

**Examining the Cultural Attitudes of the Representatives of the
First Legislature of the Islamic Consultative Assembly towards
the War Waged by Iraq against Iran**

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Abstract

In Iran, the parliament is considered the highest decision-making body, the center of political gravity and decision-making on national issues. Therefore, given the position of the parliament, this authority can oversee and vote on various issues, including political, cultural, economic and social matters. One of the biggest challenges in the first term of the parliament was Iraq's eight-year war against Iran, which is known as the longest war of the twentieth century. Therefore, the main objective of this article is to examine the cultural attitudes of the representatives of the first legislature of the Islamic Consultative Assembly towards the war waged by Iraq against Iran. The method was used in this study is content analysis based on document studies. The research is based on a detailed study of the deliberations of the first legislative session of the Islamic Consultative Assembly to answer the question of 'What cultural positions the representatives of the first legislative session of the Islamic Consultative Assembly held towards the war imposed by Iraq on Iran?' The findings indicate that at the beginning of the war against Iran imposed by Iraq, in line with the values and Islamic culture that emerged from the Islamic Revolution, the representatives tried to encourage and motivate the warriors and the people in the fight against the invading enemy, called for perseverance and resilience, promoted the culture of martyrdom and self-sacrifice, preserved national unity and cohesion, and were guided by religious and spiritual teachings.

Keywords: Imposed War, First Legislature, Culture, Representative of the Islamic Consultative Assembly.

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Introduction

The Islamic Consultative Assembly is one of the most important pillars of the Islamic Republic system, as stated in Article 71 of the Constitution: "The Islamic Consultative Assembly may legislate within the limits set forth in the Constitution." Since the transfer of powers to the National Consultative Assembly - which was transformed into the Islamic Consultative Assembly after its establishment (Deliberations of the First Legislature of the Islamic Consultative Assembly, Session 21, 31/04/1359) - has practically formalized the political system, political forces have participated in parliamentary elections with all their capabilities, unlike previous terms (Khoshzad, 2007 AD/1386 SH: 45-46; Keyhan Newspaper, 18 Bahman 1358).

The first elections of the Islamic Consultative Assembly were actually the fifth general elections in the country after the victory of the Islamic Revolution, which took place on Isfand 24, 1358. With the exception of some small political groups that boycotted the parliamentary elections, most prominent parties and groups declared their willingness to participate in the elections and explicitly called on their supporters to participate in the elections on a large scale (Ministry of Islamic Guidance, 1982 AD/1361 SH: 28-25). Finally, on Khordad 31, 1359, the first term of the Islamic Consultative Assembly was inaugurated (Khoshzad, 2007 AD/1386 SH: 46).

Shortly after the constitution of the parliament, Iraq's attack on Iran on Shahrivar 31, 1359 created special conditions for the country. This not only affected the political situation of the country but also had an impact on the social, cultural and economic conditions of the country.

Various factors and variables, including territorial disputes and sovereignty claims over the Shatt al-Arab, Saddam's claim to Arab and regional leadership, ownership claims over the three islands, aspirations to overthrow the Islamic Republic system, Iran's ideological positions and the export of the revolution, the leadership of the Arab world, Iraq's fear of Iran's alliance with the Iraqi Kurds, are understandable motives for Iraq's attack on Iran. Some of these motives go back to the time before the victory of the Islamic Revolution.

The victory of the Islamic Revolution has further strengthened Iraq's motivation to attack Iran. With the start of the Iraq-Iran war, political groups and movements were almost unanimous in their defense of Iran, despite their differences of opinion on various issues. The Islamic Republic Party, in articles published in the Islamic Republic newspaper, the organ of this party, described this war as "America's attacks on Iranian territory from the Iraqi border," adding

that after repeated failures in various plots, America was now trying to advance its goals through Saddam. The aim of the Iraqi attacks, he said, was to "Undermine the revolutionary spirit of the people and spread psychological warfare against the Islamic Revolution." (Newspaper of the Islamic Republic, 2nd edition, issue 379, Tuesday, Mehr 1, 1359, pp. 1, 2, 4)

The Freedom Movement declared in a statement on Mehr 14, 1359, that Islam, as an example that "Truth has come and falsehood has disappeared," will ultimately be successful and victorious in the war against infidels and enemies. He added that the Iranian nation has never accepted foreign rule or coercion throughout its history and urged the people to preserve their unity by adhering to the commandment, "And holds fast, all together, to the rope of Allah, and do not be divided." (Keyhan Newspaper, Issue 11110, Monday, Mehr 14, 1359, p. 12)

The Revolutionary Movement of the Muslim People of Iran (JAMA) condemned Iraq's actions and praised the courageous actions of the Islamic Republic of Iran Army and the Revolutionary Guards in defeating the Iraqi forces. They called on the Iranian nation to prepare for a long struggle against the "Deceptions of world imperialism." (Keyhan Newspaper, Issue 11106, Wednesday, Mehr 9, 1359, p. 12)

In a statement, the Militant Clergy Society described Iraq's war against Iran as a conspiracy by America and addressed the Iranian nation, saying, "Now is the time for the struggling and Muslim nation of Iran to teach the arrogant America and the puppet regimes of American imperialism a lesson once again and, relying on the faith and eternal power of Allah, preserve its unity and readiness with full awareness to fulfill the fateful duty and answer the call of the great revolutionary leader Imam Khomeini." (Keyhan Newspaper, Issue 11100, Tuesday Mehr 1, 1359, p. 16)

The People's Mujahedin Organization initially condemned Iraq's attack and considered Iraq's motivation for this attack to be a desire for power in the region and border claims. They made the presence or absence of their members on the fronts dependent on Bani Sadr's decision (Bayat, 1988 AD/1367 SH: 27).

Among other political groups and movements, the representatives of the Islamic Consultative Assembly also took a stand against the war and condemned it. Some of the representatives' positions focused on cultural issues in the face of war.

After the victory of the Islamic Revolution, especially the representatives of the Islamic Consultative Assembly, the protagonists of the revolution attempted to bring about changes in the political, economic and cultural structures and to create a new order based on

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religious values. These values formed the basis for a discourse that emerged as a reaction to the policies of the Pahlavi government. With the start of the imposed war, this issue became more prominent. The need to encourage the fighters at the front, to call them to perseverance and resilience, and to strengthen the culture of self-sacrifice and jihad was heeded by the representatives of the first legislature of the Islamic Consultative Assembly.

Accordingly, the present study aims to answer the main research question through a thematic analysis, namely, ‘What were the attitudes of the members of the parliament in the cultural field towards the war imposed by Iraq on Iran?’ To answer this question, the first legislative period of the Islamic Consultative Assembly is examined in detail to identify the pattern of cultural attitudes of the MPs in these documents.

1. Research Background

There are various studies on the positions of political groups and movements in relation to the war against Iran imposed by Iraq. One of them is an article titled "Analysis and Study of the Freedom Movement in the Imposed War and Confrontation with the Islamic Revolution." In this article, Hossein Arjini and Isa Molavi Vardanjani try to explain the idea of the will for peace in the freedom movement during the war (Arjini and Molavi, 2017 AD/1396 SH).

The article titled "Explaining and Analyzing the Performance of the Freedom Movement in Confrontation with the Islamic Republic System in the 1360s" by Isa Molavi Vardanjani aims to examine the performance of the freedom movement in the 1360s in the face of the Islamic Revolution (Molavi Vardanjani, 2020 AD/1399 SH).

Asadollah Bayat "Has focused on the performance of the hypocrites during the war in his book "The Hypocrites and the Imposed War." (Bayat, 1988 AD/1367 SH) What distinguishes this article is the examination of the cultural positions of the representatives of the first legislature of the Islamic Consultative Assembly in relation to the imposed war through a thematic analysis that has not been studied before.

The present study is a comprehensive statistical society of the first term of the Islamic Consultative Assembly. In this context, all cultural positions of the representatives of the first term of the Islamic Consultative Assembly were documented, fully transcribed and coded at different stages.

2. Research Methodology

Nowadays, scientific research methods are generally divided into three main categories:

1. Quantitative methods that are based on a positivist philosophy;
2. Qualitative methods that have a holistic and comprehensive view and seek to gain understanding by discovering the meanings of phenomena;
3. The third method is a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods (Abedi, 2006 AD/1385 SH: 63).

Each quantitative and qualitative research approach requires different tools and methods. One of these methods is content analysis, which became popular in the twentieth century. Gradually, critical content analysis moved away from superficial analysis without consideration of hidden content, and qualitative approaches to content analysis gained attention for analyzing textual data. Qualitative content analysis focuses on linguistic features as a means of communication to extract meaning and content from the text (Budd; R.K. and Donohe: 23-41).

Philip Stone believes that content analysis is a method that reveals certain characteristics of a message in a concrete way and on the basis of certain rules (P. Stone: 5).

Therefore, this method has attracted much attention from researchers as a flexible method of analyzing information. In this method, the researcher has to identify the units before coding. The unit of content analysis includes different types such as "Unit of Registration" and "Unit of Content." The unit of registration is a part of the text to which the researcher assigns a code when he or she encounters it during the study. If the registration unit is a word, a specific code is assigned to it when it is found. However, it is not possible to classify the registration unit without reference to the context in which it is located, so it is necessary to refer to a section of the text to code it based on its content (context).

Therefore, the acquisition unit is referred to as a word and the context unit as a sentence or paragraph. In this study, the unit "Sentence" was used.

The text analyzed in this article is a summary of the discussions of the first term of the Islamic Consultative Assembly, compiled over several thousand pages. The selection of the summary of parliamentary discussions aimed to identify and extract research data based solely on the statements and positions of parliamentarians to ensure that the reality matches the matter. First, the first legislative period of the Islamic Consultative Assembly was examined. Then, the texts and variables related to the MPs' cultural positions on the war were

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extracted and coded. The extracted data were then summarized, classified and processed, following the following steps in sequence: Text analysis and coding, transforming basic themes into constructs, transforming constructs into comprehensive constructs, drawing a network of constructs, and explaining and describing the constructs.

3. Cultural Positions of the Islamic Republic after the Victory of the Revolution

With the victory of the revolution and the dominance of the Islamists, cultural changes in society began to replace the values and Islamic culture in society. On this basis, a selective and critical examination of traditional and modern values developed. To facilitate this, they institutionalized their thoughts in the constitution and started to establish institutions and create offices and centers such as propaganda units, extension offices and ideological-political units to promote religious values and implement them in the country (Harati, 2013 AD/1392 SH: 126).

In this context, efforts began to replace Islamic values with what the leaders of the revolution called non-Islamic values. One of the first discussions was the change of lifestyle and efforts to promote a simple lifestyle. The term "Mustaz'af" (Oppressed) was introduced as a value. Changes in dress were the next focus and using of western clothing was abolished (Fouzi, 2005 AD/1384 SH: 2, 169-168).

Another part of the effort to change values and expand spiritual culture in society was carried out by the cultural institutions of the revolution. The Quran readings were expanded. The lines for Friday prayers became longer and utilizing foreign words declined.

The portrayal of wealth and possessions as a negative value was criticized (Fouzi, 2005 AD/1384 SH: 2, 170).

The ideology of the revolution tried to mobilize people against imperialism, foreign capitalism and domestic dependent capitalists with the help of symbols and icons. This ideology divided people into two main categories: the oppressed against the arrogant, the poor against the wealthy, and the hut dwellers against the palace dwellers. These confrontational divisions were influential in mobilizing the different classes and strata of people (Abrahamian, 1993:170).

The promotion of Islamic values was not only a concern of the government but was also emphasized by most scholars and clerics in their speeches on various occasions. For example, Ayatollah Montazeri stated during a meeting with Sunni scholars in Shahrivar 1362: "To prevent the superpowers from implementing their evil plans by

fomenting religious conflicts, corrupting society and diverting the youth from the true path of Islam, we have the duty to constantly strive and promote true Islam among the people, familiarize the youth with Islamic teachings, encourage them to study Islamic and useful books, and expose the enemies' plots against this country." (Ettela'at Newspaper, 20/06/1362, 4)

Therefore, efforts were made to change values and expand spiritual culture in society through revolutionary cultural institutions, the use of believing forces in universities, the publication of materials in publications to promote their desired patterns, and the maintenance of Islamic standards in terms of dress code in schools (Beigzadeh, 2018 AD/1397 SH: 112).

In this way, the revolutionary forces were able to organize and implement their desired cultural model. Thus, in the first decade of the revolution, efforts to reject Western values and develop and implement Iranian-Islamic cultural values were considered vital cultural orientation of the country.

4. Analysis of the Cultural Positions of the Representatives of the First Legislature of the Islamic Consultative Assembly

In the table below, coding for the representatives has been done. For each representative, a specific English letter has been assigned, which is mentioned instead of repeating the name of each representative to prevent elongation in the referencing section.

Table no.1. Characteristics of the Parliament Representatives

Row	Name	Constituency	Parliament period	Code
1	Hossein Musavi Jahanabadi Khorasani	Mashhad	First Period	A
2	Manouchehr Mottaki	Kordkooy and Torkaman	First Period	B
3	Mohammad Khozaei Tarshizi	Rasht	First Period	C

Continued in the attachments

4.1. Text Delivery and Coding

In the text delivery stage, after collecting the necessary research data, basic themes are extracted, and quotes related to the representatives of the first term of the Islamic Consultative Assembly are organized in the form of codes. These quotes and phrases extracted from the transcripts of the first term of the Islamic Consultative Assembly have themes that are referred to as basic themes in content analysis. In this section, an initial interpretation of the data extracted from the transcripts of the Islamic Consultative Assembly is done, and the codes related to the thematic scope of the article are identified. Regarding the high volume of content and using the transcripts of the Islamic Consultative Assembly in the qualitative analysis section, only a few examples of text conversion to basic themes are mentioned in the table below.

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The table of converting the representatives' quotes into basic themes			
Row	Document Text	Codes	Basic themes
1	In this regard, the role of radio is weak. Really, some of the tapes repeat these and do not have new content that is compatible with our wartime, it is necessary to correct it as soon as possible.	O (session 62, 4/08/1359)	The media has a poor performance in covering war news.
2	Respected gentlemen, this is the day of cooperation and helping Islam and Muslims and the oppressed of the world, it is a day when foreign enemies want to destroy the name of God and Islam. The war is between Islam and infidelity, not individuals...	EQ (session 144, 24/02/1360)	The war between Iran and Iraq is a concrete example of the war between Islam and disbelief.
3	But the war veterans' foundation has not performed well, people constantly come here and complain about the war veterans' affairs foundation. I request the War Veterans Foundation to reconsider its work	FG (session 150, 18/03/1360)	War veterans' foundation has a weak performance towards war veterans.

Table no.2 Continued in the attachments

4.2. Convert Basic Themes to Constructive Themes

At this stage, the basic themes are examined, then by dividing the contents, it is tried to extract the main themes. This step is to review and settle the primary topics, the output of which is a specific list of topics extracted from the documents.

Table no.3 Continued in the attachments

Table of conversion of basic themes to constructive themes		
Row	Basic Themes	Constructive Theme
1	Public media should tell all the facts of the war.	Inviting the media to cover the war news
2	Public media should have interviews with the fighters and the families of the martyrs to reflect the news of the war.	
3	Public media should reflect the positive results of the war.	
4	Broadcasting should develop its airwaves in war zones.	
5	Public media should reflect the works and bravery of warriors.	
6	Warriors in the scene of the operation also adhere to the obligations and this is reminiscent of the scene of Ashura.	Comparing the battlefield to the scene of Ashura
7	The Iran-Iraq war scene is another example of the Karbala scene.	
8	Khorramshahr has become the scene of Karbala.	
9	We invite intellectuals and human rights advocates to visit Iranian cities and learn about Saddam's crimes.	Inviting journalists and human rights organizations to visit Iran's war zones to observe the crimes of the invading Iraqi army
10	Journalists and MPs should visit the war zones and report their observations to the people.	
11	Mass media reporters were invited to visit Abadan to reflect Saddam's anti-human rights actions.	
12	It is necessary for the public media to portray the war zones correctly so that the crimes of the Iraqi regime are reflected.	
13	Journalists from different countries, especially Islamic countries, should visit Iranian cities to see the effects of Iraq's attack up close.	
14	Verses and hadiths indicate the endurance of Muslims until victory.	Encouraging endurance and persistence in war
15	Abadan's perseverance and stability made the enemy admire him.	
16	The resistance and stability of the people of the war-torn areas works to strengthen the morale of the warriors.	
17	The culture of perseverance provides the ground for the final victory.	
18	Warriors make victory certain by being persistent and continuing to fight.	
19	You can overcome problems with patience and perseverance.	

20	Nomads play an active role in the fronts of war and victories, and we should thank them.	The need to appreciate the bravery of different classes of people present in the war
21	The commanders and all the forces that participate in defeating and suppressing the enemy should be appreciated.	
22	A group of elderly people announced their readiness to pass over the mine in the attack of the fighters.	
23	The presence of women in the field of battle is due to Hazrat Zainab.	
24	Different sections of women in different roles declared their support in the war.	
25	The bravery of the various groups present in the war fronts is appreciated.	The need to take care of the families of martyrs and fighters
26	Regarding the children of the martyrs and their guardianship, the task must be determined correctly.	
27	It is necessary for Martyr's Foundation to give priority to the families of martyrs.	
28	Taking care of the families of martyrs and fighters should be given priority.	The war advantages
29	War has become a unifying factor.	
30	When you visit the fronts, you will notice that the war front has become an area of cohesion and unity of different groups.	
31	Imam Khomeini considered war as a kind of mercy.	Proposal to turn Khorramshahr into a museum
32	It is suggested that Khorramshahr become a crime museum of great powers.	
33	Unity and cohesion are necessary to advance the war.	The need to mobilize forces and maintain unity
34	Unity and cohesion is one of the main factors of victory.	
35	Winning the war requires the mobilization of forces and resources.	
36	It is obligatory to thank the warriors and relevant officials.	The necessity of thanking and appreciating the warriors and providing for their needs
37	Warriors are the manifestation of hadiths and traditions of Imams	
38	All the needs of the warriors must be met.	

4.3. Discovering and Drawing the Network of Themes

According to the extensive detailed analysis of the negotiations of the first period of the Islamic Council, 18 organizing themes were extracted around the overarching theme "Cultural approach of the representatives of the first period of the Islamic Council towards the war imposed by Iraq against Iran," which are:

Table no.4

The number of identifiers related to the manufacturer's themes		
Row	Organizing themes	ID number
1	Inviting officials to visit war zones and fronts	8
2	Inviting the media to cover the war news	5
3	Comparing the battlefield to the scene of Ashura	3
4	Legitimizing war	47
5	Inviting journalists and human rights organizations to visit Iran's war zones to observe the crimes of the authorized Iraqi army	5
6	Weakness of the media in covering war news	18
7	The need to support refugees and war veterans	20
8	The Iran-Iraq war is a manifestation of the unity and sacrifice of the Iranian people	1
9	Promoting the culture of martyrdom	13
10	Encouraging endurance and persistence in war	6
11	The need to appreciate the bravery of different classes of people present in the war	6
12	The need to take care of the families of martyrs and fighters	3
13	Benefits and achievements of war	3
14	Islamic culture is the principle governing the Iranian system	15
15	Proposal to turn Khorramshahr into a museum	1
16	The need to mobilize forces and maintain unity	3
17	The necessity of thanking and appreciating the warriors and providing for their needs	3
18	Inviting people to rebuild war-torn areas	5

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4.4. Discovering and Describing Themes

In this stage, the network of extracted themes regarding the cultural positions of the representatives of the first period of the Islamic Consultative Assembly is explained. This stage has explanatory and analytical dimensions. The information presented in this section is a content summary of the transcripts of the Islamic Consultative Assembly, as well as books and relevant memoirs on the cultural approach of the representatives of the first term of the Islamic Consultative Assembly.

- **Invitation of officials to visit war zones and fronts:** Several months after the opening of the first term of the Islamic Consultative Assembly, the imposed war by Iraq against Iran began. Along with other segments of the population, the parliament representatives also saw part of their mission in their role as representatives to take a stance towards the war. Some of these stances took the form of cultural themes. They, especially the representatives from the war-affected regions, demanded visits to war zones and fronts in their pre-session speeches from officials and government authorities, considering it a necessity. These representatives considered the war as a factor in the growth of the ideological and faith beliefs of the forces (BN-151-1360; AG-252-1360).

According to them, the visit of government officials to the war zones put them in touch with the issues and problems of the region (AG-252-1360).

Additionally, seeing the spirit of the warriors up close boosted the morale of the authorities and officials (AG-490-1362).

This two-way relationship of connection and influence was such that the warriors, by seeing the people and political authorities, became more determined to continue the fight (FG-578-1362).

Therefore, it is incumbent upon all personalities and various classes of people to visit war zones in groups and stand alongside the warriors (BN-151-1360; N-480-1360; AG-514-1362).

- **Invitation of the media to reflect war news:** Considering the role that mass media can play in informing the public, representatives paid attention to the reflection of war news by the media. The duties that the representatives assigned to the mass media included recounting the facts of the war (A-50-1359), interviewing warriors and families of martyrs to expose the atrocities of the Ba'athist government of Iraq (E-59-1359), reflecting the positive results of the war such as unity, cohesion of forces, and determination and will to continue the fight (DE-135-1360), spreading radio waves in border areas (K-205-1360)

and war zones, and recounting the bravery of the warriors (L-139-1360). Mohsen Rahami, the representative of Khodabandeh, believed that group media, especially radio and television, do not address war issues as they should and that war is marginalized (DE-135-1360).

- **Comparing the battlefield to the scene of Ashura:** One of the cultural outcomes of the Islamic thinkers in recent centuries is a new reading of religious teachings, especially the event of the martyrdom of Imam Hussein (AS). Previously, this event was used as a tool for intercession and promoting crying, promoting a passive attitude towards social life events. However, religious modernists have introduced a new discourse on this event. Some consider Imam Khomeini as a pioneer of this approach (Enayat, 2010 AD/1389 SH: 315-316 and 323).

They perceive the repetition of the Ashura event in the context of the Islamic Revolution (Khorramshad, 2004 AD/1383 SH: 112-115).

Thus, in the symbolic space of society, dualities such as Yazid and Imam Hussein (AS) took the form of the battle between right and wrong, the battle between disbelief and Islam, oppressor and oppressed (Sayyid Imami, 2008 AD/1387 SH: 294).

During the war period, when heroism and enthusiasm are highly valued, simulating the battlefield in the fight against Iraqi Ba'athist forces was highlighted by the representatives. Their evidence in this regard included the commitment of warriors to fulfill religious duties even in the worst harsh war conditions (C-58-1359) and continuing the battle despite the lack of basic facilities and drinking water (K-60-1359).

- **Legitimizing the war:** The discourse of the revolution regarding the war between Iraq and Iran was based on Islam and the principle of "They should not be oppressed, nor should they oppress." Most perceived the concept of the revolution as the issuance of revolutionary content and ideals and did not see it as an opportunistic invasion. Therefore, they evaluated the Iraq war as imposed and saw themselves in a defensive position. From Rajai's perspective, the then Prime Minister, the war between Iraq and Iran was not a country's war against another country but a war of belief against belief (Shahid Rajaei and Imposed War, 1982 AD/1361 SH: 12-13).

Accordingly, he called the fighters against Iraqi forces the soldiers of Islam and defined the goal of the war as the realization of Islam and its ideals and humanization (the Cultural Documents Center of the Islamic Revolution, 1983 AD/1362 SH: 1, 208-212).

He emphasized the role of faith in this war, stating: "In this war, if all our planes and weapons are destroyed and we are left empty-handed,

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that is when our real war begins, and with the faith we have, we will bury Saddam and his masters." (Ansari, 1993 AD/1372 SH: 393)

The representatives of the first period of the Islamic Consultative Assembly sought to legitimize the war against Iraq by citing verses, hadiths, and narrations, and by referencing the lives of the Imams. By quoting verses from the Quran such as "Allah forbids you not, with regard to those who fight you not for (your) faith nor drive you out of your homes, from dealing kindly and justly with them: for Allah loves those who are just" (al-Mumtahanah/9) and "Permission to fight is given to those against whom war is made, because they have been wronged, and Allah indeed has power to help them," they justified the war against the enemy (E-59-1359; DH-527-1362; AV-497-1362).

They believed that the battlefield could properly interpret verses such as "How often a small group overcame a mighty host by Allah's leave" and "If Allah helps you, none can overcome you." So, the superiority and dominance of the weapons of God over the weapons of great powers were manifested (EH-297-1361).

The representatives, inspired by Imam Khomeini's belief that "Today, all disbelief is placed against faith on these fronts," admitted that the imposed war by Iraq against Iran was an example of the confrontation of disbelief against Islam. One of their reasons in this regard was the military assistance provided by major powers to Iraq for use against Iran (GH-503-1362; G-59-1359; EU-146-1360). Mosavi Khorasani, a representative from Mashhad, believed that "Today, the issue of war has become a fate-making issue that not only shapes the fate of Iran and Iraq but also shapes the fate of Islam and global disbelief because today the war between Iran and Iraq is not a state's war against another state but a war of the Islamic Ummah against the system of disbelief and global atheism." (LA-486-1362)

Therefore, all Muslims should rise up, and this war should be a top priority (IL-414-1361). On the other hand, Iran's goal in this war is to renew the glory of Muslims, uphold the rights of the oppressed, establish global Quranic governance (LD-540-1362), raise the flag of Imam Mahdi (AS) (BK-164-1360) · preserve the credibility of Islam (BZ-521-1362), and establish divine sovereignty (F-59-1359). Therefore, the warriors were considered as the continuation of the path of the Prophet's companions and Imam Hussein in the battlefield of truth against falsehood (BK-164-1360; Q-524-1362).

- Invitation to journalists and human rights organizations to visit war zones in Iran to witness the atrocities committed by the

invading Iraqi army: It was pursued by representatives of the first period of the Islamic Consultative Assembly. So, they invited journalists, intellectuals, writers, and human rights organizations to visit the war zones in Iran to see up close what type of weapons Saddam was using against civilians (K-60-1359; L-89-1359).

They raised this expectation more from journalists in Islamic countries to put their people in these countries in the know about the atrocities of the Iraqi government through the coverage of war news in their media (P-62-1359). In fact, they wanted to expose Iraq's claim of supporting Islam and the Muslims in Islamic countries as hollow and neutralize it.

- **Weakness of the media in covering war news:** The poor performance of the media in reflecting war news and the bravery of the warriors was criticized by the majority of representatives of the first term of the Assembly. They believed that the mass media did not properly cover war news (N-62-1359; GI-551-1362). Mohammad Rashidian, a representative from Abadan, believed that the performance of IRIB in this regard is very low in terms of quantity and quality, and the border areas of Khuzestan are not covered by Iranian radio waves; while the enemy is very active in this regard. Furthermore, some countries around the Persian Gulf expect us to make better use of our advertising and media tools in connection with the war (Y-232-1360). On the other hand, the lack of radio coverage in the border areas of Khuzestan was pursued by other representatives of this city. These representatives stated that regarding the lack of access of the people in these areas to domestic networks, they follow war news from enemy television channels (AC-230-1360; AC-249-1360).

The news is repetitive and does not align with the timing of operations (O-62-1359). Another criticism by representatives was that the realities of war are not conveyed properly, resulting in the spread of rumors in these heated moments. Additionally, honoring committed and innovative commanders and the selflessness and sacrifice of warriors is another duty of the media that is being neglected (I-143-1360; LG-528-1362).

In addition, reflecting the support behind the front lines, the Basij, and the dispatch of forces is also weak (IO-420-1361), while its reflection can boost the morale of the warriors. Accordingly, reflecting the bravery of the warriors, recounting the Islamic foundations in justifying the war, and prioritizing war in all matters should be pursued and reflected by the mass media (IT-493-1362).

Representatives from Qasr-e Shirin and Islam Abad also believed that the news of the war and the spirit of sacrifice, resistance, and

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bravery of the warriors and the people of the western part of the country against enemy attacks are not well conveyed by the state television and radio (U-194-1360; I-403-1361).

- The necessity of supporting refugees and war victims: One of the most important consequences of the war was the displacement and homelessness of a large number of people who needed attention and measures for their accommodation and provision of their needs. The first action of the Rajai government was to establish a headquarters for this purpose in the Prime Minister's Office. Then all governors were ordered to mobilize their resources for the accommodation of refugees (Cultural Unit of the Foundation of the Martyrs of the Islamic Revolution, 1983 AD/ 1362 SH: 1, 333).

Another action was the establishment of the "Foundation for War Victims Affairs." This foundation initially carried out activities under the title of "People's Support Headquarters for War Victims" following Rajai's implicit order on Azar 15, 1359 (Foundation of War Veterans Affairs, 1981 AD/ 1360 SH: 1-2); until a proposal in the parliament regarding the formal establishment of the Foundation for War Victims Affairs was prepared and discussed, ultimately approved by the representatives in the session on Ordibehesht 21, 1360. So, the representatives of the first term of the Islamic Consultative Assembly paid attention to this issue and declared their support for refugees and war victims as a necessity because neglecting this issue would have irreparable political, cultural, and social consequences (BK-88-1359). They asked the people and the government to support them (R-64-1359; L-64-1359).

Representatives considered addressing the situation of refugees as requiring planning, having a plan, and mobilizing all forces (BN-151-1360; U-194-1360). For this purpose, they demanded an assessment of the material situation of the war-torn areas (HE-275-1360). Additionally, they called for more decisiveness from relevant institutions in solving the problems of these areas (AC-385-1361; K-482-1362).

Mortaza Mahmoodi, the representative of Qasr-e Shirin, criticized the performance of the Ministry of Interior and the Foundation for War Victims in dealing with refugees and assessed it as weak (U-194-1360).

Rashidian, the representative of Abadan, demanded that the Ministry of Interior address the performance of the Foundation for War Victims (Y-483-1362).

The educational, instructional, and psychological well-being of refugees and people in war-torn areas were among the concerns of the

parliamentarians; because in these circumstances, where they have lost all their possessions and facilities, there is a possibility of counter-revolutionary influence among them (AW-76-1359; AT-74-359). Additionally, the housing situation of war victims was described as "Harsh." In order to better address the situation of refugees, Ali Moarrefizadeh, the representative of Khorramshahr, requested the identification of individuals among the war victims for inclusion in the Foundation for War Victims. They considered providing accurate statistics of war victims with their complete profiles and making changes to the administrative system of this foundation as crucial steps (AC-385-1361).

Additionally, in order to appreciate the patience and perseverance of the people in war-torn areas, it was proposed that the last week of Esfand be named "War Victims Week." (DE-122-1359)

The representatives of the western part of the country criticized that the war-torn areas of this part are not paid attention to and the government does not console the war-torn youth there. Also, some revolutionary organizations have unprincipled dealings with the people of the western regions (U-338-1361).

- **Iran-Iraq war as an embodiment of unity and sacrifice of the Iranian people:** Qodratollah Najafi, the representative of Qomsheh, believed that the imposed war by Iraq exemplified the unity, sacrifice, loyalty, and obedience of the Islamic nation of Iran. This war strengthened the deep bond of the nation with its leader, who embodies true love and faith in Islam. It is a universal tradition that for an individual or society to achieve material and spiritual happiness, they must endure hardships and struggles. Just as Imam Ali (AS) said in Nahj al-Balagha: "Indeed, Allah does not break the tyrant of the era except that He makes it easier and more prosperous, and He does not rescue any nation from calamities except after enduring hardships and afflictions." (V-65-1359)

- **Promotion of the culture of jihad and martyrdom:** Scholars, using the principle of ijihad and a new reading of concepts such as martyrdom and jihad, laid the groundwork for the formation of a "Culture of martyrdom-seeking," which was first observed during the Islamic Revolution and later during the Iran-Iraq war. Fukuyama considers religion, historical commitments, and culture as sources of social capital. Research conducted in this regard has introduced solidarity, coherence, and cooperation as functions of religion (Nematollahi et al., 2013 AD/ 1392 SH: 177).

The relationship between sacrifice and social capital is a two-way relationship. Sacrifice, by rejecting individual interests and committing

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to and acting for the benefit of group interests, leaves effects in society that are manifestations of social capital (Sarir Afraz, 2011 AD/ 1390 SH: 7-8).

Imam Khomeini also stated about martyrdom: "We are the servants of God and we move and progress in His path. If martyrdom is destined, it is happiness, and if victory is destined, it is happiness." (Khomeini, 2006 AD/ 1385 SH: 15, 404)

One of the main themes of Shia Islam is the culture of martyrdom. The imposed war era is one of the historical periods where the culture of sacrifice and martyrdom once again comes to the forefront (CB-98-1359).

One of the reasons for the acceptance of young people and even adolescents to participate in the battlefields is the acceptance of martyrdom culture as a value. They consider martyrdom as another form of life (AB-67-1359).

Therefore, a nation that sees martyrdom as a vital revival according to its school of thought and for whom non-existence has no meaning will have a more active presence in the battlefields (KZ-479-1362).

Saddam Hussein initially believed that within a few days of attacking Iran, he would at least take over parts of southern Iran. He was unaware that among the people, there are principles and values that cannot be contained in any formula or calculation and that multiply their motivation to fight (AO-72-1359; AP-134-1360; BK-164-360).

Therefore, it can be said that "They have not yet understood the concept of Islam, Shiism, martyrdom, and popular government, and have not realized that enmity with a nation beyond themselves and martyrdom-seeking have no meaning other than destruction and senseless suicide." (HM-567-1362)

The readiness of the people for themselves and their children's martyrdom is commendable (ER-144-1360); so, this foundation, a nation prepared for martyrdom will not be defeated (A-50-1359; KZ-479-1362).

- Encouragement of resilience and perseverance in war: Imam Khomeini, in a meeting held on Dey 8, 1359, with the families of the martyrs of the Air Force of the Army, called upon them to show resilience and perseverance in the mission they are undertaking, referring to the verses of the Quran (Behroozi, 2005 AD/ 1384 SH: 163-166).

Representatives paid attention to encouraging fighters to show resilience and perseverance. Ali Asghar Baghani, the representative of

Sabzevar, stated that just as it is said in the Quran, "So stand firm as you are commanded, and do not fear." (AH-69-1359)

Nasrollahi, the representative of Abadan, reminded the resilience and perseverance of the people of Abadan, highlighting that despite the siege, mass martyrdoms, and the potential danger of collapse, they remained steadfast. In this resilience and perseverance, they earned the admiration and wonder of the enemy (BG-163-1360).

Representative Moarrefizadeh of Khorramshahr also urged the people and the war-stricken to deal with the problems and adversities that have arisen with patience, resilience, and deeper political insight, and not to give the anti-revolutionaries an opportunity to exploit them (AC-203-1360).

As promised by the Quran, "And if they had been steadfast upon the way, We would have given them abundant water to drink," in the case of resilience and the establishment of the culture of resilience, the groundwork for ultimate victory will be laid (IT-522-1362; U-495-1362).

On the other hand, the resistance and perseverance of the people will strengthen the forces present on the front lines (L-520-1362).

- The necessity of appreciating the bravery of various segments of the population present in war: Members of Parliament, on various occasions, expressed appreciation and gratitude for the presence and bravery of various groups of the population involved in the war. Hashemi Rafsanjani, the then Speaker of the Islamic Consultative Assembly, thanked the bravery of the army, the Revolutionary Guards, and various groups of people on the battlefronts against the enemy (L-99-1359; CE-99-1359; EP-143-1360).

They emphasized that these acts of bravery and achievements of the commanders and all forces present on the battlefronts should be reflected by group media (EP-143-1360; GP-254-1360). Expressing gratitude and appreciation from government and official authorities towards the people was effective in strengthening their morale and enhancing their sense of solidarity.

Part of the appreciation of representatives of society was for women. Ja'fari, the representative of Kermanshah, spoke about the role of women in defending the homeland. He stated that the women of Iranian society, inspired by the teachings of Hazrat Zahra (SA), embraced various responsibilities such as being a wife and a mother. With sacrifice and dedication, they sent their husbands and children to the battlefield against the enemy. They also demonstrated their support and solidarity with the battlefield by donating their jewelry and taking care of matters behind the front lines (KE-449-1362).

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Their presence on the battlefronts is a response to the historical cry of Hazrat Zainab, and they have carried this heavy responsibility from the event of Karbala to the present day (LO-574-1362).

- The necessity of addressing the families of martyrs and veterans: With the onset of the war, addressing the families of martyrs became a focus of attention for members of parliament. In this regard, some members of parliament presented a proposal to separate the Martyrs Foundation from the Welfare Organization and accept it as an independent institution, which was approved on Dey 10, 1359.

Additionally, during a seminar for the heads of the Martyrs Foundation on Dey 17, 1359, Hashemi Rafsanjani, the Speaker of Parliament, stated that the Martyrs Foundation is the only institution in which the Imam participates in its supervision. This is due to the importance that the Imam attaches to the families of martyrs, the disabled, and the war-wounded. He then asked the cultural unit of the Martyrs Foundation to compile a comprehensive archive of the lives of martyrs and the war-wounded to keep their names alive (Bashiri, 2017 AD/ 1396 SH: 180).

In order to pay attention to the families of martyrs, the presiding board of the parliament held a session on Bahman 24, 1360, to discuss and exchange views on financial assistance to the families of martyrs (Hashemi, 1399 AD/ 1378 SH: 185).

Despite the expectation that the establishment of the Martyrs Foundation would lead to better care for the families of martyrs, its performance came under criticism from members of parliament. Salimi, the representative of Miyaneh, described the performance of the Martyrs Foundation in this city as weak and called for attention to the families of martyrs (GX-264-1360).

Some representatives also demanded special privileges for the families of martyrs and veterans, stating, "We demand that in universities, employments, the disabled of the revolution, war-wounded, Basijis, and families of martyrs have priority, so that we can show a corner of our religion to them." (BO-349-1361)

Another point raised by representatives regarding the families of martyrs was about the guardianship of the children of martyrs, calling for conditions to be provided for their guardianship by their mothers and measures to be taken to minimize family disputes in this regard (EU-146-1360).

- Benefits and achievements of war: Imam Khomeini, in a meeting with the committee members organizing the third anniversary of the imposed war, referred to the disclosure of Saddam's nature and the

introduction of Islam to the world as results and blessings of the war: "Today Saddam claims to be a Muslim and even performs prayers - which he also does incorrectly - this claim itself is also a blessing of the war, as these are anti-Islamic..."

He further stated: "Despite the fact that war was unpleasant and destroyed our cities, it had blessings such as the introduction of Islam to the world. It revealed which individuals and powers stood against Islam, who feared Islam, and which forces raised against Islam, all of which became evident during the war." (Imam's Sahifeh, 2006 AD/ 1385 SH: 18, 132-130)

Representatives Abbas Douz Douzani from Tabriz and Abdulreza Asadinia from Ahvaz believed that although war has always been criticized for the destruction and devastation it brings, it can also have positive outcomes. At the beginning of the war, contrary to common beliefs, Imam Khomeini declared the Iraq-Iran war as a kind of "Mercy," a mechanism for the growth of society, an accelerator of the movement of the Islamic revolution internally and its issuance externally (BN-151-1360; HI-412-1361).

Among other positive outcomes that representatives attributed to the war was that it strengthens cohesion and unity in society, among individuals, and combatants. In a way that achieving such unity and cohesion in non-war conditions might have taken years, something that we have achieved in a few months today, seeing different groups and classes of people of different ages standing together on the front lines (BN-151-1360; EN-262-1360).

- Islamic culture as the governing principle in the Iranian system:

One of the effects of the Islamic Revolution was the revival of Islamic culture in various sectors of society to the extent that the officials of the Islamic Republic referred to the revival of Islamic culture as the reason for the "Anger of Superpowers." (Hashemi Rafsanjani, 2002 AD/ 1381 SH: 25)

The deep connection of the people with Islamic culture had effects, one of the most important being neutralizing the conspiratorial efforts of the enemy (BN-151-1360).

Zanganeh, the representative of Shiraz, believed that the victory of the Islamic Revolution in the first step is a "Cultural" victory, which led to other victories, whether political or military. He considered this cultural victory as a result of the Iranian people joining the "Islamic Culture." Therefore, the continuity of the revolution is also referred to as the continuity of the principles and regulations of this culture. The principles of Islamic culture can be observed in the battlefronts in the

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resistance of combatants and their defense tactics of the country (AX-503-1362).

Representatives of the first term of the parliament addressed Muslims in the farthest corners of the world, calling Islam a source of dignity and greatness and the Islamic Republic a defender of the rights of Muslims (LS-497-1362).

- **Proposal to convert Khorramshahr into a museum:** Rahimi Hajiabadi, the representative of Mahshahr, suggested to the government that Khorramshahr should remain in its current state of war and be transformed into a "Museum" of the crimes of superpowers, where the harshness of their atrocities is evident in every corner. This way, future generations can see that the Iranian nation did not easily achieve this revolution and those enemies who talk about peace and support for Iraq may reconsider their words when they see these crimes (HF-344-1361).

- **The necessity of mobilizing forces and preserving unity:** Mortaza Mahmoodi, the representative of Qasr-e Shirin, believed that one of the important and fundamental factors for the victory and continuity of the revolution is "Unity," "Compassion," and "Solidarity" among all different sectors of the people and officials at various levels, following the Guardianship of the Jurist and the leadership of the Imam. It is on this basis that Imam Khomeini strongly recommended unity and preservation of solidarity. God also said in the Quran: "And be not like those who became divided and differed after clear proofs had come to them. And those will have a great punishment." (Al-Imran: 105) (U-495-1362)

The independence and greatness of the country depend on being cautious of any sabotage and avoiding any actions that divert thoughts away from war (GI-551-1362).

Therefore, representatives were advised to refrain from any political, economic, and ideological disputes and categorizations. On the other hand, victory on the war fronts requires mobilizing forces and utilizing all available resources, and there should be no negligence in this matter (HI-412-1361).

- **The necessity of appreciating and supporting combatants:** One of the cultural actions highlighted by officials, including the leadership and other political agents during the war, was the appreciation and gratitude towards combatants on the battlefields. Imam Khomeini expressed his gratitude to the combatants, stating: "...I must thank the dear young people who have taken their lives into their own hands and are actively working for Islam on these fronts...We are truly indebted to

those who are working in these conditions and securing victories for you..." (Khomeini, 2006 AD/ 1385 SH: 18, 193)

Appreciation of the combatants and forces present on the war fronts was emphasized by the representatives.

Zamaniyan the representatives of Nahavand mentioned Imam Ali's (AS) statement in describing the combatants: "...And they took hold of the corners of the earth, tearing it apart and making it straight, some of them perished and some survived, giving glad tidings of the living and not mourning over the dead, their bellies hollow from fasting, with dust on their faces, humble." (HA-409-1361)

According to the representatives, appreciating and supporting the efforts of the combatants is obligatory for everyone (AG-490-1362). On the one hand, considering that the primary issue in these circumstances of time and place is war, ensuring all the needs of the combatants should be a top priority (O-490-1362).

- **Call for people to rebuild war-torn areas:** Following the destruction of war-torn areas, their reconstruction became a priority for the government. In this regard, in Mehr 1362, Imam Khomeini issued a decree to Ayatollah Mahdavi Kani, tasking him with establishing a headquarters with full authority to provide for the material and emotional needs of the people in the war-torn areas. Following this decree, the President, Minister of Commerce, Foundation of the Oppressed, and Foundation of Immigrants declared their readiness to serve in this regard (Ettelaat Newspaper, 16/07/1362, 3).

Ayatollah Mahdavi Kani stated the objectives and plans of the headquarters as follows: "The goal of forming this headquarters is to meet the urgent and relief needs of compatriots who have been or are affected by the attacks of Ba'athist forces, and these needs, after spiritual needs, can be basic needs such as livelihood and housing. In this regard, the headquarters strives to train emergency response forces for situations that may arise due to the hostility of the Ba'athists in the future..." It is worth mentioning that the budget of the headquarters was also provided by Imam Khomeini, and the government would allocate resources to it if possible (Ettelaat Newspaper, 17/07/1362, 2).

The reconstruction of war-torn areas was emphasized by the representatives of the first term of the Islamic Consultative Assembly. They invited people from different classes and officials to visit the war-torn areas at an appropriate time and utilize their talents for the development and reconstruction of these areas. They particularly called for renaming "Khoonin Shahr" back to "Khorramshahr." (HM-482-1362)

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Hossein Kamali, the representative of Tehran, called on the people of this city to help rebuild war-torn areas, especially Khorramshahr, in other parliamentary sessions as well (HM-576-1362). Fouad Karimi, the representative of Ahvaz, also emphasized the cooperation of neighboring provinces with the southern and western regions, urging people from various areas to pay more attention to the people in war-torn regions. He requested that parliamentary representatives make their constituents more familiar with the issues of the people in the south and west and encourage them to host war refugees hospitably (FG-578-1362).

Upon the suggestion of the Revolutionary Guards, a day was declared as the Day of Economic Support for the government and the restoration of war damages. It was decided that anyone willing could voluntarily deposit their contributions into account number 222, Shahid Rajaei. Parliamentary representatives took the lead in this matter by signing a letter and depositing their rights into this account for a day to a week. The public was also asked to participate in this charitable act to aid in the reconstruction of war damages (314-1361, L; Nabi Karimi, Pourdarab, 1392: 21, 247-245; Keyhan Newspaper, 04/03/1361).

Conclusion

The Islamic Revolution, as the crucial event in contemporary Iranian history, brought about extensive changes in various social aspects of the country. It ushered in a new chapter of social, cultural, political, and economic relations in Iranian society. With the victory of the revolution and the predominance of Islamic ideologies, cultural changes in society began to replace values and Islamic culture in the community. Based on this, a selective and critical confrontation with traditional and modern values took shape. To facilitate this process, they institutionalized their thoughts in the constitution and established institutions and centers such as propaganda units, guidance, and ideological-political offices to promote religious values and then worked towards implementing them in the country. Another part of the efforts towards transforming values and expanding spiritual culture in society was carried out by the cultural institutions of the revolution.

According to a comprehensive analysis of the detailed discussions of the first term of the Islamic Consultative Assembly, 18 organizing themes were extracted regarding the comprehensive theme of "The cultural approach of the representatives of the first term of the Islamic Consultative Assembly towards the war." These themes included

promoting the culture of martyrdom, the necessity of supporting refugees and war veterans, emulating the efforts of early Islamic leaders, inviting officials to visit war zones and fronts, encouraging resilience and steadfastness in war, addressing the needs of the families of martyrs and veterans, proposing the conversion of Khorramshahr into a museum, the necessity of thanking and appreciating the veterans, and providing for their needs.

Among these themes, "Emulating the efforts of early Islamic leaders and teachings of Shiism" was the most prevalent with 47 occurrences, followed by "The necessity of supporting refugees and war veterans" with 20, and "The weakness of the media in covering war news" with 18 occurrences, receiving more attention from the representatives than other themes.

The discourse of the revolution regarding the Iran-Iraq war was based on Islam. The representatives of the first term of the Islamic Consultative Assembly sought to inflame public opinion and encourage the general populace to resist and stand firm in the face of the war against Iraq by citing reasons and referring to verses, hadiths, narrations, and the lives of the impeccable Imams.

One of the most significant consequences of the war was the displacement and homelessness of a large number of people who needed attention and measures for their resettlement and provision of their needs. To address this, a proposal was made in the parliament to establish an official foundation for the affairs of war veterans, which was discussed and ultimately approved by the representatives in session 143 on Sunday, 21 Ordibehesht 1360. Based on this, the representatives of the first term of the Islamic Consultative Assembly declared their support for refugees and war veterans as a necessity, believing that neglecting this issue would have irreparable political, cultural, and social consequences. They considered addressing the situation of refugees to require fundamental planning, having a plan and program, and mobilizing all forces.

The majority of representatives of the first term of the parliament criticized the poor performance of the media in reflecting war news and the bravery of the fighters. They believed that the mass media did not properly cover war news. In this regard, representatives from Khuzestan province and border areas showed more reaction.

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