Iran's Tactical Deterrence During the Holy Defense

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Abstract

Tactical deterrence was one of the main bases of Iran's defense strategy during the war. Iran used mechanisms of tactical action, optimization of human resources, and maximization of instrumental capabilities to counter enemy threats. The formation of the Iraq-Iran war in September 1980 indicated that revolutionary countries were more exposed to regional and international conflicts than any other political entity. The present study aimed to analyze tactical deterrence, which has social, tactical, and practical indicators and signs. Iran tried to create the necessary field for optimizing the power equation. The primary basis of Iran's tactical deterrence in the war was: arms purchases, diversification of instrumental power sources, and cooperation with marginal actors.

Therefore, the imposed war process has been a structural reaction by the great powers. Tactical deterrence has been Iran's organized effort to balance power against Iraq's aggression. The coalition of the Western world countries and the great forces to confront Iran was a sign of the world system's efforts to limit Iran's power. Since any structure tends to be balanced, revolutionary governments form imbalances in international politics. The primary question of this study is 'What tactical and practical mechanisms has Iran used in the war against threats?' The hypothesis is that Iran has used deterrent tactical action mechanisms to counter enemy threats and maximize its social role in socializing war. The present study has used the structuralism approach. In the structuralism approach, the imposed war has reflected the agreement of the great powers and regional actors.

Keywords: Holy Defense, Tactical Deterrence, Socialized Defense, Strategic Coalition Against Iran.

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Introduction

Tactical deterrence was the central basis of Iran's behavioral action in the war. We can analyze and explain the Iraq war against Iran with the structure of the international system, rather than based on social, political, historical, and identity signs. David Singer believes that the choice of "Level of Analysis" is a matter that relates solely to the research method or issue. The second axis of Iran's tactical action in the war was using community-based mechanisms. Constructivism aimed to examine the cause of events such as the Iran-Iraq war in ongoing political, cultural, and identity differences in the historical context. Therefore, they try to link "Crisis Escalation" processes between countries and different perceptual, cultural, and behavioral patterns (Linklater, 1994 AD/1373 SH: 45).

Community-based defense can create a new form of tactical deterrence linked to strength, security, and resilience indicators. Examining the level of analysis in international relations, David Singer says that the micro or macro level of analysis is only related to the research method or theoretical framework, which is often difficult to choose. Most probably, it can be the cause of decisive differences in the discipline in question.

The complexity and importance of these decisions at the level of analysis basis are on the long-standing differences between social psychologists, sociologists, cultural and personality anthropologists. According to the "General Systems Theory," we can discuss different perceptual and analytical formats. In crisis management, the systematic methodology influences rival actors (Singer, 1961 AD/1340 AH: 78).

Simultaneously with the formation of the revolution, its effects and consequences remain in the regional and international spheres. The great powers responsible for explaining the political and structural processes in the global system strive for "Actors Control" and "Incident Control." In addition to previous components, the great powers need severely "Control of Sources." The existence of such necessities leads to the formation of an interventionism process.

The pattern of structural action of the great powers during the imposed war is quite evident. Despite declaring neutrality, they, directly and indirectly, supported Iraq in the war. The implementation of sanctions on Iran was another form of significant power political and strategic support in Iraq. As Iraq and the major powers sought to manage the crisis to gain a comparative advantage over Iran, Iran sought to use the signs of crisis management to delegitimize Iraq and its international support.

1. Structural Factors of the Imposed War

Structural factors mean the role of great powers in political and international processes. The part of the great powers in supporting

Iraq in the military invasion of Iran is one of the central and fundamental factors of structural components in the formation of the imposed war. International policy theorists have defined a significant relationship between the structure of the global system and the resulting security relations. They explain the factors of stability, instability, and change in the international system based on configuration.

People like Hadley Bull emphasize the basic rules. In this regard, Hadley Bull believes the structural features of the international system have three principles. First, the lack of superior authority does not mean complete chaos. It means that countries defend their sovereignty based on their nature and desirability. Then, there are many ways in which governments can maintain their existence beyond the will of the prominent actors. Finally, in some international structures, there is more stability and balance than in other formats.

It means that some international structures, such as the bipolar system, are more balanced. Equilibrium is created when the great powers and the main actors have the necessary agreement and coordination to deal with threats. Thus, there is a balance between countries' "Structural Stability" and "Behavioral Equilibrium." In this regard, Hadley Bull knows the bipolar structure more stable and effective than other international structures (Bull, 1977 AD/1356 SH: 29).

Others like Kenneth Waltz endorse such an attitude. The bipolar structure makes a condition that neither of the two great world powers was willing to dominate all spheres of influence. In this situation, create cooperation, agreement, and balance between them. Simultaneously with such signs, naturally the international structure will be more stable and balanced. The main reason for balance and stability is an agreement between the actors.

The main actors in international politics have had the necessary coordination to establish rules, manage the crisis, limit Iran's power, and enhance Iraq's capabilities in the war. They used their structural ability to limit Iran's influence, which is crisis management by transnational actors in front of Iran's strategic power. They want to explain political, regional, and international behaviors based on the rules of each structure (Hall, 1992 AD/1371 SH: 165).

According to Morton Kaplan, the system is considered interconnected variables that include structure, process, actors, nature, stability, and balance. In other words, each of the international systems has six components that interact with each other. On the other hand, the relations between the mentioned components are done regularly and systematically. In this regard, Kaplan's variables interact with each other (Kaplan, 1962 AD/1341 SH: 34).

In a bipolar structure, each of the two powerful actors can create their own "Bloc" as well as their own political and strategic "Polarity."

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Polarization means the sphere of influence and actors' authority. The great powers, through their political bloc, can intervene in the regional environment. In a bipolar structure, each actor tries to expand his influence sphere. It means that the strategic boundaries of countries, especially in the periphery, are constantly changing.

According to Morton Kaplan's approach, the great powers in the bipolar structure have more crisis management capability. They can persuade each other, so if centrifugal actors emerge in the international system, there is a basis for a collective reaction. In other words, the two great world powers in a bipolar structure can cooperate or collude through crisis management.

The type of action of the international system influential actors and other regional and international actors is the main factor of balance and environmental control. Holsti emphasizes the crisis management model of the great powers in dealing with high-risk global and security conditions. It is a function of the extent to which the great powers have a vested interest in controlling regional developments. Actors with a more effective structural position will be more impressive in the crisis management approach of the great authorities (Walker, 1990 AD/1369 SH: 791).

In this regard, Holsti says: "The bipolar framework, which forms the totality of the main aspects of power, influence, and patterns of communication and interaction, there was in China, parts of the warrior states period in Europe during the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, in the pre-World War I era, and the post-World War II period. This type of system created a military and diplomatic power around the leaders of the two blocs" (Holsti, 1994 AD/1373 SH: 153).

Each structure of the international system considers a particular form of military, defensive, and strategic guidelines. Guidelines influence doctrines. Iran's defensive strategy against Iraq has been a function of social, economic, and international policy necessity; so, the military directive has three political, technical, and military aspects. The political and military leadership organizes the main ideas and beliefs of the military guide regarding the social and political system, economic level, scientific development, equipment, and capabilities of the armed forces and the enemy (Zohdi, 2015 AD/1384 SH: 44).

2. The General Reaction of the Iranian Government and Society to the Imposed War

The main focus of Iran's strategic action during the war was to counter the Iraqi military invasion. Just as military forces play a military role on the front lines, so do diplomats who try to pursue such a pattern through diplomacy. Thus, we can evaluate Iran's behavioral practice during the imposed war based on systemic action. The characteristics of the systemic theory indicated the success in regional battles through

multilateral action. Propaganda, diplomacy, and expansion of Iran's international field of interaction provide a platform for crisis management (Kodi and Gazyurovsky, 2000 AD/1379 SH: 226).

Crisis management has diverse and changeable nature in regional countries such as Iran. In this process, Iran tried to organize various options confronting the threats of the Western world. Each of these options is part of the reality of Iran's strategic behavior to reduce hazards. In other words, each international structure has a specific function and behavioral orientation. In this regard, we can refer to the "Pattern Variables" proposed by Talcott Parsons.

Iran used changing model variables to convince transnational, regional, and international actors. Behavioral functions indicate that 'What are the benefits of bilateral and multilateral cooperation?' In what areas will conflicts arise, and in what process will they be managed and controlled?' The primary purpose of explaining these issues is to describe and analyze the conditions of the international environment (Parsons, 1949 AD/1328 SH: 79).

Iran knew the need for a bipolar structure. Therefore, it made a comprehensive effort to take advantage of the crisis management model based on signs such as "Stimulus" and "Response." The pattern variables of the bipolar structure indicate that the "Effective Stimulus" in the formation of the international event that is organized based on the role and the behavioral pattern of the great powers. At the same time, regional units and forces involved should play a role in the "Reaction Space."

2.1. Regionals Coalition-Making of Iran's Against the Imposed War

Most regional countries during the war supported Saddam Hussein. In the process, a significant portion of the Arab world was Saddam Hussein's leading supporter in the fight against Iran. They tried to provide the grounds for confronting and limiting Iran's revolutionary identity. Iran's geopolitical capability during this period was changing through its influence in the countries of the region.

Iran could influence the conflict process by creating the necessary grounds for secession in the Arab world. Iran's diplomacy to reduce the intensity of the conflict has led to strategic desirability. In the process, Libya and Syria were Iraq's primary opponents in the war against Iran. Iran's diplomatic action was for countering the threats posed by the great powers and the Arab world.

Under these circumstances, Iran wants to pave the way to acquire missile equipment to counter Iraq's missile policy. If Iran were more responsive, faceless offensive restrictions. Iran sought to explain to the Arab countries of the Middle East that Iraq's invasion of Iran was part of the Western "Proxy War" strategy against the revolutionary countries. The evidence used by Iran showed that the Iraqi military offensive against Iran was based on the influence and "Encouragement" of the great powers. Therefore, it provided the

necessary grounds for increasing Syrian and Libyan support for Iran (Cottam, 1988 AD/1367 SH: 67).

International actors in a bipolar structure agree on the "Type of Conflict" and the "Intensity of Conflict." It means that actors are given the tools to enable influential countries to lead the conflict. The direct and indirect support of the great powers in the war is organized based on such signs of approval or conflict. Iran countered this pattern of extraordinary powers by creating divisions and distinctions between actors in pro-Iraq regions (Sick, 1989 AD/1368 SH: 26).

2.2. Iran's Low-Intensity Challenge to the Behavioral Patterns of the Great Powers

One of the behavioral patterns of Iran in front of the supportive policies of the world system influential countries from Iraq is the use of mechanisms related to the lesser challenge. The great powers were Iraq's prominent supporters in the war against Iran. Iran must also limit their interests. In other words, if Iran had used the model of confrontation with the mentioned actors, in those circumstances, it could have created the ground for reducing the support of structural actors against the Iraq violent actions.

In the 1980s, when the war started, the great powers were gradually declining. They faced emerging security bottlenecks. Iran was aware of the difficulties. For this reason, it tried to provide the necessary grounds for confronting their regional interests. Chalmers Johnson and Charles Kopchan argue that interventionist structures generally face security bottlenecks in regional areas due to pervasive interventionism mechanisms. Under such circumstances, they will not implement all their planned goals and achieve the desired result.

Kopchan evaluates the decline of the great powers in an environment where interventions have one-sided nature. According to him, whenever political units distrust their allies, they do all actions individually. This trend has emerged in the post-bipolar structure of American foreign policy. Still, in a situation where the international system had a bipolar configuration, the Americans only intervened militarily and in certain areas of security and strategy (Kopchan, 2004 AD/1383 SH: 347).

2.3. Reproduction of the New Balance and Resolution Building

The settlement of the conflict took place when Iran was ready to face the threats of Iraq. In other words, trying to balance was made possible through strategic power. According to Iran's view, crisis management is Iran's role and mobility in the regional sphere. Simultaneously, Iran's achievement of a regional balance showed its readiness to agree, resolve the conflict, and cooperate with international institutions (Freedman, 1982 AD/1361 SH: 73).

In the context of conflict resolution, the major powers in the bipolar structure reach an implicit agreement on the future of regional security. Naturally, creating a "Balance of Weak" is the goal of these

actors. It means that in any conflict, not the challenging actors are in a state of weakness and control, but the other actors are in equilibrium power. Whenever the main actors are in a state of instability and imbalance, they try to control the influential regional forces through "Regional Conflict" and "Crisis Management."

Balancing the bipolar structure is one of the behavioral patterns of Iran in regional crisis management. Processes of imbalance lead to the spread of war. Therefore, Iran tried to provide the necessary grounds for balancing the bipolar structure through models based on crisis management. Making balance in the framework required the production of power, regional cooperation, and a role in the interests of the great powers. Iran's pattern showed that if it threatened Iran's national interests, it would counter the strategic capabilities of the major forces in the region.

3. The Effectiveness of the Islamic Revolution Discourse in the Sacred Defense

Simultaneously with the Iraq-Iran war, many regional and international actors believed that the "Balance of Power" was shifting toward Iraq and Arab nationalism. During this period, Saddam Hussein acted as a symbol of solidarity with radical Arab identities in the Middle East. Conservative Arab countries were also concerned about the consequences of the Islamic Revolution in Iran. Because of this approach, they supported Saddam Hussein in the war against Iran.

The characteristics of Iran's political culture that significantly impacted the Iran-Iraq war have varied, and each has reproduced manifestations of power and resistance. In other words, many indicators of Iranian political culture have been identity-oriented, justice-seeking, and foundation-breaking nature. Therefore, the Iranian revolution created manifestations of international deconstruction against the authority of the dominant international actors and great powers. The Iraq-Iran war reproduced such a process.

3.1. The Role of Normative and Religious-Based Components in the Resistance Discourse

We can explain the connection between the discourse symbols of the Islamic Revolution and the holy defense in the concept of "Resistance Discourse." Religion and religious components have played a decisive role in the mythology of war. In other words, many of the myths of the Iran-Iraq war have been shaped by cultural, religious, and historical factors. Using the words such as " Karbala Conquest " is one of the main transmission components of spiritual values and indicators in a conflict between the two countries.

Resistance in the sacred defense had religious signs and a comprehensive and endless connection with Iran's political culture teachings. Such terms facilitated the motivation of Iranian youth and citizens to take advantage of religious forms and transfer them to

political and military action. Therefore, the Iran-Iraq war moved the components of social culture that have been purely religious and social nature over the years to the military and strategic spheres.

Diverse cultural symbols have played a decisive role in the sacred defense. Still, some of these components had more practical effects on forming the "Resistance Power" of the Iranian military in the imposed war. In this regard, we can mention the characteristics of the Ashura epic, the myth of Arash Kamangir, ideological martyrdom, hereafterism, and the romantic spirit of Iranian society for resistance and hearafterism. Each of these components is one of the indicators of resistance strength (Nafisi, 1992 AD/1371 SH: 32).

The processes of influencing and role-seeking the revolutionary forces in the sacred defense indicate that religion and cultural-value components have been influential in forming "Constitutive Factors" of the political culture of resistance in Iran. Religion and forms of religious activity in the Islamic Revolution are part of the regulatory rules that have gradually improved and played their role in the developmental regulations related to the sacred defense. Just as constitutive rules are formed based on socio-cultural components, international developments and security incidents link to "Regulatory Rules." Regulatory laws are structural, while developmental practices and elements reflect the culture, value, and thought hidden in societies (Risse, 2000 AD/ 1379 SH: 15).

3.2. Populism in the Political Action of Iranian Society

One of the main features of the Islamic Revolution that left its mark on sacred defense was the populist cultural and social mechanisms. The populism of Iranian society highlights the role of the social world in political action. The resistance in the imposed war indicated that culture-oriented human activity is influential on the rules of the material world and even regulation rules. In this process, the dynamics of political culture can create a new form of human interaction.

Normative populism means the role of the social world in shaping the characteristics and trends of the material world, such as the processes of revolutionary action or resistance in the sacred defense. Social and cultural processes play a unique role in time, place, or some political events. Wendt refers to the social components as "Social Kinds" that depend on human practices, cultural symbols, and value patterns. In such a process, the nature of social consciousness arises, and any political action appears based on signs of social consciousness (Wendt, 1995 AD/1374 SH: 77).

In the resistance of Iranian social forces in the imposed war, there are manifestations of social consciousness in values and religious-historical myths that these components play a decisive role in shaping political and strategic developments. All the evidence and analytical signs of Constructivism emphasize that the "Cartesian Duality" focused on combining object and mind in explaining social and

international events. Words, concepts, myths, and social emotions influence events and create the context for resistance-oriented action in processes like the Iran-Iraq war.

3.3. The Obligation-Oriented of Iranian Society in the Process of the Islamic Revolution and Holy Defense

Obligation-oriented was one of the hallmarks of Iranian society's political and religious culture, affecting the sacred defense. Simultaneously with the Iranian revolution victory, the norms embedded in Iranian political culture became more diverse. In other words, social components inspired by the Shia political culture in the post-revolutionary period became decisive. In such a process, historical landmarks were linked to political realities, making the ground for Iranian society to react to the great powers and Iraqi military forces in the war.

"Grahama Fuller" emphasizes that: "The psychological characteristics of Shia Islam believes that the price of commitment to true faith is suffering and injustice. This suspicion reinforces historical xenophobia. Thus, fear and arrogance towards the outside world have been formed with a serious decision to gain independence and not associate with foreign powers in a world often dominated by destructive foreign forces that have tried to subjugate other troops. Using the traditional Iranian political culture is one of the essential tools necessary for continuing survival" (Fuller, 1993 AD/1372 SH: 11).

How governments interact reflects their value and ideological patterns about the external political and international environment. Increasing the activism motivation among social groups increases the impact of such components on domestic, regional, and international structures. Social identities and norms can be formed and changed through institutionalized relationships. People's desires are related to the degree of their dependence on interaction with the type of person, group, or country. The independence of individuals or actors on the group's perceptions of legitimacy leads to the acceptance of policies and decision-making procedures that have a more appropriate legality or social nature (Moshirzadeh, 2005 AD/ A38A: 354).

4. Sacred Defence Discourse

The Iran-Iraq war linked the perceptual-cultural forms of Iranian society with ideological cues and perpetuated them through the political structure. In this process, it is possible to form the power of resistance based on the signs of political culture. Ideological and ideal components have influenced Iran's opposition to the sacred defense. As a result, such elements existed in Iranian political culture, but with the victory of the Islamic Revolution, it has become more functional and desirable.

The Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps, which played a pivotal role in the holy war and defense, was based on ideological necessities. One of the ideological components that inspired the revolution leaders to organize the revolutionary defense institutions was the Islamic analysis of the international system. Accordingly, the threat will be accurate, endless, and permanent. On the other hand, based on such an approach, the world system reproduces manifestations of the conflict structure. This structure is based on the separation of "Dar al-Islam" and "Dar al-Kufr." Countries in Dar al-Kufr's realm and conflict with Islamic goals and structure is"Dar al-Harb." Therefore, Dar al-Harb is a real issue in the Islamic thought of the Iranian revolution and the Iranian political-historical experiences (Ramezani, 2001 AD/1380 SH: 45).

4.1. The Discourse of Self-Reliance and Self-Sufficiency in the Sacred Defense

One of the main features of the sacred defense discourse is self-reliance and self-sufficiency. "Park and Park" believes that if the ideology of belief and ideal system affect all aspects of social life, create a ground for building a self-sufficient trust. The essence of self-sufficiency is a belief system that explains a particular type of life philosophy. The doctrine of self-sufficiency has specific importance in expanding the role of political systems, especially during the defense of territorial and ideal areas (Park and Park, 2000 AD/1379 SH: 148).

Revolutionary ideologies shape self-sufficiency as one of the countries strategic necessities. Self-sufficiency is an organized effort of revolutionary countries to compensate for the lack of technological and instrumental capabilities. The idea of self-sufficiency leads to increasing and enhancing the role of countries in the regional environment. Whenever a country is in the atmosphere of revolutionary action or faces signs of threat, the field is made for promoting the role of the components influencing self-sufficiency.

Self-sufficiency increases the resilience of countries in conflicts and threats. The power of resistance in the imposed war reflects how Iranian society perceptions foreign threats. In regional and international threats situations, increase the motivation for innovative action based on normative and ideological frameworks. In the political atmosphere of the 1980s, "Revolutionary-Identity Signs of Iranian Society" emerged in the face of such threats. If "Identical Framework" is combined with "Structural Symbol" and "Revolutionary Approaches," create the ground for the formation of a situation that makes it possible to deal with threatening forces in an unequal strategic position (Farson and Mashayekhi, 2000 AD/1379 SH: 36).

4.2. Empowerment in the Sacred Defense Discourse

Iran's primary goal of empowerment is to achieve balance because the balance has the nature of elemental power. In the sacred defense, Iran reached a strategic balance in front of international pressure and the

unwavering support of the world's most powerful nations for Iraq. Saddam Hussein's foremost tool in the war against Iran was the use of material power. Iran needed other signs of national power to balance. The Iraqis used various military and strategic tools to continue the war against Iran and support the great forces.

Iraq had a lot of instrumental power. In such circumstances, Iran must take action against Iraq based on its domestic needs and capabilities. The comparative advantage of Iran during this period was using ideological indicators, national stances, and cultural symbols. These components are the main factor in continuing Iran's resistance against Iraq and the great powers. It was possible based on the use of the infrastructure of Iranian culture and Islamic ideology.

Countering the military aggression of the enemy is a function of strategic and geopolitical necessities. Iran's internal capabilities and structure prepared the possibility of Iraq's temptation and the United States to invade militarily. We can comprehensively examine the impact of each country's internal situation on defense policy. In times of inner turmoil, economic and social problems, the military industry did not have the opportunity to invest and support. The military also faced issues such as the cheap social status and exclusion from the decision-making circle regarding the influence of liberals and Westerners (Zohdi, 2015 AD/1394 SH: 131).

Confronting the threats required using latent ideological and social capabilities. Such signs in Islamic-Iranian culture provided grounds for resistance against Iraq and other great powers. Some of the Iranian cultural-ideological characteristics with emotional emotions consider prejudice and the spirit of confronting the sinister forces. Ideological indicators influence some other cultural and behavioral components of Iranians and, in conclusion, are the main factor of resistance during the Iran-Iraq war. Some analysts believe that the war provided the ground for linking religious, ideological, and doctrinal components to nationalist teachings. In this process, Iran spread xenophobia, establish missionaries, and counter Iraq's threats (Esposito, 2007 AD/1386 SH: 79).

4.3. The Development and Discourse of Sacred Defense

One of the main features of the sacred defense discourse is promoting the country's economic, social, and strategic development. Development in the address of the Islamic Revolution was based on the thought of "We Can." Such an idea emerged during the Islamic Revolution and reproduced during the holy defense. While some Iranian political agents believe in political mechanisms to end the war, some revolutionary forces stressed the need for confrontation and the Ashura approach.

The Ashura approach's central axis should be considered a proposition that later became a discourse of self-sufficiency, self-reliance, and developmentalism. Simultaneously with the beginning

war against Iran, the revolutionary forces stressed the need to develop capabilities. They analyzed any defense and resistance through indigenous mechanisms based on social self-reliance. King and Karsh believe that: "The war with Iraq was a crucial element in the political development of revolutionary Iran. This war has had beneficial results for the Iranian political system. It is known as a flexible symbol of the Iranian revolution. When the Iraqi forces are expelled from the territory of Iran, this force can be considered a symbol of the lasting power of the Iranian revolution"(King and Karsh, 2008 AD/1387 SH: 52).

The Iranian revolution was one of the modern political developments in which the social forces reproduced their identity through participation in the war. The eight-year war transformed revolutionary identity into organizational identity. After the war, the ideological framework for dealing with threats did not diminish in the social spirit of Iranians but manifested corporate identity. Therefore, it stabilized Iran's power structure on a larger scale. Iran's political and security orientation changed from a "Conservation-Oriented Strategy" to a "Development-Oriented Strategy" from 1998 onwards (Katzman, 1993 AD/1372 SH: 81).

4.4. Mobilization of Social Forces and Expansion of the Resistance Network

The infrastructure of the Islamic Revolution of Iran is the use of mechanisms that make possible the necessary grounds for resistance. The social forces of Iran were able to adapt themselves to the necessities of revolutionary action gradually. Iranian political culture considers manifestations of organized effort in the colonial resistance against Iraq. In general, Iranian society's socio-political behavior and activity pattern focus on mass movements to counter the threats.

The Iranian Basijis have played a very influential role in conducting military operations against Iraq, and their political orientation has been focused on countering foreign threats. They organized Basij forces among religious and deep groups in supporting the revolution and countering foreign threats, especially the imposed war. On the other hand, the Basij has characteristics such as emotional action derived from the age conditions and the tragic atmosphere caused by the Iraqi military invasion of Iran.

The slogan of the Basij forces during the Iran-Iraq war was the continuation of the war until victory. On the other hand, they used ideological terms such as the mythology reproduced in connection with the uprising of Imam Hussein and the Karbala incident. Lamentation promoted the emotional soul of these people and prepared them for human-centered military operations during the war. The laments were associated with epic war slogans. The text of requiem presented manifestations of the oppression of Imam Hussein

and was associated with signs of the submissiveness of the Iranian revolution in the sacred defense.

Each Basij force was an ideological symbol of defending the revolution and confronting foreign invading forces. Therefore, they formed the "Karbala Paradigm" as the foundation of their martyrdom. In this way, their participation in the war became discursive-ideological. Then it provided the ground for an action that caused their martyrdom in resisting front of regional and international threats (Farzaneh, 2007 AD/1386 SH: 86).

5. Asymmetrical Resistance in the Sacred Defense

Social forces can resist threats with the proper and effective organization. The forces mobilized in the revolution and based on Islamic thought had the necessary capability to fight asymmetrically against threats. Thus, the Basij created "Asymmetrical Resistance" manifestations in defense against regional and international threatening forces. The formation of the asymmetrical resistance pattern is a reflection of Iran's strategic behavior. In a situation where there is no military and armaments balance between Iran and Iraq, organized social forces play a role solely through inclusive social action and action in the asymmetrical resistance (Global Security.org, 2004 AD/1383 SH: 4).

5.1. The Karbala Paradigm in the Discourse of Asymmetrical Resistance

The Karbala paradigm was one of Iran's main axes' tactical actions during the holy defense. It is based on martyrdom, idealism, and promised-oriented. Iranians considered all of these components in the teachings of tactical action during the war. Any identity action requires a particular form of discourse that was effective in political and strategic conflict. Iraq used the speech of confrontation with Shia and Iranian nationalism to confront their revolution.

The Karbala paradigm is important because it reflects signs of "Socialized Defense" and "Revolutionary Warfare" against the "Structural Threats of the International System." Influenced by religious elements, the Iranian social forces adapted themselves to the necessities of the Islamic Revolution and the holy defense. It shows that the Basij forces in the war have engaged in emotional actions. In parallel with such concepts and formats, they have placed political and ideological discourse manifestations in support of military operations and organizational mobilization.

The Karbala paradigm is one of the central and fundamental features of the sacred defense discourse. The social forces mobilized in the holy defense supported the ideological values of the Iranian political system. This period formed the dominant discourse of the Islamic Revolution within the framework of "Martyrdom and the Myth of Karbala." The lesson of Karbala is an influential factor in

shaping the resistance and the continuation of Iran's defense war. Such forces were the central basis of public confidence in social power to confronting the threats.

The ideological loyalty of the volunteer forces in the war reproduced a process based on the conceptual and discourse formats of the "Karbala Epic" and the "Ashura Myth." They used the term "Sacred Defense" because "Territorial Defense" was crucial. In the process, organized the inner motivation of the sacred defense activists based on signs of the Karbala epic and the myth of Ashura. The love of pilgrimage to Karbala and the expression of devotion to the humility of Imam Hussein in Karbala motivated a wide range of volunteer forces to the defense of Iran.

5.2. Linking Territorial and Ideological Concepts in Asymmetrical Resistance

Tactical deterrence is essential in Iran's defense policy because it used manifestations of the power and tactical action of the community-oriented Iran in the process of sacred defense. The slogan "For the Conquest of Karbala, Forward to the Fronts" was a preference for another saying, "War, War to Victory." So, the central slogan of the Basij when going to war was "To Conquer Karbala, Go to the Fronts."

The actions of the Basij forces were based on ideological teachings, especially the Karbala paradigm, based on a sense of self-sacrifice. In this process, nationalist concepts aimed at preserving territorial integrity were linked to ideological symbols. They caused the protection of the revolution and the political structure of Iran. Ernest Gellner points out that the combination of these two components has played an influential role in maintaining the territorial integrity of Iran. With their religious symbols and religious beliefs, Basij forces could create one of the turning points in Iran's political and military history during the eight-year Iran-Iraq war (Gellner, 1983 AD/1362 SH: 1).

Conclusion

Tactical deterrence was one of the leading indicators of Iran's defense strategy during the holy defense, based on military power, operational action, and social mobilization to defend the structure of the political system during the war. Iran's defense strategy during the imposed war using the mechanisms that existed in Iran's social and cultural construction. The Islamic Revolution of Iran changed the equation of political and social power in the Middle East.

One of the principal pillars of tactical deterrence has been using the "Karbala Paradigm" and the "Ideology-making of Social Groups" in the atmosphere of sacred defense. When the Karbala paradigm was introduced as a motivational and ideological factor in the war, the participation of social groups increased. Based on the discourse

mechanisms of the resistance, Iran could resist the military invasion of Iraq and international pressure.

The ideology of the Islamic Revolution, the Karbala paradigm, and the resistance idea caused the socialization of the war. The Iraq attack on Iran occurred when the revolution had a social and strategic impact on the war. The Karbala paradigm created signs of "Resistance-Oriented Developmental Rules." Simultaneously with the political and strategic role of ideological and value concepts in one geographical area, its effects and consequences in other geographical areas will be significant. In this process, "Value Concepts" acted as "Strategic Indicators" in the war.

The idea of resistance provided the infrastructure for tactical action in the Iranian social space. The socialization of the sacred defense has been Iran's behavioral tactic for continuing to resist threats. In the war, formed a new consciousness based on the discourse of the Islamic Revolution. Concepts emerged that reproduced the speech of resistance. Normative and constructivist realities indicated that meanings and concepts are not independent of time and place. The Karbala paradigm was formed in sacred defense, but its effects have been restored in the geographical areas of neighboring Iran. Iran turned the Karbala paradigm into an "Asymmetrical Defense Strategy."

The Islamic Revolution of Iran has an ideological nature, and the slogan "neither East nor West" is a symbol of its political ideology. Simultaneously with the stabilization of the revolution prepared the ground for the intervention of the great powers in Iran's internal affairs. Along with the great powers, the countries of the region, especially Iraq and Saudi Arabia, played a more decisive role in confronting Iran. Iraq was Iran's geopolitical rival, and Saudi Arabia played a different political and ideological role than Iran in the Middle East. Therefore, a regional war against Iran was made with the U.S. leadership, Saudi Arabia and the Arab countries' support, and finally, with the Iraqi agency.

During the war, all political, intellectual, and analytical groups believed that the actions of the Iranian military and paramilitary forces were defensive. They believe that these forces replaced "Classical Defense" with "Popular Defense" and thus supported the necessities of "Justice War" in the sacred defense. In this process, different social groups and various intellectual-analytical collections emphasized the forms of "National Identity." They considered it a combination of the concepts of Iranian political culture with ideological forms. So, national symbols such as "Anthem O! Iran" with the laments of "Sadegh Ahangaran" and "Gholam Kuweitipour" had a joint and complementary function.

One of the critical points of the Shia religion is justice; it is a social issue fulfilled in activism. Of course, a political force that lacks the

motivation and spirit of activism cannot be the bearer or creator of political justice. In this process, there is an organic relationship between concepts such as "Justice war," "Sacred Defense," and "Political Justice." Political justice had different signs during different periods of the war. In the first phase of the war, when Iraqi military forces occupied Iran's geographical area, justice was seen as an organized action to expel the occupying forces. The second stage was named "Prosecution of the Aggressor" based on the idea of justice.

The different discourse approaches of Iran and the Western world have significantly impacted Iranians' attitudes toward political justice. Iran believed that the international system was unjust, so international politics was also unfair. Therefore, the one-sided global approach must be confronted through the discourse of resistance and its reproduction in regional power and influence. Under such circumstances, the reaction of the great authorities to justice was focused on drastic regional and international change.

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