

DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF THE FOUNDATIONS OF DEVELOPMENT IN THE GOVERNMENT OF HASSAN ROUHANI

ANÁLISE DO DISCURSO DOS FUNDAMENTOS DO DESENVOLVIMENTO NO GOVERNO DE HASSAN ROUHANI

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Abstract: With the victory of Hassan Rouhani in the 2013 presidential election, a trend in Iran's political sphere came to hegemony, calling itself a discourse of moderation and advocating a new paradigm for Iranian development. The present study seeks to understand the discourse of moderation and development and the model of this discourse on Iranian development in the form of Laclau and Mouffe's theory. The main question of the research is what is the pattern of this discourse on development in Iran? The research hypothesis suggests that the discourse of moderation for the development of Iran has placed "liberal modernization" at the center of its discourse and that of "Neo-Keynesian economics", privatization, "rationality", "freedom", "constructive interaction", "support for International Investments", "Moderation and Avoidance of Extremism", "Developmental Foreign Policy", "Unity and Solidarity - the Rule of Law" and "Minimalist State" as the floating signs of its discourse. And to make its discourse operational, it has taken measures such as de-escalation with the European Union, direct negotiation with the US in the form of a deterrence strategy, expanding neighbor relations, and And international sanctions, cooperation with regional and international organizations to combat Islamic extremism and violence has. The descriptive-analytical research method and data were collected using library checking.

Keywords: Discourse. Moderation. Economic Development. Modernization of Liberalism.

Resumo: Com a vitória de Hassan Rouhani nas eleições presidenciais de 2013, uma tendência na esfera política do Irã chegou à hegemonia, chamando-se de discurso de moderação e defendendo um novo paradigma para o desenvolvimento iraniano. O presente estudo procura entender o discurso da moderação e desenvolvimento e o modelo desse discurso sobre o desenvolvimento iraniano na forma da teoria de Laclau e Mouffe. A principal questão da pesquisa é qual é o padrão desse discurso sobre desenvolvimento no Irã? A hipótese da pesquisa sugere que o discurso da moderação para o desenvolvimento do Irã colocou a "modernização liberal" no centro de seu discurso e o da "economia neo-keynesiana", privatização, "racionalidade", "liberdade", "interação construtiva", "apoio a investimentos internacionais", "Moderação e prevenção do extremismo", "Política externa de desenvolvimento": "Unidade e solidariedade - o Estado de direito" e "Estado minimalista" como sinais flutuantes de seu discurso. E operacionalizar seu discurso, tomou medidas como desescalamento com a União Europeia, negociação direta com os EUA sob a forma de uma estratégia de dissuasão, expansão das relações com os vizinhos e sanções internacionais. A cooperação com organizações regionais e internacionais para combater o extremismo e a violência islâmica. O método de pesquisa descritivo-analítico e os dados foram coletados por meio de checagem em biblioteca.

Palavras-chave: Discurso. Moderação. Desenvolvimento Econômico. Modernização do Liberalismo.

Introduction

Since the victory of the Islamic Revolution in 1979, we have witnessed the emergence of discourses from the heart of Iranian politics. In each era, according to the country's conditions, the dominant discourses followed a pattern of Iranian development, each producing its own specific political subcultures, rebuilding linguistic and discourse structures, and instilling concepts about Iranian development. Briefly, from the victory of the Islamic Revolution to the dissolution of the Islamic Republic Party, three conservative nationalist, secular nationalist and Islamic (traditional) leftist discourses were hegemonic, and from the fall of the Imam to the end of the constructive state of the Islamic right (traditional). Since the end of the Constructive Government, three Islamic Left (reformist) discourses, fundamentalism and moderation have dominated Iran's power. Both conservative nationalist and secular nationalist discourses were rejected because of disagreements with the agents of the system as "none" discourses of revolution and failed to demonstrate a principled strategy for Iranian development. The four Islamic left discourses, Islamic right, reformist discourse, fundamentalism for the development of Iran implemented the patterns of Islamism, structural adjustment, political development, central justice. Moderation and Development Dialogue Following the victory of Hassan Rouhani in the presidential election of 2013, as a discourse of victory, marginalized discourse, a new paradigm on Iran's development. The present study, using Laclau and Mouffe's theory, attempts to deconstruct the discourse of moderation and the model presented by it on the development of the Islamic Republic of Iran. The main question is what is the pattern of moderation and development discourse around Iran's development?

Development and theories about the development and underdevelopment of Iran

1. Modernization school: defines development modernization as growth and assumes that social transformation is a linear process involving the transformation of traditional farming societies into modern industrial societies. The created remediation tool defines and argues that institutions need to be created that can control the renovation process. Huntington shifted the focus of development theory from a gradual shift toward democracy to political stability and the role of government in the modernization process. Benefits and argues that the features and organization of traditional society are both the cause and the underdevelopment. Thus, the cultural values of traditional Iranian society are obstacles to the development of Iran (Haji Yousefi, 1999: 7).
2. Dependency Schools and the World Order: The dependency school emerged from the symmetry of two major intellectual trends. One is Marxist tradition and the other is Latin American structuralism in development. The main message of the school of attachment was that development in Europe has led to the active underdevelopment of the non-European world. The theory of the world system is, above all, concerned with the work of Emmanuel Wallerstein on the emergence of the sixteenth-century European capitalist world economy. This world system, dominated by the capitalist mode of production, consists of a central core comprising a strong central government that accounts for the largest share of the surplus of the international economy. A fringe area of weak government that is heavily exploited, and a semi-fringe area comprising governments that are exploited by the core but in turn exploit fringe states. Be. From the point of view of these scholars, Iran's backwardness should be seen as a result of the process of development in the western industrialized countries, and the political and economic domination of Britain and Russia over Iran during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and American domination after World War II impeded economic development. Iran became (Ketabi, 67: 2004).

Discourse analysis

Laclau's discourse is the most important third-generation theory or post-structuralist approach to discourse, which is now one of the most widely used discursive approaches in social and political science (Sadeghi-Fasaoui & Roozoosh, 19: 2013). Among these discourse approaches,

Laclau and Mouffe's theoretical approach is more capable of analyzing the subject of the present study. It is also more capable than any other discursive approach because it employs concepts such as articulation and how concepts are absorbed and disposed of in a discourse and the discourse developments through the disturbances created in them show well that the intellectual elements of an idea how they are formulated in a discourse and how they evolve in contrast to other discourses (Firouzabadi, 105: 2016).

The term "discourse analysis" has been translated into speech mining, word analysis, speech analysis and discourse analysis. There is, however, no clear consensus on what discourse is and how it functions and analyzes and general agreement on discourse analysis (Fazeli, 188: 2011).

From Laclau and Mouffe's point of view, "discourse" is the articulation of the set of signs that circulate around the "central sign". Discourse, although it is the product of the text, only makes sense in the social context and changes with time and place, thereby enabling the text to connect to society. Laclau and Mouffe call the consolidated relationship between the components "articulation." One or a few elements have a central role that constitutes the focus of the discourse and are referred to as "knots". The "top sign" is at the center of gravity of the discourse, and other elements and concepts are articulated around it (Ketabi, 2004: 67). According to Laclau and Mouffe, each word articulates itself in specific social, economic, and political contexts, with a new articulation of concepts, using accessible signifiers, and by establishing boundaries with competing discourses. And reconstructs its social meanings.

According to the theory of discourse, the Islamic Revolution created a structural change in Iran's domestic and foreign policy. So far, various discourses have been ruled by the Islamic Republic of Iran, and with each of them ruled, Iran's behavior and strategy on Iran's development have undergone a change, and a particular pattern of discourse has emerged in the field of economic development (Jafari, 96: 2016). With the victory of Hassan Rouhani, a new discourse called Moderation and Development Discourse was launched in the field of Iranian politics to promote Iran's dignity and development, and incorporated a liberal developmentist discourse for the development of the country. The "neoliberal modernization" is central to this discourse. The floating signs of this discourse are:

Privatization, the Keynesian economy, rationality, freedom, constructive engagement, support for international investment, moderation and moderation, development-oriented foreign policy, and a minimalist government. The central slab, then the float slab, and the set of moderation and development discourse measures to operationalize the model will be examined first.

Liberal modernization

Liberalist modernization as the central sign of the discourse of moderation and development has always taken the model of capitalist and liberal system to achieve the goals of development and modernization of underdeveloped countries. The notion of liberal modernization implies the 'complete' transformation of a traditional society into a modern society with a variety of technologies and social organization associated with it. (Khorramshad: 2015, 25) The modernization school considers development as a linear model in which societies need to follow the Western path of development (Sa'i: 2015, 45).

From the point of view of developmentist discourse, inaction with the West means underdevelopment (Khorramshad, 2014: 126). Therefore, the development of the discourse of moderation is the development of exogenous ones. Direct access to new science and technology in today's world, we cannot hope for economic, scientific, and technological prosperity in our country. And get some kind of science and technology from them. Today's world is moving towards greater exchange, unity and closeness (Rouhani, 2009: 387). Therefore, the discourse of moderation implies linear, epidemic and universal movement for development, and in this discourse there is no distinction between the semantic sciences. Rouhani: "The foundations of science are not Islamic, Christian or Jewish, they are universal science and they do not know geography. The methods are universal but the goals are different" (Rouhani: 2014).

Liberal modernization is at the center of the gravity of the discourse of moderation for the development of the country. Moderation argues that domestic development is conducive to

creating a non-disruptive environment in its foreign relations and taking full advantage of global opportunities, including advanced technology, financial and international opportunities. Rouhani believes: "There is a close relationship between economic development and political stability. It means starting a dialogue and having a friendly relationship with the outside world. A sustainable international relationship provides the basis for economic development (Ghanbari, 2016: 195). The strategy is to work with the European Union and the West Asian countries to become one of their sources of gas, utilize the country's transit position and increase engagement for Iranian production marketing and open strategy (export development) as a result of these strategies. It will expand exports and transfer the knowledge, technology and skills needed for development domestically (Rouhani, 2009: 785).

The Neo-Keynesian economy

The Neo-Keynesian economic model is one of the hallmarks of this discourse. According to this discourse, for the favorable economic development of Iran, the theory of the Institutionalists and Keynesian schools is more appropriate (Rouhani, 2009: 788). Thus, the pattern of institutionalist development rests on the rule of law in society, especially between elites and the control of power. Power control means controlling violence and preventing rent-seeking from monopolies and removing barriers to competitive space. Good governance is a concept that the institutionalists and the Keynesians consider essential in implementing the development model (Kamali, 2009: 2). It is clear from his speeches, statements and writings that he is in favor of a neoliberal economy. That is, the government should act as a clearinghouse for economic growth and development and prepare the space for economic and economic development and thus engage with the world, attracting international capital and technology (Ghanbari, 195: 2016).

Privatization

Another sign of the floating discourse is the moderation of privatization, namely the sale of public property, especially industrial capital to private investors.

Privatization comes first through structural reforms such as: strengthening the banking system, optimizing the tax system, reinforcing good governance, recognizing and preserving the neglected advantages in the energy sector to attract domestic capital (Rouhani, 2009: 393).

Thus, the emphasis is on the link between university and industry and the importance of innovation in improving industrial and economic issues, implying technocracy, and criticizing the government's broad involvement in the economy and not engaging the private sector in interactions and processes, not focusing the government on its specific tasks and criticisms. Importance policies of previous governments and emphasis on export development are the concepts of this discourse (Rezaei Panah, 2011: 121).

Rationalism

In moderation, interacting with the world requires rationalization and cost-benefit calculation on various topics, in fact a discourse of moderation rather than slogans and excitement seeking to maximize the benefits and minimize costs based on win-win and effort. To find a principled and balanced solution to the deadlock with the Western world (Firoozabad, 2011: 111). Rouhani: "The world must be reasoned with reason, with reason, with national interest and step by step" (Rouhani, 2010: 50).

Therefore, the strategy of discourse of moderation in this field, the principle of rationality and moderation, and the avoidance of any excesses based on the scientific principles and principles of moderation in political strategy and international relations, especially in the process of globalization of the country, must always be considered in theory and practice. It is necessary to emphasize it and to maximize the participation and benefit of domestic and foreign elites, thinkers and thinkers with moderation perspectives facilitating the system's development goals and global competitiveness (Hajjiani, 2013: 269).

The freedom

Another element that is prominent in the discourse of moderation is freedom. Rouhani: “I emphasize, ending the country’s security space”; “National power will be the time when we give freedom to all people, freedom of expression can create national power for us ...” The “security space” is centered on the constellation, permitting the absence of freedom and highlighting the issue of security and survival relative to its transcendental concepts (Rezaei Panah, 2016: 133).

Interaction

Constructive interaction as another sign of this discourse can be defined as concepts such as peaceful coexistence, deterioration, trust building, mutual respect, mutual interest and understanding (Firouz Abadi, 2012: 109). in terms of the discourse of moderation in foreign policy. It means the right way to deal with the world, thereby reducing the threat to profit. Rouhani “We are a country that wants to develop and then we must know that there are rules, norms, international custom and structures in the world. Confrontation, conflict, bickering, strife, persistent disagreement cannot be reached, and so an intermediate path is needed. The way we measure shadows, advice, wisdom and is achievable plan “(Rouhani, 2011: 49).

Moderation discourse, while rejecting the previous government’s aggressive policy, on principles such as avoiding tension, rationality, confidence-building, presenting a positive image of Iran, active diplomacy, and striving to improve relations with various countries, especially neighboring countries, in negotiations with Europe in a framework of mutual respect. Is (Ghanbari, 2016: 187). Therefore, the most important strategy of moderation in this field is the strategy of effective and productive interaction and deterrence with the international system based on the accepted principle of dignity, wisdom and expediency of providing Iran’s interests in foreign relations and engaging with international communities. International is for development (Hajjiani, 2013: 269).

Supporting foreign investment

Another sign of floating discourse of moderation is the protection of international capital. One of the main drivers of development is the development of international aid and capital. Linking the World Wide Web to the development market is, however, the development of world trade is an achievement that benefits both large industrialized and developing countries, meaning that there is no conflict of interest whatsoever with global trade. Broadened, the issue of employment and income in third world countries is also increasing. The experience of high-growth countries, such as Southeast Asian economies, is an example of repeated European development (Khorramshad, 2015: 138). Iran’s moderation is moderately scientific, technological and industrial in its discourse, and in today’s world if we cannot continually access new sciences and technologies, we cannot achieve economic, scientific and technological prosperity. We have high hopes in our country and it has been proven in today’s world that developing countries with good planning and planning can have a good relationship with the industrialized and advanced world and adopt and adopt their science and technology (Rouhani: 2011: 46). Rouhani: “Economic movement requires a good environment, and over the past years no country or company that has worked with or invested in Iran has regretted it. There are many investment opportunities in Iran, including in the fields of energy, railways, banking and insurance, tourism, research and technology” (Hassan Rouhani, 2017). So moderation discourse strategy to support international investment, make changes Essential in legal-political structures and indigenous traditions for integrating into the world system to find Iran’s place in the international structure based on its relative advantages and in this approach, a European-oriented narrative of development is adopted (Majid Zadeh, 2013: 230).

Moderation

Another sign of the discourse of moderation is moderation in the sense of moderation and avoidance of extremism or extremism ... Rouhani says: “Islamic and Shiite thought is based on justice and moderation. Moderation is both a method and a way. Moderation is both a path and a destination. Moderation without rationality is distance. No slogan, no science, no use of human

experience, no transformation, no stability, no idealism, no realism, no morals, no morals, no freedom." Moderation discourse, fundamentalist social-political flow It has a specific development strategy that seeks balance and balance in its disciplinary elements, so that "in the Islamic system, society is both justly governed, developed, spiritual, and seeks to develop an advanced society (Mahmoudkhani, 2015: 14). In this discourse, the emphasis on republicanism alongside Islam is one of the most prominent features, While increasing the role of nationality and Iran in the national identity of Iran, there is no conflict between Iran and Islam. (Amirian Panah, 2012: 105) The strategy of moderation discourse in this regard is the centrality of the law and the avoidance of tastes and extremes is the most important basis for moving on the path of globalization (development) (Qayum, 2013: 270).

Development-oriented foreign policy

From the point of view of the discourse of moderation of foreign policy, having a full understanding of the opportunities and opportunities can be well used to achieve those goals. Handicraft is to critique and exploit opportunities for the country by recognizing the region and the world and by calculating the power and status we have. Therefore, it is a development-oriented government that can take advantage of all kinds of opportunities for comprehensive development of the country. Essentially, development-oriented foreign policy should provide opportunities for other sectors (Rouhani, 2011: 53). Moderation discourse focuses primarily on economics, saving the country's economy, and constructive engagement aimed at securing mutual benefits with the world economy by disenfranchising Iran. In the international system, the normalization and improvement of relations with non-hostile countries and the elimination of international sanctions has, in a word, been termed "economic-oriented foreign policy". From Rouhani's point of view, constructive engagement based on mutual respect and common interests and on equal footing will form the basis of Iran's relations with other countries. And it has pursued its foreign policy goals of lifting unnecessary sanctions and restoring Iran's economic interactions with the Western world in a normalizing and constructive way (Firouz Abadi, 2014: 11).

Détente with the EU

One of the main goals of the Rouhani government was to normalize relations with Western countries and to free Iran's economy from international sanctions. Relations between Iran and Europe have changed with Rouhani's emergence from the new foundations of Iranian foreign policy, such as an emphasis on active foreign policy and constructive engagement and foreign policy to serve national interests and deterioration. European encountered (Sana'i, 2015: 14). Rouhani gives particular credence to European countries. Because Europeans are taking a softer stance on issues related to Iran than the United States, it can be used in the interests of the nation and to divide US-European relations.

Europe seeks to create a multilateral system in the world, and thus Iran's strategic position and political and cultural influence in the region and its wider energy interests will create a positive future for both parties. Iran's geographical location and Iran's importance and economic importance in two dimensions of access to domestic markets as well as energy supply for Europe and its role in securing the Persian Gulf, Iran's importance in the Middle East peace process and its political influence in the region and Iran's important role in Ensuring peace and stability in Afghanistan and Iraq and significant influence in the Central Asian and Caucasian region are important components that enhance Iran's position in the European Union. On the other hand, Iran can use the EU as a counterweight to US pressure and be effective in moderating the US extremist approach to Iran. The use of the EU's economic capabilities, the use of European influence in international organizations and organizations, and the attraction of European capital and foreign technology and technology are among the reasons for the Rouhani government with the EU (Sana'i, 2015: 15).

Direct negotiations with the US

Until 2007, the positions of the United States, the European Union and Israel were almost identical with Iran, and, while clearly emphasizing military action and threats, openly and covertly

exerted all efforts to operationalize and sanction Iran. They would take it. Rouhani's victory has given power to a coalition of reformist-reformists and changed Iran's nuclear policy, and consequently, the collision of regional and international actors. "We believe diplomacy is the best way to achieve a comprehensive and comprehensive solution to serious international concerns," the US envoy to the Iranian Sanctions Committee on the Security Council said. We must embrace constructive signals that can engage Iran in a genuine and serious interaction with the international community. If Iran chooses to do so, then it will be interested in America. "The discourse was moderation.

In dealing with America, Rouhani, while emphasizing constructive engagement with the world, sought to adopt a realistic approach in the shadow of idealism. "Opening a new page in US-Iran relations and changing the status quo in the shadow of mutual cooperation and mutual respect and mutual interest and promoting a level of friendship more than anything else" has been one of the main lines of Rouhani's discourse against America (Khlili: 2013). In this regard, neutralizing US leverage was important in managing the economic relations of countries and multilateral institutions with Iran. In the Eleventh administration, direct negotiations with the United States were on the agenda to break the international consensus against Iran (Firouzabadi, 2014: 43), so he had a phone call with Barack Obama two months after the start of Rouhani's presidency. They were the first presidents of the two countries to speak directly after the revolution. Over the next two years, Rouhani and Obama sparked a relative improvement in US-Iranian relations that led to a resolution of the Iranian nuclear issue and a significant improvement in its international credibility (Rahimi, 2016: 175).

Expanding relationship with neighbors

The most important indicators of moderation discourse include axes such as avoidance of tension, rationality and tact, improving Iran's image and prestige in the world, active and dynamic diplomacy, efforts to balance and improve relations with world countries, especially neighboring countries (anari: 2016, 50).

In this regard, the discourse of moderation has sought to present a rational picture of Iranian foreign policy at the regional and international levels. Iran's relationship with many regional and trans-regional countries improved. Iran's relationship with many countries in the previous government worsened due to the aggressive foreign policy of Iran. The discourse of moderation and development has placed only the national interest at the forefront of its foreign policy and seeks to avoid conflict on ideological issues. Iran's foreign policy during this period has been trying to get through security. Security is a process in which one country is introduced as a threat rather than a demographic, political, cultural and economic phenomenon, and such a country is internationally recognized as a threat and other countries are struggling. Interact with it at least. In such an atmosphere of moderation and development discourse one of the principles of his foreign policy put forward a comprehensive effort to abolish the plan (Rahimi, 2016: 9).

Abolition and lifting of international sanctions

Following Iran's nuclear case, Iran and the IAEA negotiations did not yield a positive result and Iran resumed suspended nuclear activities. The Iranian case was referred to the Security Council and resolutions 2, 3, and 3 were passed against Iran. The imposition of these sanctions has severely disrupted Iran in the regional and global arena, most notably in economic and financial terms. With the triumph of the discourse of moderation, the ground for the continuation of constructive negotiations with the western parties was opened, eventually leading to the conclusion of a new era for Iran (Khabiri, 2016, 95).

The discourse of moderation set the main goals of its foreign policy on lifting cruel sanctions and restoring economic interaction with the Western world. In this regard, undoing the leverage of the US and its allies was crucial in managing the economic relations of the multilateral countries and institutions with Iran. For this reason, in the context of its strategic policies, the Eleventh Government, in order to break the international consensus against Iran, also initiated direct negotiations with the United States alongside serious and purposeful discussions with the 5 + 1. The talks resulted in the first interim nuclear deal of the year, and finally the Vienna Agreement (July), and the achievements of that understanding include recognizing Iran's right to enrich Iran,

maintaining nuclear gains, lifting sanctions. Nuclear technology and the beginning of a new era of constructive cooperation and interaction between Iran and the world (Firouz Abadi, 2015: 38).

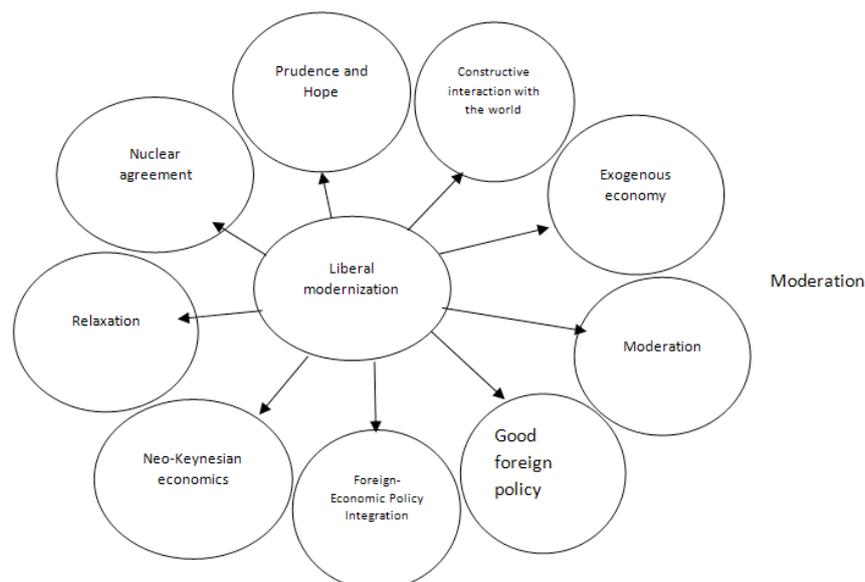
In order to put its development idea into practice, it has played an important role. In their view, they considered the prospect of normalizing foreign policy, promoting Iran's international standing, lifting sanctions and opening up the domestic economy, attracting foreign investment, stabilizing domestic policies and most importantly ending the long-running nuclear dispute. The Rouhani government has relied heavily on domestic criticism of Burjam, but has left the United States on the brink of being left out of it. The reversal of US sanctions and reshuffling has made Burjam a strong and effective signifier of its discourse and weakening its hegemony.

Cooperation with regional and international organizations

In this discourse, the government avoids any aggression on the current structures of the international system, including international organizations or institutions, or on conventional rules, but attempts to reform the infrastructure of such a system by adopting a deliberate and expedient approach. Introduce the current system by associating with others and using legal instruments such as the comprehensive development of relationships with major actors, multilateralism and the soft confrontation with hegemony. (MahmoudKhani, 2016: 33).

In its foreign policy, the Eleventh Government has sought to adhere to specific norms, for example, on Iran's nuclear policy, or, for example, to establish and enforce these norms through constructive negotiation and diplomacy with the world. . Moderate discourse, based on the patterns of friendship and hostility existing at the international level, emphasized the expansion of interactions and the creation of patterns of friendship with all members of the international system, especially Western members of the international system, and the West (US and Europe). It was regarded as the centers of power and wealth in the world and adopted a policy of engagement with the West instead of Third Worldism in order to develop and secure national interests. Considering the international system as a US-led monopoly system, this discourse seeks to pursue a policy of friendship rather than hostility to the superpower (win-win policy) in interactions with the outside world, and especially with it is hegemon (Rasooli Thani Abadi, 2015).

Figura 1. Moderation



Conclusion

From 2013 onwards in the field of Iranian power, the discourse of moderation and development became the dominant hegemon. This discourse, while marginalizing rival discourse, provided a new model for Iran's development with a central sign of liberal modernization. A

model that always considers the capitalist and liberal system to achieve the goals and program of development and modernization of underdeveloped countries. Floating points in this discourse are: 1- The Newcastle economy in which the government acts as a smoothing path for economic growth and development, seeing the space for economicization and economicization and thus interacting with the world, attracting capital and technology International organizations. 2. Privatization means the downsizing of the public sector, the transfer of the economy to the people, and the supervisory and supportive and political duties of the government. 3. Rationality and rationality: That is, in interacting with the world we need rationality and cost-benefit calculations on various topics. 4. Freedom means to move the country in a non-secure way to manage the affairs of the country in economic, social, political and cultural spheres. 5. Constructive interaction means peaceful coexistence, de-escalation, trust building, mutual respect, mutual benefits and understanding. 6. Development-oriented foreign policy means economics-oriented foreign policy and interaction with countries and institutions influencing the global economy, expanding export markets for goods and services, and attracting foreign capital, technology and knowledge. 7. Minimal state, that is, a responsive state, a participatory, development-oriented, pluralistic and facilitative state with minimal interference and tenure in the private sector. So in this democratic system, neither the government nor the government should consider itself the guardian of the people. Moderation discourse has taken steps to de-escalate the pattern with the EU, negotiate directly with the US in the form of a deterrence strategy, expand neighborly relations, conclude and lift international sanctions, work with regional and international organizations, and the fight against extremism and Islamic violence is raging. This discourse tied the successes of his policies to Brjam, which, with the departure of the United States, made Brjam a strong sign of the state's Achilles' heel. The discourse, which is now facing a great deal of turmoil, is taking various steps to reduce relative disadvantages while simultaneously working with other parties in order to optimize relative foreign policy by optimizing its foreign policy. . On the whole, it is a spiritual view of exogenous development.

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