening in Iran and change its foreign policy towards it. There is also no guarantee that Iran will avoid a serious Israeli threat to the Islamic Republic if Iran de-escalates its relations with the United States. In other words, since the United States seeks hegemony in the Middle East as well as in the international arena, and this is contrary to the nature of the Islamic Republic of Iran; Iran must be able to oppose this, and since the Islamic Republic of

Iran is not comparable to the United States in terms of military or economic power, it must use other levers of power. In this regard, opposition to Israel is one of the most important levers of Iranian power that it must maintain in order to protect its entity from foreign threats.

C. Instrumental use of opposition to the Middle East peace process

The issue of the Arab-Israeli conflict, as a social conflict that has occupied the Middle East for many years. From historical experience and the continuation of this conflict over the past many years, it can be seen that it is not easily resolved. In other words, this conflict, because it is an identity conflict, cannot be easily resolved, and it will continue as long as the Zionist occupation exists.

Efforts to bring peace between the Arabs and Israelis, as well as the Palestinians and Israelis in recent years, have shown that the success of a comprehensive and just peace is impossible, if not impossible. Hence, neither Israel can ignore and destroy the Palestinians and their ideals, nor can the Palestinians imagine that Israel will simply disappear. The first and second uprisings of the Palestinian people show the fact that the Palestinians will not give up any effort to achieve their rights.

The opposition of the Islamic Republic of Iran to the occupying Zionist regime and the support of the Palestinian cause is a genuine ideological as well as strategic opposition. But this opposition, in the form of opposition to the Middle East peace process and the establishment of an unjust peace, can also be used tactically by the Islamic Republic of Iran. In other words, the Islamic Republic of Iran can use opposition to the peace process as a tool and lever of power to achieve its goals and interests in the Middle East. This lever can be used both in relation to the

United States and in relation to the Arab countries.

Conclusion

The emergence of Israel in the Middle East has created a complex situation in terms of regional security, and the establishment of this regime has posed acute and fundamental difficulties and obstacles to regional security. Israel, like other actors in the international system, has to complete the state-nation-building process. The Islamic Republic of Iran, both as a country in the Middle East and because of its inherent and inherent conflict, has been exposed to the security and economic threats of this regime, which stems from its state-nation-building process; At present, Israel is one of the main problems of foreign policy and national security of the Islamic Republic of Iran at the regional and international level.

The answer to the question of what is the relationship between Israeli and Iranian identities and interests is a conflict. Conflict is observed at the following levels between the two identities: ideological conflict (Zionism and Islamism), historical conflict, secular-power identity conflict with oppressive-justice identity, racist identity conflict with security-oriented identity.

The ideological conflict between Israeli and Iranian identities is divided into different levels of conflict; Like the ontological conflict, the epistemological conflict and the anthropological conflict, the other dimension of the conflict between the Israeli regime and the Islamic Republic of Iran is the conflict of interest. In this regard, the following can be mentioned from the interests of Israel, which are in conflict with the national interests of the Islamic Republic of Iran:

- Conflict between Israel and the Pahlavi regime (before the victory of the Islamic Revolution), SAVAK training, support for Israel against the Islamic world, persecution and suppression of revolutionaries opposed to the Pahlavi regime, planning the White Revolution of the Shah and the people;
- Negative effects on US policy towards the Islamic Republic of Iran;
- Superior interests in the Islamic world (countries such as Lebanon, Syria, Egypt, Persian Gulf countries);
- Monopolistic (anti-Iranian) interests in Iran's neighboring countries;
- Action against Iran's interests in the region (threatening Iran, plan to create a new Middle East, etc.)
- In addition to the above, the international interests of the Israeli regime in the form of the following policies are in conflict with the international interests of the Islamic Republic of Iran;
- Colonial and hegemonic policies, especially towards less developed countries;
- De-religionization;
- Support of affiliated authoritarianism;
- Reproduction and distribution of weapons and expansion of conflicts.

The international interests and goals of the Islamic Republic of Iran in contrast are; Emphasis on constructive and effective interaction and maximum presence in international relations, interaction and cooperation with non-aligned countries, support for independent states and Muslim nations, promotion of Religious-Islamic beliefs and confrontation with colonial goals.

Accordingly, Israel's interests, which underlie its nation-state-building process, pose a potential threat to Iran. These threats are significant in the three categories of military

security (having conventional and unconventional weapons), economic (regional and international competition, and the enactment of sanctions laws affecting the United States) and political (disfiguring Iran's image in the international arena).

After a detailed description of the three Israeli threats against the Islamic Republic of Iran, which stem from the process of state-nation-building of this regime; And given the nature of the Islamic Republic of Iran, one must answer the question of how opposition to Israel and its regional policies serve Iran's national interests? What is Iran's reaction to these threats? The author assumes that opposition to the Zionist entity is a tool in the hands of the Islamic Republic of Iran to secure national interests, including national security. How this happens is that the following mechanisms are significant:

- Tying Iran's national security to the Islamic Ummah
- Opposition to Israel in opposition to the United States
- Instrumental use of opposition to the Middle East peace process

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