

## **Political Discourse and Political Economy in Iran with Emphasis on the Characteristics of the Political Discourse after the Iran-Iraq War (Fifth and Sixth Governments of the Islamic Republic of Iran)**

<sup>1</sup>Vahid Khashei Varnam Khasti and <sup>2</sup>Seyed Mohammad Mansour Pourmowlla

<sup>1</sup>Department of Business Administration (Strategic),

<sup>2</sup>Department of Business Administration (Policy), Allameh Tabataba'i University, Tehran, Iran

**Abstract:** To find the relationship between the “political dialogue” and “economy” in the concept of “political economy”. Relations that link the economy with politics and influenced by the dozen. All micro and macro-economic strategies and policies of a country. This article focuses on the relationship between “political discourse” of the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran-Iraq war and economic strategies and trade policies and other countries with regard to the field of political economy. That as a result of the investigation concluded that the theory of Laclau and Mouffe; the effects of political discourse on the political economy of the Islamic Republic of Iran to the government after the war (Fifth and sixth governments) will prove this fact. The nodal point head of the fifth and sixth governments political discourse, freedom of tension out and in the approach of “economic restructuring”; since, the beginning of the construction coincides with the end of war and the ruins of the remaining 8 year of war and political structure of the Islamic Republic needs to interact with the outside and avoid the stress of war for compensation.

**Key words:** Political discourse, political economy, fifth and sixth governments, economic restructuring, tensions

---

### **INTRODUCTION**

No significant link between economics and politics in the form of so-called “political economy” suggests the existence of a relationship between the two is acceptable practice. Economic fluctuations such as the role on life and its influence is felt, the emergence of more specific than the political situation. For example, the head of a family, the financing costs of a family member, it is more desirable to accept or not to accept his membership in a political organization. At the macroeconomic level, too until, resolved the problem of high unemployment and high inflation, the value of political freedom does not understand well. Even in many developed countries, the political popularity is linked with the process of economic indicators. If a responsible policy to reduce inflation or unemployment in his country to increase the tendency of people to vote for him (the next elections). In other words, in this case is defined as a “function of popularity”. Economics and politics of the organization have a close relationship with each other, so that the organization uneven areas has a negative effect on other areas. Policies linked with the role of the state and citizens to resolve conflict.

The economy is tied to the system of production and exchange (one side) and rational behavior of agents (the other side) and finally, by the accumulation of wealth and the distribution of income and wealth. The production system and effectively influenced the role of government in economic rationality to resolve political conflicts and finally, the source of political power is closely related to the economic wealth accumulation and distribution (Griffiths, 2008). The first time in Iran, Ashori (1996) concept of “discourse” to be used (in his article entitled “The theory of Westernization and the Crisis of Thinking”) to name and explain the era of Iranian intellectuals. Ashori believes that Discourse Westernization (which can be seen in the intellectual discourse in the decades after the coup of August 28), “conflict is that Marxism-Leninism-with the West (“West” as world imperialism and capitalism) and its nationalism in search of identity and cultural authenticity” (Ashori, 1996).

Ashori referring to his word and the concept of “discourse” to describe and explain the Iranian part of the history of ideas, continued (in the works and words of Iranian scholars and thinkers on the subject dealt). And the term was more used to translate the ideas of “Michel

Foucault". "The root discourse can be found in the Greek verb (meaning fast-moving in different directions)" (Azdanlo, 2000). Although, this concept is primarily charged and theological meaning of the word "manifestation of language in speech or writing" is but in the other sense of "moving painting" and "practical" language, it is removed. In other words, "words and concepts that are components of language structure is not stable and in different times and places have changed their relationship and they inspire different meanings. Changes in the communications, born changing social conditions, economic, political, cultural and so on" (Azdanlo, 2000).

"Policy is not only about the things that can be said or thought about it but that is about it; who, when able to speak. Discourses embodiment of the means of social communication. Essential subjectivity and social relations is political" (Azdanlo, 2000). Understanding the relationship between political discourse and the economy, the most important key to understanding the political economy and changes in economic strategies in different time intervals.

In this study, the relationship between political discourse fifth and sixth governments (as the state after an 8 year Iran-Iraq war) to discuss the Islamic Republic's economic and trade policies. The main hypothesis of this study are as follows: the 1st hypothesis-political dialogue head of the fifth and sixth governments detente with the outside and in the approach of "economic restructuring". 2nd hypothesis fifth governments to rebuild the damage and destruction of the remainder of the 8 year war between Iran and Iraq, seeking out and interacting with international tensions.

**Literature review:** In a study entitled "decision-making in foreign policy" have come to the conclusion that the methodological options synonymous with the state government decision makers (i.e., those measures are imperative in every way, government action known) is. Government, the same people who called the government acts and therefore, the role of political orientation is very important in determining a country's political and macro-economic strategies.

In their study the factors that affect the intensity of trade in the member countries of the Islamic conference. For this purpose they used the gravity model (which is different from those of traditional gravity models) because in this study, rather than the absolute value of the transaction (the absolute value of bilateral exports or imports) was in the middle of the transaction. However, the traditional model of gravity due to the scale is determined only by calculating the total trade partner

countries. According to them such as the flow of trade between the two countries and its value is affected by the size of their economic activities and thus the difference in size of the countries according to their volume can not easily be compared with each other. To resolve this problem, use the index of trade intensity. The important feature of this index is to measure the flow of business, regardless of the size of the states parties. The results suggest that the variables having a common border, geographical distance and GDP, population, common language and participate in free trade agreements; has a significant effect on trade between pairs of countries considered.

And variables such as the area of exporting and importing countries had no significant effect on bilateral trade between pairs of countries considered. Amini and tip in a study entitled "diplomacy and economy: the pattern of relations between Iran and Europe Union 1996-2004" have come to the conclusion that economic diplomacy is a tool designed to provide maximum benefits and state and non-state actors in the globalization era. In this regard, the Islamic Republic of Iran and the composition of its internal and external elements tried to step on to the path of development and adopt the economic diplomacy as a complementary process to traditional diplomacy. The Europe Union (as a trading partner in recent years) was aimed at developing economic diplomacy of the Islamic Republic of Iran and in that time, Iran was able to choose the union of Europe as the most important economic partner.

**Theoretical framework:** The concept of dialogue: dialogue is expanding the use of theories (according to circumstances epistemological human society, the power and capacity of analysis and explanation of these theories). A wide range of complex and heavy texts and literature that this theory has been formed with in it and surrounds it, misunderstanding and ambiguity created for researchers and those interested in it before the implementation of that necessary attention and careful study of the possibilities and limitations of its content.

So, in this article we have tried briefly and with an emphasis on discourse theory "Laclau and Mouffe" define words, concepts and terminology of this theory and review its content (in addition to following the evolution and development of the theory) and explain the pillars of its elements Laclau and Mouffe point of view, discourses form our conception of reality and the world and understanding of the social and political reality of the world in general is possible only with in the discursive structures. In general, the attitude towards the dialogue, the way or ways in which meaning systems or

“discourses”, form the study is to understand the people and affect their activities. This theory emphasizes the role of language in the representation and the creation of social reality.

The theory, access to reality is possible only through language but the representation of reality through language is never pre-existing reality and objective reflection but in the open view, language plays a role in creating reality. In fact, the world is a product of discourse. However, this theory does not deny the existence of truth but that means objects and phenomena found only through dialogue. Identities and social relations are the product of language and discourse and changed the discourse, will bring social change in the world. Also, the conflict discourse leads to a change in the reproduction of social reality. This theory also emphasizes the social and historical identity of human knowledge.

## **MATERIALS AND METHODS**

This study combines both historical and descriptive research method. “Descriptive method” deals with the relationships between variables, testing hypotheses, develop concepts and general laws, principles and theories that have universal validity. Such research focuses on functional relationships.

It is expected that if the variable x is systematically related to the variable y, may be possible to predict the phenomenon and the results may suggest a new hypothesis that should be tested. Unlike experimental design, achieved in the implementation of the research, not manipulated variables or to the occurrence of events, conditions intact. In fact, if you did not make any observation or analytical, observing and describing events that are happening fell. Descriptive study events that have occurred that may be linked to the present time. In fact, as a 1st step; by collecting historical information and first-hand documentary sources and their arts together, researchers will describe the concept of “dialogue”, “political discourse” and foreign policy discourse in the Islamic Republic of Iran and examined all the various factors that affect it and finally to analyze and explain what will be happening (with sources and historical documents).

**Articulation:** Every action that communicate between scattered elements (can be modified in such a way that the identity and meaning of these elements as a result of the operation) (Laclau and Mouffe, 2001). In other words, discourses form a set of signifiers (each linked to a meaningful manner with particular order) and their

location on a central and key evidence and hence, the conception and our understanding of themselves as the reality and the world. Therefore, the meaning and understanding of reality is always relative discourse.

**“Nodal point”:** That Laclau and Mouffe, it will have to borrow from capital point de. The dialogue is a sign that order are signs around it and form the core of the dialogue system. The core attractions such as magnetic, other symptoms with a particular disorder are unique and different from other discourses it meaning.

**“Identities”:** To create dialogue and the formation of identity discourse precedes identity formation (Smith, 1998). The identity of the discourse (or in other words, situations in which the discourses are awarded to the individual or group) (Jurgensen and Phillips, 2002). Hence, Laclau and Mouffe, like Foucault, the negation of the irre-dialogue features of the subject and do not accept the role of rationalism and empiricism which gives to man. These are not subject to rational, transparent and self-consciousness that is the origin of social relations and constructive social institutions and forms.

Political discourse of governments after the war (Rafsanjani) and its impact on economic policies. The need for reconstruction and development in conflict areas, he urged Iran to adopt cooperative policies with other countries. “Providing financial costs of reconstruction of the increase in oil revenues. This is in addition to the restructuring of industries and oil installations was possible by improving relations with oil-producing countries as well as increase the level of cooperation with foreign countries in the currency of the resources”. Thus, Iran’s development needs (reconstruction and construction) and require changes in goals and approaches to foreign policy to come through, needs first and second foreign country (with the world). The internal factors cause a change in Iran’s policy direction and Iran’s foreign policy in dealing with the problems of war to adopt a pragmatic approach to trying to put a balance on the principles of Islamic fundamentalism (Iran’s foreign policy to the principles and purposes enshrined in the constitution, including the principles of dignity, wisdom and interest) and the needs of development. “This suggests the beginning of the tensions in Iran’s foreign policy. While realists revolution a year of detente began in the revolutionary dreamers were in competition with excellence. Unlike revolutionary idealism (in the first decade of the revolution, the prevalence of ideological positions on foreign policy were following economic considerations), tried to establish a balance between the two. In other words, the Islamic Republic of Iran to

resolve the problems and issues faced its foreign policy with three important facts. First, due to the fact that the international system operates on the basis of mutual dependence. Thus, Iran lacks the necessary power to change the status and can not be outside the existing international structures, to carry out an effective operation. Second, Iran's deep economic problems waking up in the post war period. Accordingly decided to carry out an effective and comprehensive reform of the economic system and its administration. The third case should require the use of foreign aid in economic recovery and bring order to the myriad of problems for Iran.

## **RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

In this regard, efforts to face economic, military weakness and lack of financial investment in structural terms is considered poor. While the path, the principles and objectives of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic interpretations, commentaries and readings followed was a realistic revolutionary as it was at the top of Iran's foreign policy. The tensions in the relations between the countries were minimize, seeks to "balance" in foreign policy that the important principles that balance the needs of Iran. The initial results of this policy, adjusting the international environment is directed against Iran, the Islamic Republic of Iran's foreign policy objectives and compatible international environment, this time coincides with structural changes in the international system.

By the end of the cold war, the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the bipolar system and the time of the formation of the "doctrine of the new world order" (Yaghobi, 2010). The government intends to build infrastructure great Islamic civilization, so clearly the long-term strategic objective to be pursued in the field of economy, export development strategy is only achievable in the light of multilateral strategy, so foreign policy during reconstruction efforts to achieve these objectives, to improve, expand and deepen mental world and regional organizations, international and global. In this context, the international system of structural changes were considerably greater. In foreign policy, during construction, multi-sided conception strategy for export development strategy was seriously considered. Iran through active participation in the development of bilateral and regional cooperation in meeting the needs of their development (in line with the development strategy of export) and both of them are against the policy of containing Iran and unilateralism used. Thereby also increasing international influence also benefit from the leverage and bargaining power. The pragmatic

government reconstruction efforts so that not so much on principles and positions so that the needs of the development of the Iranian revolution shakes the risk is not so much to supply Iran's national interests and economic needs to realize it thinks that the forced to deviate from the principles and goals of the Islamic Revolution (Islamic fundamentalism). During this period, in the beginning of the presidency of head of the sixth governments, claiming it had to change its foreign policy to bring to the detente and dialogue with the world". "The policy of detente in the period, on the assumption that Iran is very sensitive to the historical situation and with a history of thousands of year of civilization have (as a player in regional and global), gained his rightful place in history. Policy tensions through dialogue, realistic view of the conflict in the world can provide the national interests at different levels of cultural and economic". Westerners as the start of a period was moderate and local analysts as pragmatism (pragmatism) in Iran's Foreign Policy". In the years after his presidency, Rafsanjani said in a television interview "In the course of efforts that countries that do not hostility, conflict, tension and hostility is not done. The new enemies not Iran and the open-door policy was announced and was trying to expand relations with all the countries with whom we have a problem".

Elsewhere, head of the sixth governments of the Islamic Republic of Iran says: "when the war finished we decided to solve the problems of the rest of the war and revolution, as we said, we want relaxation and do not want to be creating enemies, we have seen in the world is depending on us. If you wanted credit, respectively. If you wanted to finance, respectively. Places like the United States that we did not want to work with them. If Europe does the same thing that we lose with the United States, accepted. We are not closed to the world. We did not score. I do not see the case for what we want and they tell that we provided. We've always had that condition" (Zibakalam and Etefagh, 2008).

During this period, particularly in the first 4 year of the presidency of Rafsanjani 8 year, we have seen economic ties with the United States are the Islamic Republic. And the country became known as the partner country with the highest economic relations with Iran. In relations with Arabic countries in the region and was trying to improve relations.

Negotiations contacts with Iraq and the occupied territories was the end of the war, Saddam was between Rafsanjani and correspondence. Researchers can finally say "understanding the political leaders of Iran during the 8 year presidency of head of the fifth and sixth governments of Iran, more geopolitical than

ideological. For this reason, the efforts of a wide range of flexible and orientation was deemed realistic. Iran's political isolation during the war with Iraq was imposed on him, come and a powerful Islamic Iran was held the attention of the international system" (Ehteshami, 1998). "At this point, the foreign policy of reconciliation and coexistence patterns changed and living in the shadow of effort was put relations with other nations. In an effort to encourage foreign investment and loans from the World Bank, trade liberalization and economic cooperation with developed countries was considered. Considering the authorities to issue, offer and sale of oil abroad in the wake of falling oil prices, the acquisition of advanced technologies, providing essential goods, social welfare and regional peace and security caused, a modernization of its foreign policy and the revised model of revolution be achieved".

America agreed to release 567 million dollars of frozen assets blocked in the United States, ready to pay compensation to the families of the passengers martyr America avalanches crashed Airbus, declared neutrality in the Persian Gulf War (though some idealists Iran's radical support for Saddam Hussein as Khaled Bin Walid aggression against America had). Iran allows UN inspectors to investigate the human rights situation in Iran and the critical talks between Iran and the Europe Union was a sign of this modernization. Head of the fifth and sixth governments, focused on removing economic sanctions the West, to reduce international pressure, remove the destruction caused by the war with Iraq and reduce internal social and political conflicts and in order to restore Iran's regional position and shift the balance in favor of the Islamic Republic was the emphasis on the role of high and rising regional influence. Therefore, realism, pragmatism and realistic foreign policy of head of the fifth and sixth governments advice can be found at three levels "in the domestic arena, lead free open economy and outsourcing of economic activities by the government, political stability, social welfare and national solidarity effort were the rulers. In the region, the emergence of Central Asia and the Caucasus in the wake of the Soviet collapse, however, in seeking to balance security and economic interests in South America meet and to prevent the spread of influence in Central Asia and the Caucasus to cooperate with Moscow deal foreign policy of the Islamic Revolution issue somewhat blurred.

International integration in the world economic system through the adoption of recommendations of IMF was among the policies of Iran. At this point, the construction of Iran's foreign policy was based on the principles of dignity, wisdom and expediency. Cautious empiricism to internal security, border stability, deal with

separatist tendencies and possible conspiracies potential adversaries creating spheres of influence possible, maintain regional power Iran and away from traditional competitors were considered serious. Iran and the transition from idealism as the census realistic foreign policy led to the rulers of the Islamic Republic ignored some old strategies (in spite of international structural changes) and their top priority "policy of balance between big powers use political and economic revolutions, the European powers and the US and Asia-based diplomacy" against the expansion of economic co-operation partners and parties, adopted a policy of diversification of sources foreign investment, cooperative and multilateral diplomacy-oriented tools in international organizations, reformist and moderate approach toward the international system, conflict resolution and the promotion of bilateral economic cooperation-oriented (with the Arabic countries of Central Asia and Caucasus) and multilateral oriented (in echo and OPEC). In fact, during this period, the dialogue had influence on foreign policy. The discourse of "realism" based on the emphasis on "economic welfare state" or in other words seeking interest in policy and practice in the conduct of foreign policy in the latter can be considered (according to national interests and profile regional and refrain from inciting others in the policy of "detente"). "This is a central element in the formulation and implementation of foreign policy realism discourse constituted in compliance with Islamic values" (Azghandi, 1998).

Other features of this period is that the "politics of reconstruction of war damage, prioritize and consequently, to attract foreign investment in Iran's foreign policy priorities as well as modern manifestations of political culture". Interestingly, in establishing and building up the discourse of political and revolutionary elements and characteristics of Islamic thought or discourse on "Islamic idealism" is Islam emphasizes pragmatism on the fact that "the interest of Islam and Muslims and the preservation of the Islamic Republic is the center of the Islamic world" (Dehghani and Radfar, 2004). In this discourse as the discourse of idealism (the interests of the Muslim world has always been a priority of Iran's national interests and preferences" (Dehghani and Radfar, 2004).

But differentiation in a point lying in the preservation of the Islamic Republic of Iran "because you keep the Islamic Republic of Iran precedence over any interests not only of people but of all the Islamic countries is necessary. "On the first anniversary of the Islamic Revolution, Imam Khomeini in a message that speaks "we export our revolution to the whole world since the Islamic revolution and the Prophet Muhammad did

Table 1: The main partners of European trade with the Islamic Republic of Iran (millions of dollars)

Description (exports to Iran)	1989		1996		
	Imports from Iran	Total	Exports to Iran	Imports from Iran	Total
4077	371	4448	4077	496	4096
1838	3880	6728	1838	4186	6048
1983	2370	4353	1983	2441	3938
671	2858	3529	671	-	2339
337	1979	2316	337	1519	1955
19	1814	1833	19	1989	1999
629	112	741	629	-	674
439	133	572	439	195	593
368	139	617	368	-	567
388	116	504	388	-	358
11191	14126	25317	11191	13400	23500

not resonate in the world is struggling and to fight against arrogant is anywhere in the world, we are". The 20 year after Mr. Khamenei's speech, said: "the enemy that says the rebels are issued by mistake and this is a double mistake. Their first mistake is that, firstly, Islamic Republic is seeking to export nothing... The second mistake is thinking the message of freedom and awakening, no need to export ... The Iranian government know today is the greatest effort and Jihad, the Islamic Iran Abad known and blessings be uncovered. Life in the country is the envy of other nations and learn (Table 1).

Rafsanjani also means exporting the revolution means that: same way and a model of an Islamic country in the world to and what difference we are looking for, independence, economic, scientific, technical and technology. "Although, at the same time, "Rafsanjani" in sermons Friday Prayers said: "our revolution aimed at awakening the Muslim world and the fruition of all liberation movements that are based on Islam to fight, until the end of their support".

As can be seen, speaking of revolutionary and Islamic values are promoted throughout the world but unlike the utopian idea that the fight against the tyranny of the dominant powers of the world (such as America, the former Soviet Union, Israel, etc.) and call for the destruction of their recommendations.

In view of pragmatism can be another tool to export the revolution (i.e., "saving the system", "development" and "progress"). In other words, realism head of the sixth governments ruler of the state, the same idealism that took interest and wants to survive in today's world and the new world order and the protection of the Islamic Republic continues because of dealing with global and regional great powers and the dominant ideals and slogans of the Islamic Revolution and pressures, sanctions and even military strikes them understand that, we must first stay, the establishment of stability and security to be found so as to issuing his own values. At this time of the creation of a new Islamic civilization (as the cause) named.

"Rafsanjani" at this time "The Islamic civilization has the potential to return to the glorious days of the past, the impact on the global developments prove once again." Perhaps head of the fifth and sixth governments, Iran's foreign policy is based on idealism realism "or a realistic idealism". "The original idea of the ideals and ethical and doctrinal knowledge of the situation, circumstances, situations and events of international flexibility mechanisms to achieve the goals and ideals looking to establish a fair system of international promises testament the revival of religious thinking, creating a flow of pure thought through the ideals and realities of coping with long-sighted vision and macro perspective. President head of the sixth governments is trying to Iran's relations with European countries is not improved or have a seizure. "Iran's relations with third countries and three poles of Europe, (France, Germany and the United Kingdom) was the relative improvement. Especially among the three countries, Iran's relations with France and England during the war had turned very cold and challenges" (Ahmadi, 1999).

A sign of improving relations, it can be noted that the European countries, especially Germany business delegation to Iran. "Diplomatic relations between Iran and Germany is so strong that, in the year 1990-1995, >300 staff, political, economic, cultural, judicial and parliamentary Iranian and German at different levels were exchanged between the two countries (which included almost half of cabinets of ministers of Iran and Germany). If, Germany and Iran, after the revolution, for the first time created a joint committees in the fields of economic, environmental, cultural and parliamentary transport. Trade volume between the two countries reached an unprecedented number (around 15 billion marks). In all meetings of the leaders of the industrialized countries in this period, Germany rejected a resolution against Iran (which was proposed by the United States) or tried more gentle tone. During the period of the external debt crisis suffered, in particular, in 1373 the country suffered the most severe economic crisis since the Islamic Revolution

was international. Germany with the timing of this program, took on debt to pay billions of Tehran. Also, in December 1992, EU leaders meeting in Edinburgh Europe in a statement, expressed willingness to talk to Iran and urges the parties to the negotiations were critical. This process began with the desire of Iran, during which a total of seven rounds of talks, critical (from August to December 1995) was performed, in addition to critical aspects, including the aspects of cooperation. The talks between Iran and the Europe Union was doing. ("Challenges ahead in Europe's relations with the EU: the need to process new patterns", 2003). Table 1 specifies the imports and exports between Iran and the European countries in the period 1989 and 1996.

Table 1 indicates two facts; first, the ubiquity of Germany (the most important economic partner of Iran) both before and after the revolution (especially as an importer of commodities and goods to Iran) and second, reduce trade transactions between Iran and European countries of 25,317 dollars to 23,500 million. This reduction, just to show the effects of policy challenges and opposition to the Islamic Republic in the international influential powers in the international arena.

## CONCLUSION

According to what the research is about the concept of dialogue was written, two fundamental points must be considered in the application of this concept: first, if the phrase "Karl Marx" that "men make their own history but not as they like they do not make history under the terms of the request but under the conditions that have to do directly in front of them and transferred them from the past". The criteria for understanding the dialogue in a society and the role of actors (Illuminati) in the creation of this concept researchers can reach better understanding of the relationship between the two. "Discourse" every generation of political thought and society in a certain period, reflecting a sense of community needs, demands and logical reaction against the social reality and the world around it but intellectuals play a role in the completion of further strengthening and transfer it to the community. The discourse and "carriers and theorist of the discourse," a dialectical relationship is established. They are nourished by the dominant discourse but by the same person can be completed strengthen dialogue and change.

The second would be a historic period of retailer dialogue and discourse other than the dominant discourse on a specified time interval, cited but if you look carefully at the retail discourse researchers can see that they are in conflict with each other in a series of principles and parameters. But the fundamental things with the same

funds. For example, if the first year after the coup of August 28 in Iran and the cultural and political climate of the time researchers think by observing the dialogue that was promoted by the monarchy in contrast to the views of the Iranian intellectual discourse based on concepts such as "westernization", "return to yourself", "emphasis on national identity and religion", "anti-capitalists and imperialists of the West" and it would be can be seen, despite the conflict between the king and the intellectuals have a common point of view on issues such as national identity against aliens emphasis on self-cultural originality.

Although, the monarchy has the best relations with the West, particularly America and related technical and support of the regime, calling for imitation and various economic and social projects. The style of western development but the Shah always "Iran's independence", "coping with the demands of the West on Iran's undisputed", "focus on the identification of ancient Persia," "the gates of a great civilization" and ... speaking and in many cases humiliated the West. Even institutions like the Pahlavi regime "Farah Foundation", "Imperial Forums Philosophy" in order to revive the traditions of philosophical thought and Iran's National Iranian intellectuals established and many of them deal with the elaborated concepts (such as "return to self" and "nativist in thinking") given these two facts researchers can say that "intellectual debate" over a historical period of the natural outcome of that era and can be discourses of the retailer under their and points of differentiation rejected and large common areas and in the end their control over the minds and thoughts of the elite and the general strong.

So, researchers can say that if the theory Laclau and Mouffe, the effects of political discourse on the political economy of the Islamic Republic of head of the sixth governments to explain our analysis, the central part of the political discourse head of the sixth governments stresses freedom a broad and in the approach of "economic restructuring". Construction's government coincided with the end of war and the ruins were the remains of 8 year war. Providing the relaxed atmosphere after the war, there are issues with other countries, the abolition of some of the sanctions against Iran, the release of many, reducing the rate of population growth and the most important issues of the state of Iranian society at the time. Similarly, the position requires a fundamental restructuring of the economy was an issue; consensus of economic experts. In such circumstances was the first program of economic development and from the beginning was accompanied by economic restructuring policies; so that, the implementation of economic restructuring policies, the

program was first developed. Political economy in the government after the Iran-Iraq war more than anything head of the sixth governments of Iran was influenced by political discourse.

#### REFERENCES

- Ahmadi, H., 1999. Iran and Great Britain. Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Tehran, Iran.
- Ashori, D., 1996. We and Modernity. Press Path, Aldershot, England.
- Azdanlo, H., 2000. Discourse and Society. Nashr Nay, Tehran, Iran.
- Azghandi, A., 1998. Orientation in Foreign Policy of Iran. Ghomes, Tehran, Iran.
- Dehghani, F.J. and F. Radfar, 2004. Patterns of Revolution in Foreign Policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran. Imam Sadiq University, Tehran, Iran.
- Ehteshami, A., 1998. Iran's foreign policy in the era of reconstruction. Islamic Revolution Documents Center, Tehran, Iran.
- Griffiths, M., 2008. Encyclopedia of International Relations and World Politics. Nashr Nay, Tehran, Iran.
- Jurgensen, M. and Phillips, 2002. Discourse Analysis. SAGE Publications, London, England.
- Laclau, E. and C. Mouffe, 2001. Hegemony and Socialist Strategy. Verso, London, England, ISBN:1-85984-330-1, Pages: 205.
- Smith, A.M., 1998. Laclau and Mouffe. Routledge, Abingdon, England.
- Yaghobi, S., 2010. The Islamic Republics foreign policy during construction. Islamic Revolution Document Center, Iran.
- Zibakalam, S. and F. Etefagh, 2008. Hashemi no Touch. Schiffer Publishing, Tehran, Iran.