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A Theoretical Model for the analysis of Nation-State building in the Islamic Republic of Iran

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Abstract:

This article criticizes the process of nation-state building in Iran based on the facts in the country's political structure and specifies the factors affecting the non-formation of nation-state building in Iran on what mechanisms are based and why this category is in the Islamic Republic. Iran has not succeeded. The most important assumption should be made on the structure and the transnational nature of the Islamic Republic of Iran and its intellectual foundations, because this structure, behind its political ideology, which came from the Islamic Revolution of Iran and religious teachings, rather than the concepts of national unification emanating from history, The culture, language and mythological system existing in a common geographical border relies on values and principles that are transnational and global and can influence from a small group to the whole world. In this article, the descriptive-analytical method of the library type is used to study the texts, books and articles using the fishing technique.

Keywords: Nation-State building, Islamic Republic of Iran, Political structure, Islamic revolution, religious attitude

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1- Introduction

The Islamic Republic of Iran as a regime based on ideology, during a series of political and social developments and as a product and view of the intellectual-philosophical structure of the Islamic Revolution of Iran, entered the political arena of the contemporary era and began to form a political structure and governance. This political structure put forth issues such as the denial of monarchy, anti-authoritarianism, centered justice, reducing the social gap, religious identity, relying on votes and other such things as its ideals and programs in line with public policy and tried to create Substantial changes, to maintain the modern form of government in Iran and to achieve a new construction in the world's political sphere by guiding them in their accepted path.

1-1-Statement of the problem

The nation-state phenomenon today has become a universal and common model of political order, in such a way that the majority of human societies are organized in the framework of nation-state construction. The nation-state, which is also referred to as "national state" and "modern state", is a complex form of political organization that has distinct characteristics such as sovereignty, government, territory, and people. In fact, the nation-state has a monopoly on what it claims is the legitimate use of force and power, which it has within a land with clear borders and seeks to unite the people under its rule. Such a form of political organization,

which is also interpreted as a national state or "modern state", has not had much history in the sphere of human political thought and action. According to the evidence of many thinkers and experts, nation-states or modern national states are born from the post-Renaissance era and the modern era and did not exist before that (especially before the 15th century AD) in the common sense of the word. Also, almost all thinkers agree that such a phenomenon (modern nation-state) first sprouted in Western Europe as a result of the internal dynamics of these societies and grew and developed in its cultural-political context. Therefore, at first glance, the modern nation-state is a new phenomenon that was born in the western culture and from the 19th century onwards, due to the influence and power of the western culture and civilization on other regions of the world, including the Orient. As a presence in transnational arenas, it found a general and universal character as well as some international requirements and announced the end of the era of traditional political systems. Nowadays, when several centuries have passed since the emergence of the modern nation-state in the West, the nation-state system is still a shadow on the political arena of other cultures. It is considered as a part of their political and cultural system like western societies.

The state or nation-state in the Middle East region is practically a product of the 20th century. Although in parts of the Middle

East such as Iran, Turkey and to some extent Egypt, political organizations based on the model of empire and kingdom systems have a very long history, but in no way should these political systems be equated with the nation-state phenomenon in its modern sense. However, the political organization called nation-state was formed in the Middle East in recent times and in the winding process of the 20th century, especially after the First World War and after that, so that if there were one or two political organizations in the Middle East in the past While the societies of the Middle East were included (such as the Safavid and Ottoman Empires), today there are more than 20 nation-states in this region. Nation-states that, like their western predecessors and many other nation-states in most parts of the world, have distinguishing features and coordinates such as specific territory and borders, government, sovereignty and population. But this nation-state and this political system, unlike the modern nation-state in the West, cannot achieve similar results and functions. These nation-states have suffered effects and consequences from the very beginning of their emergence in the Middle East, which are still ongoing and will almost certainly continue until the not-so-predictable future. Consequences such as ethnic, religious, racial, cultural crises, etc., ongoing regional and internal violent wars and conflicts, deep gap between the government and society (nation), security crises, etc. It is the distinctive feature of this apparently modern nation-state.

The nation-state is a situation between the people and the rulers of a land in which the nation has a common history and identity and the government has a completely legitimate aspiration derived from the nation. The process of achieving this ideal of the modern world is based on the historical narratives of political science from within the Treaty of Westphalia and was formed primarily for European societies. Iranian society has been exposed to the processes and institutions of modernity for more than a hundred years. The development of political modernity or a special type of nation-state, as the establishment of a democratic institutional set, is one of the aspects of modernity, the realization of which is one of the basic demands of a significant part of the supporters of advanced and developed Iran. In the four major and national movements of Iran, the demand for democracy is expressed with different slogans and concepts (sometimes with clear and sometimes vague concepts, sometimes with a coherent and sometimes inconsistent conceptual system).

The demand for democratic political order in the constitutional revolution (1906-1920) with the slogan of the rule of law and limiting the orders of the autocratic king, in the national oil movement (1948-1953) with the slogan that the king should reign, not the government (and that the army and the country's administration should be under the command of the head of the government and the supervision of the parliament), in the Islamic revolution (1978-1988) with the slogan of independence, freedom, Islamic Republic and in the

reform period (1997-2005) with the slogan of political development, rule of law, responsive government, freedom of opposition and strengthening Civil society was expressed.

Nation-state building is a process in which a political society tries to acquire, maintain and promote its autonomy, sovereignty and independence through the accumulation of power and the development of institutional capacity. Such a goal is strongly dependent on increasing social-national solidarity and integration and political stability, especially in the concept of developing democratic institutions. The goal of such a process is to evolve the state (as a strong institutional structure) and the nation (as an integrated social structure with an identity) and connection and closeness as much as possible. In such a way that finally, in the international view (from the outside to the governments), the government and the nation are interwoven and inseparable, that is, the nation considers the government as its own and its property.

1-2-main questions

As it was said, the system of national government in the form of nation- state building is the achievement of the modern period and has a special place in political science and international relations, and some believe that if the formation of the national government comes to a faster and more favorable result, the same proportion of the possibility of political development will

be easier. It is clear that many of the problems of the third world countries are related to the weakness and slowness in going through this process. It is very important to recognize and examine the problems of the nation- state building process in semi-modern and third world countries. These countries have entered the stage of nation-state building, but they have not been able to cross their ideological and traditional framework, so they are left behind from entering the modernity period, and as a result, the system of national governments in this region is suffering of the pseudo nation- state kind. After the victory of the Islamic Revolution, Iran entered a new phase of political positions and approaches. Currently, the Islamic Republic of Iran has very basic challenges in reaching the main indicators of nation- state building. Recognizing these challenges and the effort of the Islamic Republic of Iran to travel the path and reach this important destination is very important.

The main question is:

What have been the main challenges facing the nation-state building process in Iran after the revolution?

1-3- Background and innovation of the subject

The first work is entitled "The role of nationalism on the process of nation-state building during Reza Khan's era", which was written by Milad Mahmoudi in the form of a thesis for obtaining a master's

degree at the Islamic Azad University, Tehran branch, in the academic year 2006-2007. The hypothesis stated in this research is; Modern nationalism, by emphasizing emotions, sorrows and joys in the form of creating a powerful central government, was able to help the process of nation-state building.

Mohammad Ali Homayoun Katouzian is one of the Iranian researchers who has dealt more extensively with the idea of Iranian nationalism. According to Katouzian, the political thought of the secular intellectuals of the Qajar period (Fathali Akhundzadeh, Mirza Agha Khan Kermani, etc.) who were the founders of the idea of Iranian nationalism suffered from a kind of contradiction. It was obvious that as much as their thoughts were consistent with the rationalistic and individualistic liberalism of the 18th century, they were also compatible with the romantic movement of the 19th century, which denied liberalism.

Hamid Ahmadi has devoted his doctoral thesis to this topic. And he has written a book entitled Ethnicity and Ethnicism in Iran; Ahmadi considers nation-building in Iran to be a failed project, but the root of this failure is not in the ideology of nation-building, but in "the rise of the modern state and its abdication of power, which was a sign of the crisis of participation in contemporary Iran" and "authoritarianism". The modern government that prevented the participation of traditional and new educated elites in the political affairs of the country and provided the ground for the politicization of linguistic and

religious differences and turning them into a suitable tool to rise up against the centralized authoritarian government of the people.

The book "State-Building, Nation-Building and Theory of International Relations" authored by Abdul Ali Qavam and Afshin Zargar (Qavam, Zargar, 2010), is a significant work for this thesis.

The article "Oil and the nation-state-building process in Iran" published by Ali-reza Soltani in the Politics journal (Soltani, 2012, pp. 95-112) paid attention to an important point. The author of this article admits that the role of oil in the nation-state building process of Iran can be seen in different economic, political and social dimensions.

Among other publications on nation-state building, Afshin Zargar's article entitled "Nation-state models; from the European model to the Eurasian model" can be mentioned (Zargar, 2007, pp. 97-160).

The thesis "Globalization of Foreignization and Case-Based Political Development of the Islamic Republic of Iran" written by Yadullah Kalani in 2006-2007 is not unrelated to the topic of the present dissertation.

Ernest Cassirer in his famous book (The Myth of the State) believes that Machiavelli's great interest in Cesare Borgia can only be understood if we know that the main reason for Machiavelli's attachment was not the person of Cesar Borgia but the structure of the new government that he

established. Machiavelli was the first thinker who understood the meaning of the new structure well and thus predicted the entire future political process of Europe and the world in his thought.

The book "Emergence of Iranian Nationalism, Race and Displacement Policy" written by Reza Zia Ebrahimi and translated by Hassan Afshar, which was published in March 2017 in Tehran, has 8 chapters.

1-4- Definition of concepts

Paying attention to the Islamic revolution of Iran, its factors, ideals and goals has a fundamental role. Because understanding the Islamic Revolution of Iran will help to understand the behavior of the Islamic Republic of Iran. Therefore, in the following, we will try to explain the factors affecting the process of nation-state building by referring to some of the characteristics and components of the formation of the Islamic Revolution, while also making a clear reference to it.

1-4-1- Iran's Islamic Revolution

The Islamic revolution of Iran as a political, cultural and social current in recognition of the behavior of the monarchy took place during the Pahlavi era and while creating a deep transformation in the political structure of Iran, it created a new military system based on its goals and ideals. One of its most important goals is the distribution of justice, the removal of tyranny, and

the fight against colonialism and global domination. (Kooshki, 2008, p. 59).

1-4-2- Islamic Republic of Iran

The Islamic Republic of Iran refers to the political structure that replaced the monarchy in Iran at a specific historical moment after the victory of the Islamic Revolution in 1978 which emphasized the two elements of legitimacy of the people and Islam and tried to achieve the goals set forth by the Islamic Revolution of Iran. (Khodadadi, 2009, p. 134).

1-4-3- Indicators of the nation-state building

Nation-state building is a process in which a political society tries to acquire, maintain and improve its autonomy, sovereignty and independence through the accumulation of power and the development of institutional capacity. A thing that relies on the increase of social-national solidarity and integration and political stability, especially in the concept of developing democratic institutions, and the more powerful these factors are, the more concrete and accurate the achievement of the nation-state will be, because in this case, the government as a strong institution and the nation emerges as an integrated social structure with an identity of greater connection and closeness. Some consider the nation-state as an independent entity under the control of a single nation with an intellectual, imaginary structure and a powerful and persuasive political structure in the

field of international relations. (Ahmadi, 2004, p. 298). Another group has not defined nation-state building, but by referring to the mechanism of its formation, this category has been evaluated as an action aimed at increasing peace, and its formation with regard to defining the boundaries Territorial borders and cultural commonalities are considered to be the basis of interaction between cultures. (Zargar, 2007, p. 99).

1-4-4- Political stability

Different meanings have been proposed for political stability and some have tried to explain this category with the factors that cause political instability. For example, some thinkers, political institutionalism (Huntington, 2002, p. 78), regularity (Sari al-Ghulam, 1999, p. 63), the ability to predict political behavior in the future of the government based on holding free elections and based on the law, means being regular in the flow of political interactions. Political stability is considered.

But the best definition of political stability can be seen in the book "Political Man" by Lippett. He considers political stability as continuity or continuation of a certain type of political system and believes that a stable country is one in which a system can last for at least 25 years. (Mottaghi, Karam Zadeh, 2011, p. 323). He considered the three main factors of nation-state building indicators, such as nationalism, citizenship rights, and social capital, to be among the most important factors affecting the process of nation-state building.

A) Nationalism

Regardless of the ideological nature of the literal meaning of nationalism, nationalism in the term refers to an opinion that includes the borders of a nation with historical memory, language, culture, customs, common land and a single state, during which nations control their own destiny and consider governments as the most important political organization. In other words, nationalism is an ideology that considers the national government to be the highest form of political organization. (Ashuri, 1994, p. 319) Based on this, it can be said that the right of national sovereignty is the product of the formation of this ideology and the explanation of the concept of nationalism.

B) Citizenship rights

One of the concepts that came up after the formation of nation-states and was based on the two foundations of right and duty was the issue of citizenship rights. In this period, the government's view of society's statistics changed from subjects and the governed to the concept of citizens with will and influence in the process of government and public policies. In this view, the people were no longer only obliged to provide financial resources and human resources to the governments, but they could also demand rights from the governments, such as the right to housing, health, freedom, etc. and start a two-way interaction with governments.

C) social capital

The concept of social capital is formed based on the trust between governments and nations, and in one sentence, the stronger this relationship is, it can be said that the society benefits from more social capital. Although social capital is used in all economic, social, cultural and political fields, that aspect of social capital that can help the consistency of the nation-state is dependent on the political dimension of social capital, which is based on national solidarity and political participation. In the definition of social capital, it can be said: Social capital is a qualitative and effective concept that is used more than other categories in the field of social and political development and helps to increase the public trust of society and national solidarity in the shadow of public participation. (Ali Akbari et al., 2008, p. 10).

1-4-5- Political stability and how to create it in the Islamic Republic of Iran

In Iran, after the revolution and in its early years, actions were taken that could overshadow Iran's political stability and are considered as one of its threatening factors. Things like the political participation of the first revolution, such as the actions of the Mojahedin Khalq Organization (Fawzi, 2007, pp. 89-112), the military clashes in Gonabad (Fawzi, 2007, p. 93), the incident of the Mojahedin Khalq Organization's movements in Amol (Fawzi, 2007, p. 98) and targeted assassinations of political figures and people by the Furqan

group (Jafarian, 2004, p. 326) the planning of military coups by the survivors of the former regime in the army (Sepehr, 2010, p. 32) the attempt to blow up the House of Imam Khomeini (Fawzi, 2011, p. 259) the assassination of the then president of the country (Fawzi, 2011, p. 260) and the explosion of the offices of the Islamic Republic of Iran (Fawzi, 2006, p. 73).

With the increase of the political, military and policing authority of the Islamic Republic of Iran, all these things came under control and political stability was established in Iran. With the end of the war and the beginning of its subsequent periods, Iran added to the stability factors by achieving successes in the scientific, economic and political fields and strengthening its military power. But on the other hand, with the failure to realize some slogans and the increase of popular dissatisfaction, the factors threatening political stability were transferred from political categories to economic categories and caused union protests to take a political turn and at times caused political and economic problems that were accompanied by violence in some cases, in the continuation of the life of the Islamic Republic of Iran. In this regard, it should be noted that the process of political stability as one of the important indicators at the beginning of the nation-state making process was present during the political life of the Islamic Republic of Iran and it can be considered as a stable country.

1-4-6- The status of social capital in the Islamic Republic of Iran

Social capital, as the last effective component in the process of nation-state building, has passed a special fate in the Islamic Republic of Iran. Because the Islamic Republic of Iran is a product of a revolutionary structure that was established in 1978 with the participation of a large part of the people of Iran and in a geographical area as large as a land, which was established and won with the highest level of trust from the people. According to the establishment of the Islamic Republic of Iran, this phenomenon is clearly defined that this political structure has been stabilized with the participation of 98% of the people and the creation of the necessary mechanisms for governance such as: the beginning of the statehood process and the establishment of a temporary government, providing the ground for holding Elections, constitution drafting, creation of revolutionary institutions and so on (Rostami et al., 2020, p. 398).

1-5- Hypothesis

It is assumed that Iran is a quasi-modern country, which by studying history, we find out well that this country has never been able to achieve the desired result of nation-state building process in all historical periods. The main challenges facing the Islamic Republic system are: the political and ideological discourse of the ruler, the weakness of civil institutions, the ummah-oriented political attitude of the ruler, the failure to remove external threats to the sovereignty (ownership of the Caspian

Sea, the three islands and the Persian Gulf), various ethnic divisions. And even Iranian and Islamic gaps (because the Islamic Republic is made up of components such as Iranian, Islamic and revolutionary) as well as the lack of access to citizenship rights, the low indicators of democracy and political development after the Islamic Revolution (high inflation, stagnation, etc.).

1-5-1- The main hypothesis

It seems that the Islamic Republic of Iran is facing challenges such as; The ruling ideological discourse, nation-centeredness and not state-centeredness, the weakness of civil institutions and the divergence of some groups and ethnicities, have not been successful in creating the nation-state process.

1-5-2- Secondary hypothesis

It seems that the ideological and revolutionary nature of the Islamic Republic of Iran and the lack of rationality, free thinking, and scientific belief as a feature of the modern world are the main reasons for the incompleteness of the nation-state building process in Iran after the revolution.

1-6- Theoretical framework

Until the constitutional revolution and the foundation of nationalism aimed at the establishment of a centralized identity-oriented nation-state that started with the Qajar aristocracy and reached its peak during the reign of Reza Shah, minorities did not exist as a political and social unit with specific demands under the domination of

a majority. ; The majority who only represent the Farsi dialect and language, the founders of a mythical civilization of several thousand years and the bearers of the Shiite religion.

Even in the constitutional revolution, the laws and mechanisms foreseen in it do not give such an argument. What is more, in the constitution of state and provincial associations and the amendment to the constitutional law, the reference to minorities has been made within the framework of these associations and not larger units such as the nation-state and the government.

Nation-state building is a process belonging to the modern period that organizes a new form of political structure in human societies. The two main aspects of this project, the nation and the state, are built parallel to each other. Nation-state building is an effort to create the necessary grounds for establishing a common political identity and a sense of national belonging to a specific territorial unit.

This process is aimed at the gradual removal of any sense of belonging to smaller and local units and as a result of the formation of the so-called democratic government. The project of nation-state building in Iran was especially keyed after the collapse of the Qajar Empire and during the first Pahlavi era. The formation of the modern army, the construction of nationwide railways and the expansion of transportation routes, the passing of the

compulsory uniform law, compulsory military service and finally language integration were among the manifestations and consequences of nation-state induction in Iran, which weakened and assimilated the culture of national and religious minorities in Iran.

The gradual elimination of minorities, which proceeded through the channel of these laws, continued parallel to the process of nation-state building during the time of both Pahlavi kings until the revolution of 1978. In the constitutional amendment, the rights of national groups such as Kurds, Azerbaijanis, and Arabs were completely or largely ignored.

In addition to the Sunnis, whose rights were constantly violated, many restrictions were imposed on other religious minorities, such as the Kilimites and Christians, and some other religions, such as the Baha'i, were generally ignored in the constitution and legal documents. Many government Nation-state projects building in the West, such as Germany and France, is applied based on a type of "retroactive causality" and focused on the past, and based on the myth of the existence of a "folk" or "nation" based on the creation of the present; Myths that were created in complete contradiction with the idea of ethnic, cultural and linguistic pluralism. (Azghandi, Molaei, 2011, p. 13)

Considering the multi-cultural nature of Iranian society, such a conflict led to the creation of another gap in the heart of the

Iranian nation-state project, and from the heart of it, various national and religious uprisings were formed from the first Pahlavi period, of which the republics of Kurdistan and Azerbaijan in the early last century were examples. These uprisings were directly born from the gap that provided the possibility of real and popular politics.

Minorities or excluded people, as another name for politics in the position of people who refused to be integrated into the national political body and rejected, became one of the basic issues during the Pahlavi regime by tearing the nation-state project in two.; An issue that is always ignored and postponed by various governments and their mainly nationalist opponents.

Beyond the borders of Iran, this crisis, which goes back to the essence of the nation-state itself, from the Basque Country in Spain to Bavaria in Germany and Quebec in Canada, has also troubled the late democratic nation-states. (Ahmadi, 1999, p. 65)

1-6-1- The emergence of the modern government in Iran

Before the beginning of the reform process in the early 19th century, Iran has witnessed rich cultural and civilizational manifestations in periods and stages and has shown elements of rationality, civilization, order and stability, science and innovation, legality, organization and tolerance. For example, during the reigns of Cyrus and Darius the Achaemenid, Anushirvan Sassanid and Ardeshir Babakan, Shah Abbas I Safavid and Karim

Khan Zand, intellectually there were manifestations of modernity and modernity in Iranian thought (Milani, 1999, p. 47) with Due to the nature of the government and the existing structures and the concentration of traditionalism with superstitious, unreasonable, dogmatic and conservative elements, this existence of these manifestations could not continue in a stable and sustainable way. Therefore, in the conditions of the weakness and decline of the central government in Iran, social movements occurred from time to time in order to reform and change the existing situation. Finally, one of these movements, namely the Shia social movement, ended up forming the Safavid government (1135-1722). Some writers have described the Iranian government in the Safavid era as a national government or even a modern government and they believe that the secular nature of the Shia religion laid the groundwork for the formation of the modern government at this point in time (Hints, 1967, p. 10).

However, from the point of view of researchers present in the Safavid era, the modern state with the definitions and characteristics that are mentioned for such a state was not formed in Iran. The reason for such an approach is that the presence of Shi'ism in the field of political power of the Safavid era, even though the national identity was out of the sign. accepted the cultural values of Islam, that is, the central nation, and ruled through the Shia religion, but never reflected the requirements of a modern state and a worldly government (Afzali, 2004, p. 87)

1-6-2- Political modernity

Iranian society has been exposed to the processes and institutions of modernity for more than a hundred years. The development of political modernity or a special type of nation-state, as the establishment of a democratic institutional set, is one of the aspects of modernity, the realization of which is one of the demands of Essentially, a significant part of fans and fans of advanced and developed Iran. In the four major and national movements of Iran, the demand for democracy is expressed with different slogans and concepts (sometimes with clear and sometimes vague concepts, sometimes with a coherent and sometimes inconsistent conceptual system). The demand for democratic political order in the constitutional revolution of 1906-1920 with the slogan of the rule of law and limiting the orders of the autocratic king, in the national oil movement (1948-1953) with the slogan that the king should rule, not the government, and that the army and the administration of the country should be under the command of the president, the government and the supervision of the parliament; in the Islamic revolution (1978-1988) with the slogan of independence, freedom and the Islamic Republic, and during the reform period (1997-2005) with the slogan of political development, rule of law, responsive government, freedom of opposition and strengthening of civil society; dissatisfactions were expressed (Saei, 2007)

It seems that after a century of efforts and comprehensive movements, strengthening the mechanisms of the nation-state means the establishment of democratic order is one of the institutional demands of Iranian society.

1-6-3- Minorities and the 1978 revolution

At the same time as the establishment of the Iranian nation-state, which was centralized and based on linguistic, religious and national integration, the majority of Iranian society moved towards a popular revolution that led to the overthrow of the monarchy. and the politics of the modern nation-state building project in Iran. (Ashuri, B.T.A.)

The revolution of 1978 was welcomed by linguistic and cultural minorities in different places. The widespread presence of Turkmens and especially Kurds, who participated in the revolution in an organized manner and in the form of illegal political parties, with public and street protests against the process of overthrowing the Pahlavi regime.

Their demands were generally to remove any discrimination and create an equal position regardless of color, race, religion and language in the future government. The demands of religious minorities are also sometimes directly, for example in Kurdistan in the form of the Islamist movement "Quran School". "And to defend the rights of Sunnis and sometimes indirectly in the framework of the program

of political currents. Among them, the Baha'i community, except for a few who had leftist tendencies, refused to participate in the revolution in an organized way, supporting Pahlavi or the opposition. At the same time, some figures of the Baha'i community before the revolution were assassinated by Islamists. (Ahmadi, 1999, p. 66)

1-6-4- Revolution, nation-state and myth

Despite the universal participation of linguistic and cultural minorities in the 1978 revolution and with the entry of the Iranian nation-state into a new phase, the minorities, who were one of the divisions of the former nation-state, were once again pushed back.

Although the new constitution was slightly different from the amendment to the conditional constitution and its revised versions in terms of their rights, but in this law with the addition of language [principle 15] and official religion [principle 12] and the definition of minor rights such as those mentioned in the principles 15 and 19 of the Constitution, minorities were once again removed from the text and placed in an unequal situation. The de-minorization and cultural assimilation of the new nation-state of Iran began with the political and military suppression of political movements belonging to minority communities. From the first days and months after the 1978 revolution, there were numerous conflicts between the central government with the Turkmen minority in the north and the Kurdish minority in the west, as a result of which thousands of military

and civilian people were killed. It reached its peak in Kurdistan and continued with the political executions of the 1980s. (David, 2004, p. 60)

According to decree of Ayatollah Khomeini, who was the absolute authority of the Sharia founder of the Islamic Republic, a large number of political activists of minority communities were sentenced to death and hanged, sometimes without trial and sometimes in illegal field courts. (Abrahamian, 1999, pp. 178-179)

Religious minorities were not spared from the sting of the new government either. Figures from the Iranian Baha'i community, who were restricted by the religious authorities of the revolution since the month before the revolution, were executed in the first months of 1979.

"Ali Akbar Khorsandi" from the Baha'is of Gonbad Kavos was one of the first executed figures of the Baha'i community. In the same year, according to the Baha'i community, another number were also hanged.

If in the previous regime, for instance, there was no prohibition for a Sunni Kurd to enter the body of the government, in the current government, not only Sunni Kurds, but also none of the members belonging to minority communities were allowed to hold high positions in the country and in the army. All the reformist and fundamentalist efforts of the successive governments of the Islamic Republic up to the current government have worked to

strengthen the mythical and discriminatory view of the Iranian nation-state.

1-7- Research method

The research method of this descriptive-analytical research of the library type has been used to study texts, books and articles using the technique of scanning.

1-7-1- Library method

Using the library, which is a repository of registered information, is a logical starting point for any research (Harning et al., 1998, p. 68) and is considered one of the most important steps related to the preparation of information for conducting any scientific research. In the library method according to the goals set in this research and in reaching them and considering the available time for preparing, studying, copying, taking notes and collecting the required information from books, reports, theses, articles, periodicals, CDs, databases Information on the Internet, etc. has been done.

1-8- Conclusion

The Islamic Republic of Iran is the name of the political system that replaced the monarchy in this country after the victory of the Islamic Revolution of Iran and caused the political stability of the country to undergo turmoil after many years and the old order gave way to the new order. After the victory of the Islamic Revolution of Iran, the political situation in the country underwent fundamental changes and

the political order, which was moving faster towards nation-state building, especially during the Pahlavi period, suddenly stopped and collapsed. In this process, the structural logic of the government in Iran, which was formed on the four foundations of nationalism, archaism, secularism, and modernism in the pre-revolution era, suddenly collapsed and strongly conflicting concepts were formed against them, such as Reliance on religious culture instead of national culture, attitude towards oppressed nations instead of nationalist attitude, opposition to the West and modernity, instead of taking advantage of the manifestations of Western civilization and modernism resulting from it and trying to revive religious values against mythology. includes in this sense, it should be said: After the revolution, Iran, by adopting Islam as a legitimizing factor for its political structure, practically looked at ethno-linguistic assimilation as a unifying factor around the axis of history, language, mythology and common culture within a geographical border marginalized as the ruling spirit of the semantic system of the process of nation-state building and emphasized the concept of unity with the Islamic world. This process caused the trans-national view to replace the nationalist view and the national unifying items to be disappeared. Of course, it should be mentioned that although Iran practically showed by adopting this method that religious culture has a higher priority for it, but the conditions governing the peripheral region of Iran as well as the changes

in the political environment of Iran gradually made the decision makers aware of the importance of paying attention to National culture and its strengthening through Islamic principles and Shia religion can be considered as a powerful tool in the hands of the political structure to pursue its goals. Therefore, in the last years of the war and after the death of the great leader of the revolution, the politicians and executive managers of the country are oriented towards consolidating the features of nation-building around national norms and along the way by adopting policies with religious tolerance, they try to Approach the national values, move to the reconstruction of the national identity on the basis of cultural Iran by using unifying religious tools and create the conditions in such a way that the national values are strengthened along with the religious values. With regard to the aforementioned, it can be stated that Iran after the Islamic Revolution, since it has had the characteristics and components of a nation-state building, has the potential to achieve a very important structure. move in the field of politics and governance, especially in the modern world. But due to the fact that this system, taking into account its nature and structure and considering the basis of its legitimacy and shared factors based on religious values, cannot complete the process of nation-state building in Iran. Because in this political structure, the unifying factors and indicators affecting political solidarity are based on a factor other than the semantic system of nation-state building, that is, nationalism

by relying on its culture and mythological system, and if the Islamic Republic of Iran is built in this changing world And the change in which countries are moving towards the formation around the axis of nationalism and leaving the ethnic and tribal state and creating a structure based on the nation-state, in order to achieve its goals, a solution for this conflict must be thought of and the conditions to complete the state process. - To prepare the nation in Iran.

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