

TOSHKENT DAVLAT SHARQSHUNOSLIK UNIVERSITETI
HUZURIDAGI ILMIY DARAJALAR BERUVCHI
DSc.03/31.01.2024.Tar.21.03 RAQAMLI ILMIY KENGASH

TOSHKENT DAVLAT SHARQSHUNOSLIK UNIVERSITETI

XODJIMURATOVA DILSHODA SUNNATILLAYEVNA

ISLOM INQILOBIDAN KEYIN ERON SIYOSIY TIZIMI
EVOLYUTSIYASI VA TRANSFORMATSIYASI

07.00.03 – Jahon tarixi

TARIX FANLARI DOKTORI (DSc) DISSERTATSIYASI AVTOREFERATI

Toshkent – 2025

**Tarix fanlari doktori (DSc)
dissertatsiyasi avtoreferati mundarijasi**

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in Historical Science**

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Toshkent – 2025

Fan doktori (DSc) dissertatsiyasi mavzusi O‘zbekiston Respublikasi Oliy ta’lim, fan va innovatsiyalar huzuridagi Oliy attestatsiya komissiyasida B2025.1.DSc/Tar487 raqam bilan ro‘yxatga olingan.

Dissertatsiya Toshkent davlat sharqshunoslik universitetida bajarilgan.

Dissertatsiya avtoreferati uch tilda (o‘zbek, ingliz, rus (rezyume) Ilmiy kengash veb-sahifasi (www.tsuos.uz) hamda «ZiyoNet» axborot-ta’lim portaliga (www.ziynet.uz) joylashtirilgan.

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Yetakchi tashkilot:

O‘zbekiston xalqaro islomshunoslik akademiyasi

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Dissertatsiya avtoreferati 2025-yil “___” _____kuni tarqatildi.

(2025-yil “___” _____dagi ___-raqamli reestr bayonnomasi).

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KIRISH (fan doktori (DSc) dissertatsiyasi annotatsiyasi)

Dissertatsiya mavzusining dolzarbligi va zarurati. Eron Islom Respublikasining davlat boshqaruv tizimi jahon tarixida muhim o‘rin tutgan ijtimoiy-siyosiy hamda harbiy jarayonlar ta’sirida evolyutsion rivojlanishi va siyosiy transformatsiyasining o‘ziga xosligi bilan ajralib turadi. Teokratik va respublika elementlarini o‘zida mujassamlashtirgan davlat modeli tashqi qarshiliklarga qaramay, izchil rivojlanishni namoyon etmoqda. Eronning shia teokratik davlat boshqaruvi tizimi, hokimiyat strukturalari va jamiyat bilan munosabatlari dinamikasi va mexanizmlari dolzarb ilmiy muammo bo‘lib qolmoqda. Shia siyosiy doktrinasining joriylanishi va demokratik amaliyotlarga moslashuvi siyosiy tuzumlar evolyutsiyasini tushunishning yangi nazariy yondashuvlarini talab qilmoqda. Eron siyosiy tizimini o‘rganish Yaqin va O‘rta Sharq davlatlari jamiyatlarida diniy va dunyoviy qadriyatlarning davlat boshqaruvidagi uyg‘unligi, sivilizatsion an‘analar va modernizatsiya omillarining o‘zaro ta’sirini ko‘rsatadi.

Islom inqilobi natijasida Eronda tashkil etilgan diniy-siyosiy davlat boshqaruv tizimi keyingi davrlarda evolyutsion rivojlanish yo‘lini bosib o‘tib, siyosiy transformatsiyaga uchraganligi bilan belgilanadi. Eronning o‘ziga xos teokratik boshqaruv modeli tashqi siyosat orqali “eksport” qilinishi mintaqaviy xavfsizlik nuqtai nazaridan muhim ahamiyat kasb etadi. Bunday sharoitda “Veloyate faqih” konsepsiyasining oliy rahbarga tayanish tamoyili institutsionallashtirgan teokratik tizimga transformatsiyasi alohida tadqiqot sifatida diniy-siyosiy hokimiyatning legitimlashtirish mexanizmlari va davlat boshqaruvining zamonaviy tashkiliy shakllarini o‘rganish imkonini beradi.

O‘zbekistonning xorijiy davlatlar, jumladan, Eron bilan o‘zaro manfaatli va konstruktiv hamkorlik olib borishi bugun tashqi siyosatimizning muhim yo‘nalishiga aylangan. “Ikki mamlakatning umumiy sivilizatsiyasi va tarixi mamlakatlar o‘rtasidagi iqtisodiy va madaniy munosabatlarni rivojlantirishda muhim rol o‘ynashi mumkin”¹. Shundan kelib chiqqan holda, bu borada xorijiy davlatlar, xususan, ayni paytda mintaqaviy kuch sifatida e’tirof etilayotgan Eron Islom Respublikasi siyosiy tizimi evolyutsiyasi va transformatsiyasi, uning resurslari hamda omillarini tadqiq etish muhim vazifa hisoblanadi.

O‘zbekiston Respublikasi Prezidentining 2022-yil 28-yanvardagi “2022-2026-yillarga mo‘ljallangan yangi O‘zbekistonning taraqqiyot strategiyasi to‘g‘risida”gi PF-60-son, 2018-yil 5-apreldagi “O‘zbekiston Respublikasi Tashqi ishlar vazirligi tizimini tubdan takomillashtirish hamda tashqi siyosiy va tashqi iqtisodiy faoliyatning ustuvor yo‘nalishlarini amalga oshirishda uning mas’uliyatini kuchaytirish chora-tadbirlari to‘g‘risida”gi PF-5400-son va 2020-yil 16-apreldagi “Sharqshunoslik sohasida kadrlar tayyorlash tizimini tubdan takomillashtirish va ilmiy salohiyatini oshirish chora-tadbirlari to‘g‘risida”gi PQ-4680-sonli qarori

¹ O‘zbekiston Respublikasi Prezidenti Shavkat Mirziyoyev. “Sizning tajribangizni qo‘llashdan mamnun bo‘lamiz” - Shavkat Mirziyoyev Eron prezidentining korrupsiyaga qarshi kurashi haqida” / 2022-yil 17-sentyabr. <https://www.gazeta.uz/uz/2021/09/17/iran/#!>

hamda sohaga oid boshqa normativ-huquqiy hujjatlarda belgilangan vazifalarni amalga oshirishga ushbu dissertatsiya tadqiqoti muayyan darajada xizmat qiladi.

Tadqiqotning respublika fan va texnologiyalari rivojlanishining ustuvor yo‘nalishlariga mosligi. Dissertatsiya respublika fan va texnologiyalari rivojlanishining I. “Axborotlashgan jamiyat va demokratik davlatni ijtimoiy, huquqiy, iqtisodiy, madaniy, ma’naviy-ma’rifiy rivojlantirishda innovatsion g‘oyalar tizimini shakllantirish va ularni amalga oshirish yo‘llari” ustuvor yo‘nalishi doirasida bajarilgan.

Dissertatsiya mavzusi bo‘yicha xorijiy ilmiy tadqiqotlar sharhi². Yaqin va O‘rta Sharq mamlakatlaridagi, xususan, Eron ijtimoiy-siyosiy jarayonlari tarixi, siyosiy tizimining evolyutsion rivojlanishi hamda xalqaro-siyosiy transformatsiyasiga oid ilmiy yo‘nalishlarda dunyoning yetakchi ilmiy va aql markazlari, ilmiy tadqiqot muassasalari tomonidan xalqaro loyihalar, dasturlar doirasida fundamental va amaliy tadqiqotlar olib borilmoqda. Jumladan, Eron zamonaviy tarixiy tadqiqotlar instituti, Strategik tadqiqotlar markazi, Milliy tadqiqotlar instituti (Eron), Strategik va xalqaro tadqiqotlar markazi, Eron tadqiqotlari instituti (AQSH), Eron tadqiqotlari instituti (Germaniya), Avstriya fanlar akademiyasi Eron tadqiqotlar instituti (Avstriya), Sharqshunoslik instituti, Sankt-Peterburg davlat universiteti huzuridagi Eronni tadqiq etish “Collegium Iranicum” markazi (Rossiya), “Al-Ahrom” siyosiy va strategik tadqiqotlar markazi (Misr), “Rasana” xalqaro eronshunoslik instituti (Saudiya Arabistoni), Strategik tadqiqotlar markazi (BAA), Ijtimoiy fanlar akademiyasi (Xitoy), Eron tadqiqotlari markazi, Turkiya tashqi ishlar instituti (Turkiya), Pokiston Strategik tadqiqotlar markazi (Pokiston) islom inqilobidan keyin Eron siyosiy institutlarining shakllanishi va evolyutsiyasi tarixi, ushbu mamlakat davlatchiligi tarixida diniy va dunyoviy institutlarning o‘rni, Eronda mafkuraviy transformatsiya va hokimiyatni legitimlash masalalari kabi ilmiy muammolar bo‘yicha tadqiqotlar olib borilmoqda.

XX asr 80-yillaridan keyin Eron siyosiy tizimining evolyutsion rivojlanishi va transformatsiyasiga oid tadqiqotlar natijasida quyidagi ilmiy xulosalar olingan: 1979-yili Eronda amalga oshirilgan islom inqilobi oqibatida mamlakat siyosiy tizimining institutsional asosiga aylangan “Veloyate faqih” konsepsiyasi an’anaviy shia doktrinasining teokratik boshqaruv modeliga transformatsiyasini o‘zida aks ettirgani dalillangan (Strategik va xalqaro tadqiqotlar markazi, AQSH); Eron diniy-siyosiy boshqaruv tizimi zamonaviy talablarga moslashuvchan yangi tipdagi shia teokratik-respublika modeli ekanligi asoslangan (“Rasana” xalqaro eronshunoslik instituti, Saudiya Arabistoni); Eron teokratik tizimining o‘ziga xos jihati siyosiy tizimining dual xarakterida namoyon bo‘lishi, islom inqilobidan keyingi davrda davlat boshqaruvi transformatsiyaga uchragani, siyosiy isteblishmentda harbiy-siyosiy tuzilmalarning nufuzi ortgani asoslangan (Strategik tadqiqotlar markazi, Eron).

² Dissertatsiya mavzusi bo‘yicha xorijiy ilmiy tadqiqotlar sharhi: www.iichs.ir; www.risstudies.org; www.en.nrisp.ac.ir; www.caorc.org; www.rasanah-iiis.org; www.iranicum.spbu.ru; www.acpss.ahram.org.eg; www.iramcenter.org; www.foreignpolicy.org.tr; www.casseng.cssn.cn; www.ciss.org.pk va boshqa manbalar asosida ishlab chiqilgan.

Muammoning o'rganilganlik darajasi. Hozirga qadar Eronning ichki va tashqi siyosatini o'rganish bo'yicha muayyan ishlar amalga oshirilgan. Eron Islom Respublikasining siyosiy tizimi islom inqilobi natijasida "Veloyate faqih" konsepsiyasi asosiga qurilganligi, davlat boshqaruv apparatini teokratik va respublika elementlarini o'zida mujassamlashtirgan siyosiy institutlar uyg'unligi tashkil etishi va ushbu uyg'unlik Eronni bugungi siyosiy voqelik sharoitida faoliyat yuritayotgan teokratik davlatning yorqin namunasiga aylantirgani bilan bog'liq ilmiy tadqiqotlarni quyidagi guruhlariga ajratib, tahlil qilish mumkin:

Birinchi guruhga A.Haydarov, G.Yuldasheva, S.Fayzullayev kabi o'zbekistonlik olimlarning³ Eron ichki va tashqi siyosati, xalqaro munosabatlari, shuningdek, mamlakatdagi ijtimoiy-siyosiy jarayonlar tarixi borasidagi ilmiy ishlarini kiritish mumkin. Xususan, mazkur tadqiqotlarda Eron ichki va tashqi siyosatining asosiy yo'nalishlari, tashqi siyosat mahkamasining islom inqilobini eksport qilish g'oyasini targ'ib qilish yo'lidagi faoliyati hamda Tehronning Markaziy Osiyo respublikalari bilan munosabatlari, shu jumladan, savdo-iqtisodiy va madaniy aloqalari siyosiy fanlar doirasida o'rganilgan.

Ikkinchi guruhga M.Gods, S.Zabih, H.Bashiriya, S.Haqiqat, A.Eqboliy, F.Jahonbaxsh, M.Shafiyfur, R.Koriy, Sh.Husayn, A.Xusravpanoh, A.Dalen, S.Arjumand, E.Abrohamiyon, B.G'amariy-Tabriziy⁴ kabi eronlik olimlarning ushbu mamlakat siyosiy tizimida "Islom boshqaruvi" konsepsiyasining mazmun-mohiyati, teokratik davlat tuzumida xalq boshqaruvi mexanizmlari hamda davlat mafkurasi va uning diniy-siyosiy modernizm shakllanishiga ta'sir etgan ijtimoiy-siyosiy omillari, diniy bag'rikenglik, shaffoflik va so'z erkinligini ta'minlash masalalariga bag'ishlangan tadqiqotlari kiritilgan. Mazkur ilmiy adabiyotlar islom inqilobidan keyin Eronning diniy-siyosiy davlat boshqaruv tizimini o'rganishda muhim ahamiyatga molik.

Uchinchi guruhda L.Avdeyeva, A.Lukoyanov, S.Aliyev, A.Fedoseenkova, N.Filin, L.Polonskaya, N.Mamedova, A.Kuznetsov, V.Klyashtorina, I.Dobrovitskiy, F.Nodirov, L.Ravandi-Fadai, N.Usmonov, V.Malushkov, K.Xromova kabi rossiyalik olimlarning⁵ islom inqilobi natijasida Eron siyosiy tizimining rivojlanish muammolari, mamlakatdagi diniy-siyosiy transformatsiya, davlat boshqaruvida teokratik va dunyoviy elementlarini birlashtirganiga oid ilmiy ishlari o'rin olgan. Mazkur tadqiqotlarda 1979-1989-yillar Eron siyosiy tizimining shakllanish davri, shuningdek, 1990-2005-yillar jamiyatda demokratik islohotlarni amalga oshirish jarayonlari siyosiy realizm va liberalizm nazariyalaridan kelib chiqqan holda tahlil qilingan.

To'rtinchi guruhda R.Rayt, N.Keddi, B.Vilfrid, M.Dauns, B.Urkad, M.Varnaar, S.Ditto, K.Lim, V.Sandquist kabi AQSH va Yevropa davlatlari olimlarining⁶ Eron siyosiy tizimida ruhoniyyat va harbiy elitaning roli, jamiyatda keng ko'lamli islohotlarni amalga oshirish yuzasidan konservatorlar va islohotchilar o'rtasidagi qarama-qarshiliklarning sabablari va oqibatlari, xalqaro sanksiyalar

³ Ushbu tadqiqotlar dissertatsiyaning "Foydalanilgan adabiyotlar ro'yxati" qismida keltirilgan.

⁴ Ushbu tadqiqotlar dissertatsiyaning "Foydalanilgan adabiyotlar ro'yxati" qismida keltirilgan.

⁵ Ushbu tadqiqotlar dissertatsiyaning "Foydalanilgan adabiyotlar ro'yxati" qismida keltirilgan.

⁶ Ushbu tadqiqotlar dissertatsiyaning "Foydalanilgan adabiyotlar ro'yxati" qismida keltirilgan.

natijasida harbiy-siyosiy tuzilma – Islom inqilobi posbonlari korpusi Eron siyosiy tizimi xavfsizligi va barqarorligining tayanchiga aylanganligini o‘rganishga qaratilgan tadqiqotlari jamlangan.

Dissertatsiyani tayyorlash jarayonida mazkur tadqiqotchilarning nazariy xulosalari va konseptual mulohazalari chuqur tahlil qilingan. Yuqoridagi ilmiy ishlarni e’tirof etgan holda ta’kidlash joizki, xorijda ushbu ilmiy muammo yuzasidan muayyan tadqiqotlar o‘tkazilgan bo‘lsa-da, O‘zbekistonda islom inqilobidan keyin Eron siyosiy tizimi evolyutsiyasi va transformatsiyasi alohida kompleks tadqiqot sifatida ilmiy o‘rganilmagan. O‘zbekiston sharqshunosligida Eronning ijtimoiy-siyosiy jarayonlari tarixiga oid qator ilmiy ishlar amalga oshirilgan. Biroq Eron siyosiy tizimi evolyutsiyasi va transformatsiyasi siyosiy realizm va liberalizm nazariyalari nigohida mustaqil tadqiqot sifatida ilmiy tahlil etilmagan.

Dissertatsiya mavzusining dissertatsiya bajarilgan oliy ta’lim muasssasasining ilmiy tadqiqot ishlari rejalari bilan bog‘liqligi.

Dissertatsiya Toshkent davlat sharqshunoslik universiteti ilmiy tadqiqot ishlari rejasidagi 10-sonli “Xorijiy tillarda tarixiy asarlarning ilmiy tadqiqi va tanqidiy tahlili asosida Sharq mamlakatlari tarixiga oid zamonaviy o‘quv adabiyotlarini yaratish” mavzusidagi ilmiy loyiha doirasida bajarilgan.

Tadqiqotning maqsadi 1979-yili Eronda amalga oshirilgan islom inqilobidan so‘ng mamlakat siyosiy tizimi shakllanishi, evolyutsion rivojlanishi, diniy-siyosiy transformatsiyasi jarayonlarining institutsional va mafkuraviy xususiyatlari hamda amaliy jihatlarini ochib berishdan iborat.

Tadqiqotning vazifalari. Mazkur maqsadga erishish uchun dissertatsiyada quyidagi vazifalar belgilandi va bajarildi:

“Veloyate faqih” konsepsiyasi Eron siyosiy tizimining asosi ekanligini ochib berish;

Eron diniy-siyosiy tizimiga oid tadqiqotlarni kompleks tahlil qilish;

teokratik davlatlar siyosiy tizimi transformatsiyasini o‘rganishga uslubiy yondashuvlarni tahlil qilish;

Eron davlat boshqaruvi tizimida diniy va dunyoviy institutlarning o‘rnini ko‘rsatish;

Eron siyosiy tizimida saylovlarning o‘rni va rolini ko‘rsatib berish;

Eron hokimiyat tizimida harbiy-siyosiy tuzilmalar rolining kuchayishini tadqiq etish;

Eron davlat boshqaruvi tizimi transformatsiyasining ichki va tashqi siyosatga ta’sirini ko‘rsatib berish;

islom inqilobini eksport qilish g‘oyasining pragmatik siyosatga transformatsiyasini tahlil qilish;

davlat boshqaruv tizimi xavfsizligi va barqarorligini ta’minlash masalasini ochib berish;

Eronda hokimiyatni legitimlash mexanizmlarining diniy va dunyoviy jihatlarini aniqlash;

Eron siyosiy tizimi rivojlanishining ijtimoiy-iqtisodiy omillarini o‘rganish;

Eronda Oliy rahbar institutining vakolatlari va faoliyat mexanizmlari hamda davlatning diniy-siyosiy tizimi modernizatsiyasini tadqiq etish.

Tadqiqotning obyekti sifatida 1979-yildan keyin ichki voqelik asosida shakllangan Eronning davlat boshqaruv tizimi belgilangan.

Tadqiqotning predmetini Eronda shakllangan o'ziga xos diniy-siyosiy tizim evolyutsiyasi va transformatsiya jarayonlari tashkil etadi.

Tadqiqotning usullari. Dissertatsiyada tarixiy-qiyosiy, tizimli tahlil hamda muammoviy-davriy, strukturali-funksional va boshqa tadqiqot usullaridan foydalanilgan.

Tadqiqotning ilmiy yangiligi

Eronning diniy-siyosiy tizimi evolyutsion rivojlanish jarayonida shakllangan o'ziga xos teokratik davlat boshqaruv modeli Islom inqilobi posbonlari korpusining institusional rolini izchil kuchaytirib, XXI asr sharoitida barqaror siyosiy-iqtisodiy rivojlanishning samaradorligini ta'minlagani, davlat va jamiyat munosabatlari mexanizmining muloqotga intilish va ijtimoiy konsensusni izlash xususiyatlariga asoslanganligi ilmiy dalillangan.

“Veloyate faqih” konsepsiyasi Eron siyosiy tizimining institusional negizi sifatida an'anaviy shia doktrinasidan diniy-siyosiy boshqaruv modeliga o'zgarishi jarayoni, davlat institutlari diniy tizim bilan uyg'unlashuvini ta'minlash mexanizmlari teokratik davlatlar siyosiy tizimi transformatsiyasini o'rganishning institusional va tarixiy-qiyosiy yondashuvlari mahalliy va xorijiy tadqiqotlarning nazariy xulosalari asosida ko'rsatib berilgan.

Eronning diniy-siyosiy boshqaruvi Oliy rahbar institutiga tayanishi natijasida ruhoniyyatning moliyaviy, iqtisodiy va siyosiy faoliyatni nazorat qilish vakolatlari kengaygani, teokratik tizimning dual xarakteri saylov orqali shakllantiriladigan respublika va diniy-ma'muriy institutlarning parallel faoliyatida namoyon bo'lishi hamda davlatning diniy-siyosiy tizimi modernizatsiyasiga qaramay teokratik normalar konstitutsiyaviy-huquqiy mexanizmlardan ustunligi isbotlangan.

Hokimiyat legitimligi diniy tamoyillar bilan birga, davlat tomonidan olib boriladigan tizimli indoktrinatsiya orqali ta'minlanishi, Eron saylov tizimida demokratik jarayonlar va konservativ nazorat o'rtasida murakkab munosabat mavjudligi Konstitutsiyani qo'riqlash kengashi nomzodlarni saralash orqali faqat Oliy rahbarga sodiq shaxslarning saylanishini ta'minlab kelishi ko'rsatib berilgan.

Islom inqilobini eksport qilish g'oyasining pragmatik siyosatga transformatsiyasi Eronga xalqaro maydonda ikki va ko'p tomonlama hamkorlik mexanizmlaridan foydalanish, mintaqaviy integratsiyani kuchaytirish, geografik joylashuv omilini qo'llashga imkoniyat yaratgani Tehronga Yaqin Sharq, Markaziy Osiyo va Kavkaz davlatlari bilan iqtisodiy, siyosiy va xavfsizlik sohalaridagi aloqalarni rivojlantirib, milliy manfaatlarini ta'minlashga qaratilgan ko'p vektorli strategiyani amalga oshirgani aniqlangan.

Tadqiqotning amaliy natijasi quyidagilardan iborat:

tarix fanlarda tan olingan uslub va fanlararo yondashuvlar asosida Eron Islom Respublikasi siyosiy tizimini tadqiq etish va o'quv jarayonida qo'llanilishi mumkin bo'lgan ilmiy nazariy va uslubiy jihatlar aniqlangan;

1979-1989-yillarda Eron davlat siyosiy tizimi transformatsiyasi teokratik boshqaruv usullarini saqlagan holda, voqelikka moslashish imkoniyatlarini namoyish etib, Bosh vazir lavozimini tugatish orqali davlat boshqaruvi tizimi maqbullashtirilishi Erondagi teokratik rivojlanish barqarorligini ta'minlagani aniqlangan;

Eron davlat boshqaruvida diniy-harbiy elita – Islom inqilobi posbonlari korpusining ta'siri kuchayib, siyosiy qarorlar qabul qilishdagi ishtiroki, muntazam qurolli kuchlar, razvedka xizmati va iqtisodiy faoliyatni uyg'unlashtirgan institutga aylangani hamda xalqaro sanksiyalar sharoitida yashirin iqtisodiy tizimlar orqali o'z mavqeini yanada mustahkamlab, davlat boshqaruvining markaziy elementlaridan biriga aylangani asoslab berilgan.

Eron davlat boshqaruv tizimini tadqiq etish orqali siyosiy transformatsiyaning tendensiyalari va unda diniy omilning roli va o'rni yuzasidan ilmiy xulosa va takliflar berilgan.

Tadqiqot natijalarining ishonchliligi respublika va xalqaro miqyosdagi ilmiy konferensiyalar materiallarida, O'zbekiston Respublikasi Oliy ta'lim, fan va innovatsiyalar vazirligi huzuridagi OAK ro'yxatiga kirgan maxsus jurnallar va xorijiy ilmiy konferensiyalar materiallarida e'lon qilinganligi, amaliyotda joriy qilingani va vakolatli idoralar tomonidan tegishli tartibda tasdiqlanganligi bilan ta'minlangan.

Tadqiqotning ilmiy va amaliy ahamiyati. Tadqiqot natijalarining ilmiy ahamiyati uning materiallaridan tarix, xalqaro munosabatlar tarixi, Eron siyosiy tizimi tarixi bo'yicha darslik va qo'llanmalar tayyorlashda, Eron tarixiga doir tadqiqotlar o'tkazishda foydali bo'lishi bilan izohlanadi.

Tadqiqot natijalarining amaliy ahamiyati esa tadqiqot materiallari va xulosalaridan tegishli vazirlik va idoralar, oliy ta'lim muassasalari va sohaga oid muassasalar mutaxassislari uchun tahliliy materiallar tayyorlashda, ixtisoslashgan ta'lim muassasalarining o'quv kurslari va dasturlarida, "Eron tarixi", "Mamlakatshunoslik", "Jahon tarixi", "Mintaqashunoslik" fanlarini o'qitishda hamda tegishli yo'nalishlarda tadqiqot ishlarini bajarishda foydalanish mumkinligi bilan izohlanadi.

Tadqiqot natijalarining joriy qilinishi. XX asrning 80-yillaridan keyin Eron siyosiy tizimi evolyutsiyasi va transformatsiyasi bo'yicha olingan tadqiqot natijalari asosida:

Eron siyosiy tizimida "islom boshqaruvi" konsepsiyasining mazmun-mohiyati, teokratik davlat tuzumida xalq boshqaruvi mexanizmlari hamda davlat mafkurasi va uning diniy-siyosiy modernizm shakllanishiga ta'sir etgan ijtimoiy-siyosiy omillari hamda ushbu davlat boshqaruvida yuz bergan transformatsiya boshqaruvning teokratik va dunyoviy elementlarini birlashtirishning yangicha mexanizmini vujudga keltirgani borasidagi ilmiy tadqiqot natijalari va xulosalaridan O'zbekiston Respublikasi Tashqi ishlar vazirligi huzuridagi Xalqaro munosabatlar axborot-tahliliy markaziining axborot-tahliliy hujjatlar tayyorlashda foydalanilgan. (O'zbekiston Respublikasi Tashqi ishlar vazirligi huzuridagi Xalqaro munosabatlar axborot-tahliliy markazining 2025-yil 13-martdagi 01/32-sonli ma'lumotnomasi).

Natijada Eronning ichki va tashqi siyosatini belgilashda Oliy rahbarning roli, mamlakatda mavjud siyosiy institutlar va guruhlarining faoliyati borasidagi xulosalarni ilmiy asoslashga, shuningdek, muayyan muammolar bo'yicha tavsiya va takliflar tayyorlashga xizmat qilgan.

Teokratik boshqaruvning "Veloyate faqih" konsepsiyasi zamonaviy Eron siyosiy tizimining institutsional asosi sifatida an'anaviy shia doktrinasining teokratik boshqaruv modeliga transformatsiya bo'lib, respublika boshqaruvi institutlarining diniy tizim bilan uyg'unlashuvini ta'minlagani borasidagi ilmiy tadqiqot natijalari va xulosalaridan O'zbekiston Respublikasi Din ishlari bo'yicha qo'mitasining axborot-tahliliy hujjatlar tayyorlashda foydalanilgan. (O'zbekiston Respublikasi Din ishlari bo'yicha qo'mitasining 2025-yil 24-martdagi 02-02/02/1/758-sonli dalolatnomasi). Natijada tashqi siyosiy jarayonlarni o'rganishning axborot-tahlil bazasining takomillashishiga, mazkur sohada olib boriladigan ilmiy-tahliliy ishlarning samaradorligining oshishiga xizmat qilgan.

Islom inqilobidan keyin Eron siyosiy tizimi "Veloyate faqih" konsepsiyasi ushbu davlat boshqaruvining asosi sifatida markaziy o'ringa egaligi hamda Eron siyosiy tizimi hokimiyatning ikki xil – teologik (yashirin imom konsepsiyasi) va siyosiy (umumxalq saylovlari) legitimligiga tayanishi borasidagi ilmiy tadqiqot natijalari va xulosalaridan O'zbekiston Respublikasi Vazirlar Mahkamasi huzuridagi Imom Buxoriy xalqaro ilmiy-tadqiqot markazining axborot-tahliliy hujjatlar tayyorlashda foydalanilgan. (Imom Buxoriy xalqaro ilmiy-tadqiqot markazining 2025-yil 7-martdagi 02/103-sonli dalolatnomasi). Natijada tashqi siyosiy jarayonlarni o'rganishning axborot-tahlil bazasining takomillashishiga, mazkur sohada olib boriladigan ilmiy-tahliliy ishlarning samaradorligining oshishiga xizmat qilgan.

Eron saylov tizimida demokratik protsessual shakllar va konservativ institutsional nazorat o'rtasida murakkab munosabat mavjudligi, Konstitutsiyani qo'riqlash kengashi saylovlarda nomzodlarni saralash va siyosiy o'zgarishlarni nazorat qilish orqali faqat Oliy rahbarga sodiq nomzodlarning saylanishini ta'minlashi, 1989-2005-yillarda parlamentda an'anaviy aristokratik elementlardan ijtimoiy tabaqa vakillariga o'tish kuzatilgan bo'lsa-da, konservatorlar institutsional mexanizmlarni saqlab qolishga erishgani borasidagi tadqiqot natijalari va xulosalardan Tadbirkorlar va ishbilarmonlar harakati – O'zbekiston liberal-demokratik partiyasi Siyosiy kengashi ijroiya qo'mitasi xorijiy mamlakatlar tajribalarini o'rgangan holda qonunchilik tashabbuslarini ishlab chiqish hamda siyosiy jarayonlarga oid axborot-tahliliy hujjatlar tayyorlashda foydalanilgan. (Tadbirkorlar va ishbilarmonlar harakati – O'zbekiston liberal-demokratik partiyasi Siyosiy kengashi ijroiya qo'mitasining 2025-yil 7-martdagi 01-27/109-sonli ma'lumotnomasi). Natijada partiya faoliyatini tizimli tashkil etish, jamiyatda siyosiy islohotlarni amalga oshirish mexanizmlarini takomillashtirish, davlat organlari o'z faoliyatida inson manfaatlarini ta'minlashga qaratilgan boshqaruv mexanizmiga tayanish zaruriyati bo'yicha takliflar tayyorlashga xizmat qilgan.

Tadqiqot natijalarining aprobatsiyasi. Mazkur tadqiqot natijalari 5 ta ilmiy anjumanda, jumladan, 4 ta xalqaro darajadagi va 1 ta respublika miqyosidagi konferensiyada muhokama qilingan.

Tadqiqot natijalarining e'lon qilinganligi. Dissertatsiya mavzusi bo'yicha jami 20 ilmiy ish, shu jumladan, 2 ta monografiya, Oliy attestatsiya komissiyasi tomonidan doktorlik dissertatsiyalarining asosiy natijalarini chop etish tavsiya etilgan ilmiy nashrlarda 11 ta maqola (ulardan 9 tasi respublika va 2 tasi xorijiy jurnallarda) nashr qilingan.

Dissertatsiyaning tuzilishi va hajmi. Dissertatsiya kirish, o'n ikki paragrafli to'rt bob, xulosa va foydalanilgan adabiyotlar ro'yxatidan iborat. Dissertatsiya tadqiqot qismining hajmi 224 betni tashkil etadi.

DISSERTATSIYANING ASOSIY MAZMUNI

Kirish qismida tanlangan mavzuning dolzarbligi va zarurati asoslangan, uning O'zbekiston Respublikasi fan va texnologiyalar taraqqiyotining ustuvor yo'nalishlariga bog'liqligi ko'rsatilgan, muammoning o'rganilganlik darajasi yoritilgan, tadqiqotning maqsadi va vazifalari, obyekti va predmeti aniqlangan, tadqiqot usullari, dissertatsiyaning ilmiy yangiligi va amaliy natijalari bayon qilingan, olingan natijalarning ishonchliligi, ilmiy va amaliy ahamiyati asoslab berilgan, tadqiqot natijalarining aprobatsiyasi bo'yicha ma'lumotlar keltirilgan, dissertatsiyaning tuzilishi va hajmi bo'yicha ma'lumotlar berilgan.

Dissertatsiyaning **“Eron siyosiy tizimini tadqiq etishning nazariy-metodologik asoslari”** deb nomlangan birinchi bobida “Veloyate faqih” konsepsiyasining Eron siyosiy tizimi poydevori sifatidagi roli, teokratik davlatlar siyosiy tizimi transformatsiyasini o'rganishning nazariy va uslubiy yondashuvlari hamda Eron diniy-siyosiy tizimiga oid mahalliy va xorijiy tadqiqotlar tahlili kabi masalalar tadqiq etilgan. 1979-yilga qadar konstitutsion monarxiya shaklidagi Eron davlat boshqaruv tizimiga islom inqilobi natijasida demokratik boshqaruv elementlarini saqlab qolgan holda teokratik “Veloyate faqih” konsepsiyasi joriylanishining shart-sharoitlari, uning mohiyati, konstitutsiyaviy va huquqiy asoslari o'rganilgan.

Tadqiqotda dissertatsiyaning ilmiy muammosi ochib berilar ekan, 1979-yilda Oliy rahbar Ruhulloh Xumayniy tomonidan ishlab chiqilgan va Eron Islom Respublikasi siyosiy tizimining asosi bo'lgan “Veloyate faqih” konsepsiyasi hozirgi dunyoda boshqaruvning teokratik modelini amaliyotga joriylashning o'ziga xos namunasi ekanligi ko'rsatib berilgan. Diniy hokimiyatning legitimligi, ijtimoiy adolat ustuvorligi, sinfiy tabaqalanishning rad etilishi, qonun oldida barchaning tengligi va davlat boshqaruvi islom aqidalariga asoslanishi kabi mazkur konsepsiyaning asosiy elementlari ochib berilgan.

Dastlab, shia davlatchiligida “Imom boshqaruvi” sifatida shakllangan “Veloyate faqih” konsepsiyasi XX asr oxirida Erondagi joriy voqelikka moslashtirilgan holda davlat va jamiyat qurilishining asosi deb qabul qilingani va unga ko'ra Oliy rahbar instituti joriy etilganligi ko'rsatib berilgan. Ushbu

konsepsiyaning konstitutsiyaviy institutsionallashuvi tahlili natijasida, Oliy rahbar vakolatlari kengayishi va teokratik hokimiyatning teologik (yashirin imom tamoyili) va siyosiy (umumxalq saylovlari) legitimlikka ega ekanligi aniqlangan. Bunda diniy legitimlik konstitutsiyaviy-huquqiy normalardan ustunligi ta'kidlangan.

Dissertatsiyada shialik ta'limotiga ko'ra davlat boshqaruvi negizini tashkil etuvchi "Veloyate faqih" konsepsiyasi Eron sharoitida teokratik boshqaruv modeliga transformatsiyasini o'zida aks ettirishi aniqlangan. R.Xumayniy tomonidan 1970-yillar boshida shakllantirilgan nazariy qarashlar tizimi mazkur konsepsiyaning genezisi ekanligi va unda siyosiy-ma'muriy hamda diniy elementlarni birlashtirgan davlat boshqaruvining teokratik modeli ko'rsatib berilgan. Oliy rahbar instituti evolyutsiyasi "Veloyate faqih" konsepsiyasining institutsionallashuvi o'zanida tahlil qilinib, R.Xumayniy yetakchiligidagi mazkur teokratik boshqaruv modeli Ali Xomana'iy davrida siyosiy voqelikka moslashgani, Oliy rahbarning diniy malakasiga qo'yiladigan talablar susaygani, siyosiy-ma'muriy vakolatlari esa kengaytirilgani aniqlangan.

Teokratik davlatlar siyosiy tizimi transformatsiyasini o'rganishda nazariy va uslubiy yondashuvlar tahlil qilinib, "dinamik muvozanat", "sekulyar adaptatsiya", "institutsional evolyutsiya", "texnologik modernizatsiya" kabi nazariy konsepsiyalar teokratik tizimlarda kechayotgan o'zgarishlarning turli jihatlarini ochib berishda metodologik asos sifatida tadqiq etilgan. Dissertatsiyada teokratik davlatlar siyosiy tizimi transformatsiyasini tadqiq etishda kompleks metodologik yondashuv zarurligi ta'kidlangan.

Dissertatsiyada Eron diniy-siyosiy tizimiga oid tadqiqotlar tahlili natijasida, G'arb sharqshunosligida diniy-siyosiy modernizmning kelib chiqishi, mohiyati va rivojlanish bosqichlari tizimli o'rganilgani, MDH respublikalari olimlari asosan davlat hokimiyati strukturasi va ichki siyosiy jarayonlarga e'tibor qaratgani, fors tilidagi tadqiqotlarda esa Eron intellektual elitasining subyektiv qarashlari aks etgani ko'rsatilgan. Tadqiqot natijalarida Eron teokratik tizimining o'ziga xos jihati siyosiy tizimning dual xarakterida namoyon bo'lishi, bunda saylovlar orqali shakllantiriladigan respublika institutlari bilan diniy-ma'muriy institutlar parallel faoliyat yuritishi, diniy institutlar konstitutsiyaviy-huquqiy tartibga solish mexanizmlaridan ustunlikka ega ekanligi va bu holat davlat boshqaruvining teokratik modelini mustahkamlashi aniqlangan. Zamonaviy Eron davlatchiligi masalasi turli ilmiy maktablarda bir biridan farqli metodologik yondashuvlar asosida tadqiq etilishi ta'kidlangan. Eron siyosiy tizimi evolyutsiyasi va transformatsiyasi, davlat boshqaruvi genezisi, diniy-siyosiy hokimiyat legitimligi va legalligi tamoyillari ayni paytga qadar ilmiy muammo sifatida kompleks tadqiq etilmagani ko'rsatib berilgan.

Oliy rahbar R.Xumayniy tomonidan 1979-yilda Eron jamiyatida amalga oshirilgan siyosiy transformatsiya, jumladan, davlat institutlarining ruhoniya bilan uyg'unlashuvi faktologik ma'lumotlarga tayangan holda Sharq mamlakatlari tarixini tadqiq etish metodlari asosida o'rganilgan. Shuningdek, Eron davlat boshqaruvida inqilobiy institutlar legitimlashuvi, xususan, Islom inqilobi posbonlari korpusi oddiy harbiy tuzilmadan siyosiy-iqtisodiy elitaga evolyutsiyasi, "Veloyate faqih"

konsepsiyasining siyosiy konyukturaga moslashtirilganligi, siyosiy isteblishment teokratiya, harbiylar va siyosiy doira vakillaridan iboratligi aniqlangan.

Ushbu faktlar asosida amalga oshirilgan gorizontal tahlil natijasida R.Xumayniy ishlab chiqqan Erondagi teokratik boshqaruv modeli mamlakatdagi joriy siyosiy, ijtimoiy-iqtisodiy voqelikka moslashuvchan ekanligi ta'kidlangan. Eron siyosiy tizimi evolyutsiyasi islom inqilobidan keyin teokratik mafkura, ichki siyosiy raqobat, geosiyosiy tazyiq, iqtisodiy, institutsional muvozanat va jamiyatning o'zgaruvchan talablari kabi omillar ta'sirida rivojlangan. Ushbu omillar Eronning siyosiy tuzumini doimiy ravishda moslashuvchan va o'ziga xos teokratik-respublikaviy model sifatida rivojlanishini ta'minlagan.

Shu bois dissertatsiyaning birinchi bobida Eron siyosiy tizimini tadqiq etishning nazariy-metodologik asoslarini o'rganish bo'yicha amalga oshirilgan tadqiqot natijasida qilingan xulosalarga ko'ra, teokratik davlat modeli sifatida shakllangan Eron siyosiy tizimi Oliy rahbar institutining evolyutsiyasi bilan xarakterlanadi. Teokratik davlatlar evolyutsiyasi va transformatsiyasi G'arb va Sharq ilmiy maktablarida shakllangan nazariyalar hamda konsepsiyalar doirasida o'rganiladi. Bunday nazariy yondashuvlar teokratik tizimlarda kechayotgan o'zgarishlarning turli jihatlarini ochib beradi. Teokratik davlatlarda siyosiy tizimlar transformatsiyasi din va davlat munosabatlari evolyutsiyasiga bog'liq. Bu jarayon ichki va tashqi omillar, globallashuv ta'siri ostida kechib, uning muvaffaqiyati diniy qadriyatlar bilan demokratik prinsiplar o'rtasidagi muvozanatga bog'liq. Shu bois teokratik davlatlar siyosiy tizimi evolyutsion rivojlanishi va transformatsiyasini tadqiq etishda sharqshunoslik-eronshunoslik sohasiga oid kompleks metodologik yondashuvlar zarurligi ta'kidlanadi.

Ikkinchi bob "Eron siyosiy institutlarining evolyutsion rivojlanishi" deb nomlanib, unda Eron davlat boshqaruvi tizimida diniy va demokratik institutlarning o'rni, mazkur tizimda saylovlarning o'rni va roli hamda hokimiyat vertikalida harbiy-siyosiy tuzilmalar rolining kuchayishi kabi masalalar tadqiq etilgan. Eron Islom Respublikasining institutsional arxitekturasi boshqaruvning teokratik va respublika davlat boshqaruvi elementlarini o'zida mujassamlashtirgan o'ziga xos rivojlanish modelini namoyon etgani, mamlakat Oliy rahbari Eron ichki va tashqi siyosati bo'yicha qaror qabul qilish jarayonining markaziy nuqtasida turishi va mazkur qarorlarning qabul qilinishi mamlakatning turli siyosiy kuchlari ishtirokini talab qiluvchi murakkab jarayon ekanligi ta'kidlangan.

Dissertatsiyada Eron siyosiy tizimining o'ziga xos jihati sifatida respublika va teokratiya sinteziga asoslangan dualistik hokimiyat tizimi ko'rsatib beriladi. Erondagi prezident, parlament kabi respublika institutlari va Oliy rahbar, Ekspertlar kengashi, Konstitutsiyani qo'riqlash kengashi kabi teokratik tuzilmalar o'rtasidagi vakolatlar taqsimotini o'rganish mamlakatda diniy legitimlik konstitutsiyaviy-huquqiy normalar orqali belgilab qo'yilganini ko'rsatgan.

Ushbu bobda Eron siyosiy modelining o'ziga xos teokratik-respublika shakli va boshqaruv institutlari tahlil qilinar ekan, davlat institutsional arxitekturasi boshqaruvning teokratik va respublika elementlarini mujassamlashtirgan siyosiy rivojlanish modelini o'zida namoyon etishi zikr etilgan. Davlat boshqaruvi sohasida

ko'plab vakolatlarga ega bo'lgan Oliy rahbar instituti ushbu tizimning markaziy elementi sifatida ko'rsatilgan. Mazkur Ekspertlar kengashi, Konstitutsiyani qo'riqlash kengashi va Maqsadga muvofiqlik kengashi kabi teokratik organlar prezident, parlament kabi respublika boshqaruvi organlari davlat boshqaruvini o'zaro uyg'unlikda "tiyib turish va muvozanatni ushlab" tamoyiliga monand amalga oshirishi ochib berilgan.

Ikkinchi bobda dissertatsiyaning maqsad va vazifalaridan kelib chiqqan holda Oliy rahbarning maqomi, funksional vazifalari va vakolatlari atroflicha tadqiq etilgan. Qayd etilishicha, Oliy rahbar hukumat faoliyatini, jumladan, moliya jamg'armalarini, islomiy soliqlar va daromadlarini nazorat qiladi. Ruhoniyat tasarrufidagi ixtiyoriy badallar tizimi teokratik institutlarga katta moliyaviy mustaqillikni ta'minlashi ko'rsatilgan. Bunda hokimiyatning iqtisodiy bloki Erondagi davlat boshqaruvining barcha institutlariga siyosiy ta'sir ko'rsata olishi ta'kidlangan.

Eron siyosiy tizimida saylovlarning o'rni va roli tadqiqi mamlakat saylov tizimi demokratik protsessual shakllar va chuqur ildiz otgan konservativ institutsional nazorat o'rtasida murakkab munosabat mavjudligini ko'rsatgan. E'tiborga loyiq tomoni shundaki, Eronda prezidentlik va parlament saylovlari muntazam ravishda o'tkazib borilsa-da, siyosiy jarayonlar nomzodlarni saralaydigan va kutilmagan siyosiy o'zgarishlarni o'z vaqtida to'xtatib qola oladigan Konstitutsiyani qo'riqlash kengashi tomonidan doimo tizimli nazorat qilinadi. Bu esa xorijiy ekspertlar tomonidan "dekorativ demokratiya" sifatida baholanishi qayd etilgan.

Islom inqilobidan keyin (1980-2024-yillar) mamlakatda o'tkazilgan saylovlarning gorizont talhlili Eron siyosiy institutlarining evolyutsion rivojlanishida muhim rol o'ynaganini ko'rsatib bergan. 1979-1989-yillar siyosiy jarayonlarda ruhoniyat vakillari yetakchilik qilgani va 1989-2004-yillari esa parlamentda islohotchilar bloki ko'pchilikni tashkil etgani ko'rsatilgan. Biroq siyosiy isteblishmentdagi bunday o'zgarishlarga qaramay konservatorlar Konstitutsiyani qo'riqlash kengashi orqali o'ziga maqbul institutsional mexanizmni saqlab qolmoqda. Konstitutsiyani qo'riqlash kengashining barcha a'zolarini bevosita va bilvosita Oliy rahbar tayinlashi mexanizmi saylov jarayonlari teokratiya tomonidan to'liq nazorat qilinishini ta'minlaydi.

Dissertatsiyada 2019-2024-yillar Eronda kuzatilgan keng miqyosdagi xalq norozilik namoyishlari talhlil qilinar ekan, bu jamiyatning ruhoniyat yetakchiligidagi konservatorlar bloki vakillari tomonidan amalga oshirilayotgan ichki siyosatdan jiddiy norozi ekanligini, shu jumladan, Eron siyosiy tizimi legitimligidagi inqiroz tobora chuqurlashib borayotgani qayd etiladi.

Aniqlanishicha, Islom inqilobi posbonlari korpusi iqtisodiy sanksiyalar sharoitida evolyutsion rivojlanish natijasida oddiy harbiy tuzilmadan davlatning ko'p funksiyali, transmilliy iqtisodiy konglomeratiga aylangan. Bevosita Oliy rahbarga bo'ysunuvchi ushbu tuzilma 2008-2023-yillar mobaynida "davlat ichidagi davlat" sifatida faoliyat yuritgan. Eron iqtisodida strategik ahamiyatga molik 500 dan ziyod kompaniyalar Islom inqilobi posbonlari korpusi tasarrufiga o'tgani natijasida mamlakat iqtisodining 30-35 foizini o'z nazoratiga olgani ko'rsatib

berilgan. Korpus harbiy-texnik, bank-moliya, neft-kimyo, qurilish va transport sohalarida monopol mavqega erishgani bois nafaqat harbiy-siyosiy, balki iqtisodiy aktor sifatida ham mamlakat siyosatida hal qiluvchi rol o'ynashiga olib kelgan. Davlat boshqaruvida diniy-harbiy elitaning ta'siri kuchayib borishi Korpusning siyosiy qarorlar qabul qilish, razvedka xizmati va iqtisodiy faoliyatni uyg'unlashtirgan institutga aylanishi bilan bog'liqligi ko'rsatilgan.

Dissertatsiyaning ikkinchi bobidagi tadqiqot natijalari Eron siyosiy institutlarining shakllanishi va evolyutsion rivojlanish jarayonlarini tadqiq etish asosida davlat boshqaruv tizimining o'ziga xos xususiyatlarini, narrativlarini va saylov tizimining mamlakatdagi ijtimoiy-siyosiy vaziyatga ta'sirini ko'rsatgan va ilmiy jihatdan asoslab bergan. Eron siyosiy tizimining teokratik modelida respublika boshqaruvi prinsiplari bilan diniy institutlar o'zaro ta'siri samarali davlat boshqaruvini ta'minlagani, harbiy-siyosiy elitaning davlat boshqaruvida ta'siri muntazam ortib borgani aniqlangan. Mazkur modelning o'ziga xosligi uning ichki va tashqi tahdidlarga, shu jumladan, xalqaro sanksiyalarga nisbatan barqarorligi hamda adaptivligida namoyon bo'lishi qayd etilgan.

Dissertatsiyaning **“Eronda hokimiyatni legitimlashtirish va mafkuraviy transformatsiya”** deb nomlangan uchinchi bobi Eron davlat boshqaruvi tizimi transformatsiyasining ichki va tashqi siyosatga ta'siri, islom inqilobini eksport qilish mafkurasining pragmatik siyosatga transformatsiyasi hamda Eronda hokimiyatni legitimlash mexanizmlarining diniy va dunyoviy jihatlari masalalar tadqiq etilgan. Eronda diniy-siyosiy hokimiyat boshqaruvini legitimlashtirish tizimi, xususan, R.Xumayniy hokimiyatining legitimligi diniy noiblik va ilohiy sanksiyaga tayangan bo'lsa, uning vafotidan so'ng A.Xomaniy davrida diniy legitimlik konstitutsiyaviy normalar bilan mustahkamlanganligi asoslab berilgan. Shu bilan birga, XX asrning oxirida 80-yillarida Eron tashqi siyosatining mafkuraviy asosini “Islom inqilobi eksporti” konsepsiyasi tashkil etsa, 1989-yildan boshlab Tehron tashqi siyosatida pragmatik yondashuv ustunlik qilib, M.Xotamiy davrida (1997-2005-yillar) “Sivilizatsiyalar muloqoti” siyosati yuritilgani ochib berilgan.

Eron davlat boshqaruvi tizimi transformatsiyasining ichki va tashqi siyosatga ta'sirini o'rganish davomida 1989-2005-yillar davlat siyosiy tizimi transformatsiyasi teokratik boshqaruv usullarini saqlagan holda, voqelikka moslashish imkoniyatlarini namoyon etgani ko'rsatib berilgan. Xususan, qayd etilishicha, 1989-yildagi konstitutsiyaviy islohotlar Bosh vazir lavozimini tugatish va Oliy rahbarga qo'yiladigan malaka talablarini o'zgartirish orqali davlat boshqaruvi tizimini maqbullashtirishga erishilgan. Keyingi institutsional o'zgarishlar esa diniy rivojlanish barqarorligini saqlab qolgan holda boshqaruv samaradorligini oshirishga qaratilgani ta'kidlangan.

Shu bilan birga, 1990-2000-yillar mobaynida Eronda teokratik hokimiyat ustuvorligi saqlanishiga qaramay, siyosiy hayotning liberallasuvi yuz bergani, siyosiy partiyalar va jamoat tashkilotlarining faollashuvi, fuqarolarning siyosiy ishtiroki kengayishi va jamoatchilik kayfiyatining demokratlashtirish foydasiga o'zgargani ko'rsatib berilgan. Dissertatsiyada ta'kidlanishicha, 1997-2005-yillar Muhammad Xotamiy prezidentligi davrida tashqi siyosiy aloqalar faollashuvi

Eronning xalqaro imiji yaxshilanishiga olib keldi, biroq siyosiy hokimiyatning bo‘linish tizimi xususiyati va muxolifat qarshiligi tufayli islohotlar mantiqiy yakuniga yetkazilmagan.

Dissertatsiyaning maqsad va vazifalaridan kelib chiqqan holda islom inqilobini eksport qilish strategiyasining evolyutsion jarayonlari o‘rganilar ekan, uning natijalariga ko‘ra, R.Xumayniy rahbarligida ishlab chiqilgan strategiya Eron tashqi siyosatida 1979-1990-yillarda markaziy o‘rin egallagan hamda uni ikki bosqichda amalga oshirilishi rejalashtirilgan. Xususan, birinchi bosqichda islom inqilobini musulmon davlatlariga, ikkinchi bosqichda esa dunyoning barcha mamlakatlariga tarqatish ko‘zlangani qayd etiladi. Ma’lum bo‘lishicha, mazkur strategiya Eron Konstitutsiyasida ham mustahkamlangan bo‘lib, uning amalga oshirilishi davlatning Tashqi ishlar vazirligi, Islom inqilobi posbonlari korpusi, Madaniyat va islom ishlari vazirligi zimmasiga yuklatilgan.

Dissertant nuqtai nazaricha, 1980-1988-yillardagi Eron-Iroq urushi Eron rahbariyatida “Islom inqilobi eksporti” strategiyasini harbiy yo‘l bilan amalga oshirib bo‘lmasligi borasida aniq xulosa shakllanishiga xizmat qilgan. Mintaqa va xalqaro maydonda Eronning mazkur strategiyasi yuzasidan hosil bo‘lgan fikr-mulohaza va yondashuvlardan kelib chiqib, R.Xumayniy rahbarligidagi Eron teokratiyasi o‘z pozitsiyasini o‘zgartirgani, islom inqilobi mafkurasini, birinchi navbatda, arab-musulmon olamiga madaniy-ma’rifiy usullarda tarqatishga usullariga e’tiborini qaratgani ochib beriladi. Xususan, haj ziyorati, madaniy almashinuv dasturlari, diplomatik kanallar orqali Eron g‘oyalarini tarqatish mexanizmlari ishlab chiqiladi.

Eron rahbariyati tomonidan ichki va tashqi siyosatida amalga oshirilgan transformatsion o‘zgarishlarning dastlabki bosqichi 1989-yildan so‘ng boshlanganligi qayd etilar ekan, Ali Akbar Hoshimiy-Rafsanjoniylar 1989-1997-yillarda Eron prezidenti sifatida faoliyat yuritib, Oliy rahbar A.Xomaniy bilan yaqin hamkorlikda ishlagan bo‘lsa-da, konservatorlar bloki vakillarining ichki siyosiy kursni belgilash bo‘yicha yondashuvlariga qarshi chiqqanligi zikr etiladi. Xususan, A.A.Hoshimiy-Rafsanjoniyni mazkur yo‘nalishdagi siyosati Eron davlat boshqaruvi tizimidagi prezident va Oliy rahbar o‘rtasidagi duumviratni transformatsiya qilishga qaratilgan sa’y-harakat sifatida xarakterlanadi.

Dissertatsiyada A.A.Hoshimiy-Rafsanjoniylar Eron prezidenti lavozimidan ketganidan keyin islohotchilar lageriga o‘tib, mamlakatdagi siyosiy-mafkuraviy transformatsiya tashabbuslariga yetakchilik qilgani va bu jarayonda unga qizi Foize Hoshimiy-Rafsanjoniylar ko‘mak bergani ta’kidlanar ekan, uning mazkur siyosiy faoliyati M.Xotamiy yetakchiligidagi islohotchilar va keng jamoatchilik tomonidan qo‘llab-quvvatlangani hamda natijada o‘z safdoshi Hasan Ruhoniylar prezidentlikka saylanishiga erishgani zikr etiladi. 1997-2005-yillardagi transformatsion o‘zgarishlar prezident M.Xotamiyni “Sivilizatsiyalar muloqoti” konsepsiyasi, shuningdek, H.Ruhoniyni 2013-2021-yillardagi pragmatik tashqi siyosati natijasida Eronning “Islom inqilobi eksporti” g‘oyasi mintaqaviy liderlikka erishish strategiyasiga transformatsiya bo‘lgani bilan asoslab beriladi.

Eronda hokimiyatni legitimlash mexanizmlarining diniy va dunyoviy jihatlarini tadqiq etish natijasida “Veloyate faqih” konsepsiyasi buning asosiy tamoyili ekanligi aniqlangan. Zero, mazkur tamoyil faqat shia ruhoniya vakillariga davlatni boshqarish huquqini berib, mamlakatda sekulyar siyosiy partiyalarning hokimiyatga kelish imkoniyatini cheklashi qayd etilgan.

Dissertantning nuqtai nazaricha, 1979-1989-yillar Oliy rahbar R.Xumayniy hokimiyatining legitimligi “diniy merosxo‘rluk (mahdaviyat)” va “ilohiy vakolat (veloyate amr)” kabi ikki asosiy omilga tayangan. Uning vafotidan so‘ng 1989-yilda Oliy rahbar A.Xomaniyning legitimligi konstitutsiyaviy islohotlar orqali ta‘minlangan. Shuningdek, Eron siyosiy elitasida Oliy rahbarning legitimligi masalasida uchta asosiy yondashuv mavjudligi ko‘rsatib berilgan: ilohiy legitimlik (M.Yazdiy); ilohiy legitimlikning ustuvorligi va xalq vakilligining ikkilamchi roli (R.Xumayniy, A.Xomaniy); xalq va ilohiy legitimlik (A.A.Hoshimiy-Rafsanjoni). Bunda siyosiy tizimda hokimiyatni legitimlashtirishning asosiy mexanizmi sifatida “Imomat”, “Shahidlik” va “Mahdaviyat” g‘oyalari xizmat qilishi aniqlangan. Mazkur mexanizm aholining siyosiy faolligini oshirish va hokimiyat barqarorligini ta‘minlashda muhim rol o‘ynagan.

“Eron siyosiy tizimi rivojlanishi masalalari” deb nomlangan to‘rtinchi bobda Eron siyosiy tizimi rivojlanishining ijtimoiy-iqtisodiy omillari, mazkur tizim xavfsizligi va barqarorligini ta‘minlash hamda modernizatsiyasiga oid masalalar tadqiq qilingan. Ushbu ilmiy muammolarni kompleks o‘rganish natijasida 1979-yildan Eron rahbariyatining tashqi ta‘sir va tahdidlarga qarshi tura oladigan mustaqil iqtisodiy tizim yaratish borasidagi sa‘y-harakatlari “Qarshilik iqtisodiyoti” konsepsiyasi deb nomlangan uzoq muddatli strategiyaga asoslanganligi ko‘rsatilgan. Eronning mazkur rivojlanish modeli yetakchi davlatlarning xalqaro sanksiyalariga nisbatan davlat miqyosida umumiy qarshilikni tashkil etish imkonini bergan bo‘lsada, aholi turmush darajasini yaxshilash, kambag‘allikni qisqartirish, barqaror iqtisodiy rivojlanishni ta‘minlay olmaganligi zikr etilgan.

Shuningdek, Eronda 1979-yilda prezident Abulhasan Banisadr tomonidan “Islom iqtisodiyoti” konsepsiyasining amaliyotga tatbiq etilishi 1989-2005-yillar mobaynida A.A.Hoshimiy-Rafsanjoni, M.Xotamiy kabi pragmatik siyosatchilar tomonidan amalga oshirilgan siyosiy transformatsiya mamlakatning ijtimoiy-iqtisodiy rivojlanish sur‘atini juda faollashtirmaganligi mahalliy va xorijiy manbalardagi faktologik materiallarga tayangan holda atroflicha ochib berilgan.

Shu bilan birga, 1989-1994-yillar Eronda xususiylashtirish kampaniyasi va xorijiy investitsiyalarni jalb qilish jarayonlarida yuzaga kelgan jiddiy qiyinchiliklarni bartaraf etish maqsadida A.A.Hoshimiy-Rafsanjoni tomonidan mamlakatni ijtimoiy-iqtisodiy rivojlantirishning birinchi besh yillik rejasi natijalari tahlil qilinib, moliya bozorini va shu jumladan, narxlarni erkinlashtirish, ochiq iqtisodiy zonalar tashkil etish va tashqi savdo operatsiyalari ustidan davlat nazoratini susaytirish kabi amalga oshirilgan muhim chora-tadbirlar rasmiy Tehron ma‘muriyati ko‘zlagan natijalarni bermagani aniqlangan.

Dissertatsiyada tadqiq etilgan davr Eron jamiyatida hukumat tomonidan gender siyosati hamda ijtimoiy ta‘minot tizimida amalga oshirilgan moliyaviy-iqtisodiy

islohotlar oqibatida shakllangan murakkab vaziyatda Islom inqilobi posbonlari korpusining muxolifat yetakchiligida ko'tarilgan qarshilik harakatlarini bostirishga qaratilgan chora-tadbirlari alohida tahlil qilingan. Xususan, qayd etilishicha, 2009-2022-yillar mobaynida Eron siyosiy maydonida kuzatilgan mazkur tendensiyalar Eron jamiyati tub o'zgarishlarga, jumladan, diniy-siyosiy tizim XXI asr shart-sharoitlariga monand jiddiy transformatsiyaga muhtoj ekanligidan dalolat qilishi ta'kidlangan.

Dissertant nuqtai nazaricha, Eron rahbariyati milliy iqtisodiyotda kuzatilgan mazkur retsessiyani Rossiya, Xitoy, Turkiya, shuningdek, Fors ko'rfazi davlatlari hamda Markaziy Osiyo respublikalari bilan savdo-iqtisodiy va investitsion aloqalarni rivojlantirish orqali bartaraf qilishga harakat qilgan. Eron rahbariyatining Yaqin va O'rta Sharq mintaqasida yetakchilik qilish ambitsiyasi izchil va uzoq muddatli strategiyaga ega ekanligi, hukumat tomonidan amalga oshirilayotgan tashqi siyosat mamlakatning ijtimoiy-iqtisodiy rivojlanishi samaradorligini ta'minlashga qaratilgani, shuningdek, mazkur maqsadlardan kelib chiqib, Armaniston, Iroq, Suriya, Gretsiya, Pokiston va Afg'oniston kabi rasmiy Tehron uchun alohida ahamiyatga molik mintaqa davlatlari bilan muvozanatli hamkorlikni izchillashtirgani ko'rsatib berilgan. Tehron tashqi siyosat mahkamasi Iroq, O'mon, Bahrayn, Qatar, Kuvayt, Yaman, Livan, Suriya kabi aholisining aksariyati islom dinining shia mazhabiga e'tiqod qiluvchi davlatlar bilan aloqalariga ustuvorlik bergani XXI asr boshida Eronning mintaqaviy kuch markazi sifatidagi mavqeini mustahkamlash konsepsiyasining tarkibiy qismi deb baholangan.

Mazkur kontekstda dissertant nuqtai nazaricha, "sovuq urush"ning tugashi va yangicha xalqaro tartibning shakllanishi sharoitida Eron XX asr 90-yillaridan keyin mintaqaviy kuch markaziga aylanish orqali suverenitetni ta'minlash va Tehronning xalqaro darajadagi geosiyosiy jarayonlarga ta'sirini kengaytirish maqsadida tashqi siyosatda strategik dastaklarni rivojlantirishga intilgan. Ushbu yo'nalishda Tehron xalqaro hamjamiyat, xususan, yetakchi davlatlar tomonidan mintaqaviy kuch sifatida e'tirof etilish va 90-yillar boshidagi xalqaro vaziyatning Eron diniy-siyosiy tizimiga salbiy ta'siridan himoya qilish va milliy xavfsizlik muvozanatini ta'minlash uchun yadro va kosmik texnologiyalarini o'zlashtirishga intilgan. Mamlakat rahbariyati tomonidan yadro va kosmik dasturlari bilan bog'liq strategik qarorlar ularning mintaqaviy mavqei va suverenitetini himoya qilish uchun transformatsion va asimmetrik mexanizm sifatida konseptualizatsiya qilingan.

Dissertatsiyada qayd etilishicha, XX asr oxiri – XXI asr boshida Eron yadro va kosmik dasturlari milliy iqtisodiyot rivojiga muhim ta'sir ko'rsatgan. Xususan, strategik yo'nalishlarga ajratilgan resurslar mamlakat iqtisodiyotining turli sohalari intensiv rivojlanishini ta'minladi. Yadro-kosmik sohadagi texnologik yuksalish harbiy bo'lmagan sektorlardagi innovatsion faollikni ham jadallashtirdi. Eronning bunday fenomeni harbiy-sanoat kompleksi taraqqiyoti milliy iqtisodiyotning texnologik rivojlanishini tezlashtiruvchi katalizator bo'lib xizmat qilishi to'g'risidagi konseptual nazariyalarni tasdiqlaydi. Eron iqtisodiyoti neft va gaz resurslariga bog'liqligini qisqartirib, texnologik intensivlikatsiya va diversifikatsiya yo'nalishida transformatsiya bo'ldi. Bunday sharoitda Eron mahsulotlari uchun

yangi bozorlar izlash zarurati an'anaviy ustuvorliklarni qayta ko'rib chiqishga olib keldi. Xitoy, Turkiya, Hindiston, Yaponiya va Koreya Respublikasi kabi davlatlar Eronning yangi strategik iqtisodiy hamkorlariga aylandi.

1989-2005-yillar Eron siyosiy tizimi liberallashtirishga yo'nalgan davrni o'z boshidan kechirgani hokimiyat vertikalining modifikatsiyasi, siyosiy ishtirokning institutsionallasuvi bilan xarakterlanadi. 1979-yili islom inqilobidan so'ng teokratik boshqaruv tizimi o'rnatilgan bo'lsa-da, modernizatsiya jarayonlari to'xtab qolmagan. "Islom iqtisodiyoti" konsepsiyasi mafkuraviy niqob vazifasini bajargan bo'lib, amalda Eron modernizatsiyasining o'ziga xosligi an'anaviy madaniy qadriyatlarni saqlab, texnologik yangilanishga yo'naltirilganida namoyon bo'lgan. Mamlakatning ijtimoiy-iqtisodiy muammolari faqatgina xalqaro sanksiyalar bilan emas, balki Eron iqtisodiy modeliga bog'liq. 1997-2005-yillar "Islom fuqarolik jamiyati" konsepsiyasi asosidagi demokratik islohotlar dasturini amalga oshirish orqali jamiyatni demokratlashtirish yo'lidagi sa'y-harakatlar teokratiya tomonidan bloklandi. 1989-2005-yillar Erondagi pragmatik siyosat ijtimoiy-iqtisodiy sohalar transformatsiyasini faollashtirdi, ammo an'anaviy qadriyatlar tizimini zaiflashtirishi tahdidi sababli konservativ elitaning qarshiligiga uchradi. Shu bois Eron siyosiy tizimi barqarorligi jamiyatda iqtisodiy taraqqiyot, ijtimoiy-siyosiy adolatni ta'minlashga bog'liq deb ta'kidlangan.

XULOSA

Islom inqilobidan keyin Eron siyosiy tizimi evolyutsiyasi va transformatsiyasini o'rganish bo'yicha dissertatsiya tadqiqotining maqsad va vazifalariga muvofiq quyidagi xulosalar chiqarildi:

1. Eron siyosiy tizimi "Veloyate faqih" konsepsiyasiga asoslangan bo'lib, u an'anaviy shia doktrinasining zamonaviy teokratik boshqaruv modeliga transformatsiyasini ifodalaydi. Ushbu model respublika boshqaruvi institutlarining diniy tizim bilan uyg'unlashuvini ta'minlab, davlat hokimiyati legitimligining ham teologik, ham siyosiy asoslarga tayanishini belgilaydi. Bunda diniy legitimlik konstitutsiyaviy-huquqiy normalardan ustuvor mavqeda bo'lib, diniy soha ustidan markazlashgan nazorat o'rnatilgan.

2. Eron siyosiy tizimi teokratik davlat modeli sifatida rivojlanishi Oliy rahbar institutining evolyutsiyasi bilan bevosita bog'liq. Eron siyosiy tizimi hokimiyatning teologik (yashirin imom) va siyosiy (xalq ovozi) legitimlik asosiga tayanadi. R.Xumayniy hokimiyati diniy noiblik va ilohiy sanksiyaga tayangan bo'lsa, A.Xomana'iy davrida diniy legitimlik konstitutsiyaviy normalar bilan mustahkamlangan. Bunda imomat prinsipi, din uchun shahidlik va "mahdaviyat" g'oyalari muhim rol o'ynagan. "Veloyate faqih" tamoyili Eronda hokimiyatni legitimlashtirishning asosiy mexanizmi bo'lib, davlatni boshqarish huquqini faqat shia ruhoniylariga bergan. A.Xomana'iy davrida Oliy rahbarning diniy malakasiga qo'yiladigan talablar yumshashi va siyosiy-ma'muriy vakolatlari kengayishi teokratik institutlarning zamonaviy talablarga moslashuvchanligini namoyon etadi.

3. Oliy rahbar legitimligi masalasida Eron siyosiy elitasida uch xil qarash mavjudligi aniqlandi: M.Yazdiy faqat ilohiy legitimlikni, R.Xumayniy va A.Xomaniy ilohiy legitimlikning ustunligi va xalq vakilligining ikkilamchi rolini, A.A.Hoshimiy-Rafsanjoniy esa ilohiy va xalq legitimligining tengligini yoqlaydi. Bu qarashlar o'rtasidagi raqobat davlat boshqaruviga bevosita ta'sir ko'rsatgan.

4. Eron teokratik tizimi xususiyatlari uning dual xarakterida namoyon bo'ladi. Bunda saylov orqali shakllantiriladigan respublika institutlari diniy-ma'muriy institutlar bilan parallel faoliyat yuritgan. Bunda diniy institutlar konstitutsiyaviy-huquqiy mexanizmlardan ustun mavqega egaligi davlat boshqaruvining teokratik modelini mustahkamlagan.

5. Eronda teokratik va respublika boshqaruvi elementlarini uyg'unlashtirgan o'ziga xos davlat modeli shakllangan bo'lib, uning markazida mutlaq vakolatlarga ega Oliy rahbar instituti turadi. Davlat siyosiy tizimida ruhoniyyatning boshqaruv funksiyalari kengaytirilgan, ularga moliyaviy, iqtisodiy va siyosiy faoliyatni nazorat qilish vakolatlari berilgan. Oliy rahbar instituti jamg'armalar, diniy soliqlar va moliyaviy oqimlarni nazorat qilish orqali teokratik institutlarning moliyaviy mustaqilligini ta'minlagan. Tizimning samaradorligi uning ichki va tashqi tahdidlarga barqarorligi bilan ifodalanadi.

6. 1979-1989-yillarda davlat siyosiy tizimi teokratik boshqaruv usullarini saqlagan holda, voqelikka moslashish imkoniyatlarini namoyon etdi. Xususan, bosh vazir lavozimining tugatilishi orqali davlat boshqaruvi tizimi maqbullashtirilgani Eron siyosiy rivojlanishining barqarorligini ta'minlagan. 1990-2000-yillarda teokratik hokimiyat ustuvorligi saqlanishiga qaramay, siyosiy hayot liberallashtirilgan. Siyosiy partiyalar va jamoat tashkilotlarining faollashuvi, fuqarolar siyosiy ishtirokining kengayishi va jamoatchilik kayfiyatining demokratlashtirish foydasiga o'zgarishi yuz berdi.

7. Hokimiyat legitimligi diniy tamoyillar bilan birga, davlat tomonidan olib boriladigan tizimli indoktrinatsiya orqali ta'minlanadi. Eron saylov tizimida demokratik jarayonlar va konservativ nazorat o'rtasida murakkab munosabat mavjud. Konstitutsiyani qo'riqlash kengashi nomzodlarni saralash orqali faqat Oliy rahbarga sodiq shaxslarning saylanishini ta'minlagan.

8. Eron islom inqilobidan keyingi rivojlanish davrida o'zining tashqi siyosatida ikki va ko'p tomonlama hamkorlik mexanizmlaridan foydalangan holda mintaqaviy integratsiyani kuchaytirishga intilgan. Eron geografik joylashuvi omilidan samarali foydalanib, Yaqin Sharq, Markaziy Osiyo va Kavkaz davlatlari bilan iqtisodiy, siyosiy va xavfsizlik sohalaridagi aloqalarni rivojlantirdi hamda ushbu mintaqalarda milliy manfaatlarini ta'minlashga qaratilgan ko'p vektorli strategiyani amalga oshirdi.

9. Eron tashqi siyosatida geografik muvozanatli yondashuv qo'llanilib, mintaqaviy yetakchilikka intilish ustuvor ahamiyat kasb etgan. Yaqin Sharqda "shia hiloli" hududida (Livan, Suriya, Iroq, Bahrayn, Yaman) Tehron o'z ta'sirini kuchaytirmoqda. G'arbda Turkiya bilan raqobat doirasida Armaniston, Suriya va Gretsiya bilan hamkorlik qilsa, Sharqda Pokiston va Afg'onistondagi vaziyatni

boshqarishga intilmoqda. Mazkur holat Tehron mintaqaviy yetakchilik qilish uchun izchil va uzoq muddatli strategiyaga ega ekanligini ko'rsatdi.

10. Eronning 1979-1990-yillardagi tashqi siyosati R.Xumayniy tomonidan ishlab chiqilgan "Islom inqilobi eksporti" konsepsiyasiga asoslangan. Bu konsepsiya dastlab musulmon davlatlariga, so'ngra butun dunyoga "Islom inqilobi modeli"ni tarqatishni maqsad qilgan. 1980-1988-yillardagi Eron-Iroq urushi mazkur strategiyani harbiy yo'l bilan amalga oshirib bo'lmashligini isbotlagan. 1997-2005-yillar Tehron tashqi siyosatida pragmatik yondashuv ustunlik qilgan bo'lsa, 2005-2021-yillar mintaqaviy yetakchilikka intilish siyosati amalga oshirildi. 1997-2005-yillardagi tashqi siyosiy faoliyat Eronning xalqaro imiji yaxshilanishiga olib keldi. Fors ko'rfazi davlatlari bilan aloqalar yaxshilandi. Sovuq urushdan keyingi davrda Eron Yaqin Sharq, Markaziy Osiyo va Kavkazda o'z milliy manfaatlarini ilgari suruvchi mintaqaviy kuchga aylandi. AQSH sanksiyalariga qaramay, Eron iqtisodiy mustaqillikka erishish, neftga bog'liqlikni kamaytirish va import o'rnini bosish siyosatini amalga oshirdi. Eron rahbariyati Sudan bilan harbiy-texnik hamkorlik, Markaziy Osiyo va Kavkaz respublikalariga nisbatan madaniy ta'sirni kuchaytirish, Rossiya bilan strategik sheriklik o'rnatish va Yaqin va O'rta Sharq mintaqasiga tashqi ta'sirni muayyan cheklash orqali mafkuraviy va geosiyosiy manfaatlarini uyg'unlashtirgan.

11. Islom inqilobidan keyin Eron davlat boshqaruvida diniy-harbiy elitaning ta'siri kuchayib borgan. Islom inqilobi posbonlari korpusi oddiy harbiy tuzilmadan davlatning ko'p funksiyali institutiga evolyutsiya bo'ldi. Bevosita Oliy rahbarga bo'ysunuvchi ushbu tuzilma "davlat ichidagi davlat" sifatida faoliyat yuritib, mamlakat iqtisodiyotining uchdan bir qismini o'z nazoratiga olgan. Islom inqilobi posbonlari korpusi xalqaro sanksiyalar sharoitida yashirin iqtisodiy tizimlar orqali o'z mavqeini yanada mustahkamlab, davlat boshqaruvining markaziy elementlaridan biriga aylangan.

12. Teokratik xarakterdagi Eron siyosiy rahbariyatida "diniy-siyosiy byurokratiya" deb nomlanuvchi siyosiy elita mamlakatni modernizatsiya qilish masalasida ikki yo'nalishga bo'lingan. 1979-yilgi inqilobdan so'ng modernizatsiya jarayonlari diniy-madaniy an'analarga tayangan holda davom etgan. 1989-2005-yillardagi pragmatik siyosat iqtisodiy-ijtimoiy sohalaridagi o'zgarishlarni tezlashtirgan, ammo an'anaviy qadriyatlar tizimini zaiflashtirgani uchun konservativ elitalar qarshiligiga uchragan. 1989-1994-yillar A.A.Hoshimiy- Rafsanjoniy islohotlari doirasida birinchi besh yillik reja amalga oshirilib, eksport diversifikatsiyasi, sanoat va erkin iqtisodiy zonalar rivojlantirilgan. "Qarshilik iqtisodiyoti" konsepsiyasi asosida shakllantirilgan model jamiyat ehtiyojlarini to'liq qondira olmadi. 1997-2005-yillarda M.Xotamiy "Islom fuqarolik jamiyati" konsepsiyasi asosida demokratik islohotlar dasturini ishlab chiqdi. 2009-yildagi "yashil harakat" noroziliklaridan so'ng Islom inqilobi posbonlari korpusi nazorati kuchaydi. 2017-2023-yillarda yangi o'rta sinf, ziyolilar va yoshlar norozilik harakatlarining asosiy kuchiga aylandi. 2017-2024-yillarda institutsional, boshqaruv va tizimli inqirozlar kuchayib, davlat institutlari samaradorligining pasayishi va siyosiy elita ichidagi ziddiyatlar keskinlashuvi kuzatildi. Siyosiy hokimiyatning

bo‘linish tizimi xususiyati va muxolifat qarshiligi tufayli islohotlar mantiqiy yakuniga yetkazilmadi.

Amalga oshirilgan tadqiqot xulosalari natijasida quyidagi taklif va tavsiyalar bildirildi:

- O‘zbekistonning sharq mamlakatlarini o‘rganuvchi ilmiy markazlarida Eron siyosiy tizimi evolyutsiyasi va transformatsiyasini o‘rganish bo‘limini tashkil etish, uning modernizatsiya tajribasini kompleks tadqiq etish va Eron-Markaziy Osiyo respublikalari munosabatlarining nazariy asoslarini ishlab chiqish maqsadga muvofiq. Bunda Eron tadqiqot markazlari bilan hamkorlikni kuchaytirish, eronshunos mutaxassislarni tayyorlash dasturlarini takomillashtirish muhim ahamiyatga molik.

- Siyosiy-diplomatik sohada Eron bilan muvozanatli munosabatlarni saqlash, mintaqaviy xavfsizlik masalalarida hamkorlikni kuchaytirish va xalqaro tashkilotlar doirasida konstruktiv muloqotni davom ettirish maqsadga muvofiq. Iqtisodiy sohada Eronning sanksiyalar sharoitida iqtisodiy barqarorlikni saqlash tajribasini o‘rganish, transport-logistika yo‘laklarini rivojlantirish va savdo-iqtisodiy aloqalarni diversifikatsiya qilish imkoniyatlarini ko‘rib chiqish lozim.

- Madaniy-gumanitar sohada ta‘lim almashinuvi dasturlarini kengaytirish, ilmiy-akademik hamkorlikni rivojlantirish va tarixiy-madaniy aloqalarni mustahkamlash muhim vazifalardan hisoblanadi. Xavfsizlik sohasida xalqaro terrorizm va diniy ekstremizmga qarshi kurashda tajriba almashish, chegara xavfsizligini ta‘minlash bo‘yicha hamkorlikni kuchaytirish va narkotrafikka qarshi kurashda birgalikda harakat qilish maqsadga muvofiq.

- Mintaqaviy hamkorlik doirasida Markaziy Osiyo – Eron munosabatlarini rivojlantirish mexanizmlarini takomillashtirish, mintaqaviy transport loyihalarida faol ishtirok etish va mintaqaviy xavfsizlik masalalarida muvozanatli siyosat yuritish zarur. Iqtisodiy imkoniyatlardan foydalanish borasida Eron bilan savdo-iqtisodiy aloqalarni kengaytirish, qo‘shma korxonalar tashkil etish, investitsiyaviy hamkorlikni rivojlantirish va turizm sohasidagi aloqalarni kuchaytirish muhim ahamiyat kasb etadi.

- Ilmiy-texnikaviy sohada innovatsion rivojlanish bo‘yicha tajriba almashish, ilmiy-texnik hamkorlikni kuchaytirish va yuqori texnologiyalar sohasida qo‘shma loyihalarni amalga oshirish istiqbolli yo‘nalishlar hisoblanadi. Bu taklif va tavsiyalarning amalga oshirilishi O‘zbekiston-Eron munosabatlarining yanada rivojlanishiga xizmat qiladi.

**SCIENTIFIC COUNCIL AWARDING SCIENTIFIC DEGREES
DSc.03/31.01.2024.Tar.21.03 AT THE TASHKENT STATE
UNIVERSITY OF ORIENTAL STUDIES**

TASHKENT STATE UNIVERSITY OF ORIENTAL STUDIES

KHODJIMURATOVA DILSHODA SUNNATILLAEVNA

**THE EVOLUTION AND TRANSFORMATION OF IRAN'S POLITICAL
SYSTEM AFTER THE ISLAMIC REVOLUTION**

07.00.03 – WORLD HISTORY

**ABSTRACT
OF DISSERTATION OF THE DOCTOR OF SCIENCES (DSc)
IN HISTORICAL SCIENCE**

Tashkent-2025

The theme of the dissertation was registered at the Higher Attestation Commission of the Republic of Uzbekistan with number № B2025.1.DSc/Tar487.

The DSc dissertation is prepared at the Tashkent state university of Oriental Studies.

The abstract of the dissertation is posted in three languages (Uzbek, English and Russian (resume)) on the website of the Scientific Council (www.tsuos.uz) and Information-educational educational portal «ZiyoNet» (www.ziynet.uz).

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The doctoral dissertation is available at the Information Resource Center of the Tashkent State University of Oriental Studies (registered under No.____). (Address: 100060, Tashkent city, Amir Temur str., 20). Phone: (998971) 233-34-24).

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INTRODUCTION (Abstract of the Doctor of Science thesis)

Relevance and significance of the research topic. The state governance system of the Islamic Republic of Iran represents a distinctive model of political evolution and transformation shaped by major socio-political and military developments in global history. Integrating both theocratic and republican elements, Iran's political system has demonstrated resilience and steady progression despite external pressures. The Shia theocratic framework, the configuration of power institutions, and their interaction with society remain critical areas of scholarly inquiry. The incorporation of Shia political doctrine and its accommodation within frameworks of democratic practice necessitate innovative theoretical approaches to the study of political regime evolution. An in-depth analysis of Iran's political system provides valuable insights into the interplay between religious and secular values in governance across the Middle East, as well as the dynamic interaction between civilizational legacies and modernization processes.

As a result of the Islamic Revolution, Iran established a religious-political system of governance that, over time, has undergone a path of evolutionary development and political transformation. The unique theocratic model of governance in Iran, particularly through its foreign policy projection or "export" holds significant implications for regional security. In this context, the transformation of the "Velayat-e Faqih" doctrine centered on the authority of the Supreme Leader into an institutionalized theocratic system warrants dedicated scholarly examination. This process provides a critical framework for analyzing the mechanisms through which religious-political authority is legitimized, as well as the contemporary organizational forms of state governance within a theocratic structure.

Uzbekistan's pursuit of mutually beneficial and constructive cooperation with foreign states including the Islamic Republic of Iran has become a key direction of its foreign policy. As noted, "The shared civilizational and historical heritage of the two nations can play a vital role in advancing economic and cultural relations between them"⁷. In this context, a comprehensive study of the political evolution and transformation of Iran's system of governance as well as the internal and external factors and resources that shape it is of particular importance. Given Iran's current status as a recognized regional power, such research is essential for deepening strategic understanding and fostering informed engagement with one of Uzbekistan's significant regional partners.

This dissertation research, to a certain extent, contributes to the implementation of the objectives outlined in the key policy documents of the Republic of Uzbekistan, including Presidential Decree No. PF-60 of January 28, 2022, "On the Development Strategy of New Uzbekistan for 2022–2026", Presidential Decree No. PF-5400 of April 5, 2018, "On Measures to Radically Improve the System of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Uzbekistan

⁷ O'zbekiston Respublikasi Prezidenti Shavkat Mirziyoyev. "Sizning tajribangizni qo'llashdan mamnun bo'lamiz" - Shavkat Mirziyoyev Eron prezidentining korrupsiyaga qarshi kurashi haqida" / 2022-yil 17-sentyabr. <https://www.gazeta.uz/uz/2021/09/17/iran/#!>

and Enhance Its Responsibility in Implementing the Priority Directions of Foreign Political and Foreign Economic Activities”, Resolution No. PQ-4680 of April 16, 2020, “On Measures to Fundamentally Improve the System of Training Specialists in Oriental Studies and Enhance Scientific Capacity in the Field”, as well as other relevant legal and regulatory frameworks related to the field.

Relevance of the research to the priority areas of scientific and technological development in the republic. This dissertation has been carried out within the framework of the Republic’s priority area of scientific and technological development, specifically under Section I: “The development and implementation of a system of innovative ideas aimed at advancing an information-oriented society and a democratic state in the social, legal, economic, cultural, and spiritual-educational spheres”.

Review of Foreign Scholarly Research on the Dissertation Topic⁸. Within the academic fields addressing the socio-political processes of the Middle East particularly the Islamic Republic of Iran extensive fundamental and applied research is being conducted under international projects and programs by leading global research institutions and intellectual centers. These studies focus on the historical evolution of Iran’s political system and its broader international-political transformations. Prominent institutions contributing to this body of scholarship include: the Institute for Contemporary Historical Studies of Iran, the Center for Strategic Research, and the National Research Institute (Iran); the Center for Strategic and International Studies and the Institute for Iranian Studies (USA); the Institute for Iranian Studies (Germany); the Austrian Academy of Sciences’ Institute for Iranian Studies (Austria); the Institute of Oriental Studies and the “Collegium Iranicum” under Saint Petersburg State University (Russia); the Al-Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies (Egypt); the “Rasana” International Institute for Iranian Studies (Saudi Arabia); the Center for Strategic Studies (UAE); the Academy of Social Sciences (China); the Center for Iranian Studies and the Foreign Policy Institute (Turkey); and the Pakistan Institute for Strategic Studies (Pakistan). These institutions have undertaken significant research on the post-Islamic Revolution formation and evolution of Iran’s political institutions, the role of religious and secular structures in Iranian statehood, ideological transformations, and the mechanisms of political legitimacy in the Islamic Republic.

Research conducted since the 1980s on the evolution and transformation of Iran’s political system has yielded several important scholarly conclusions. It has been substantiated that the “Velayat-e Faqih” doctrine, which became the institutional foundation of Iran’s political system following the 1979 Islamic Revolution, reflects the transformation of traditional Shia doctrine into a theocratic model of governance (Center for Strategic and International Studies, USA). Furthermore, it has been argued that Iran’s religious-political governance structure represents a new, hybrid form of Shia theocratic-republicanism, demonstrating

⁸ Review of foreign scientific studies on the dissertation topic: www.iichs.ir; www.risstudies.org; www.en.nrisp.ac.ir; www.caorc.org; www.rasanah-iiis.org; www.iranicum.spbu.ru; www.acpss.ahram.org.eg; www.iramcenter.org; www.foreignpolicy.org.tr; www.casseng.ccsn.cn; www.ciss.org.pk and other sources.

adaptability to modern political demands (Rasana International Institute for Iranian Studies, Saudi Arabia). Another key finding emphasizes the dual nature of Iran's political system, in which the post-revolutionary governance structure has undergone significant transformation, marked by the increasing influence of military-political institutions within the political establishment (Center for Strategic Research, Iran).

Degree of scholarly exploration of the issue. To date, a number of studies have been conducted on Iran's domestic and foreign policy. Existing research has highlighted that the political system of the Islamic Republic of Iran was established on the foundation of the "Velayat-e Faqih" doctrine following the Islamic Revolution, and that the state apparatus embodies a fusion of theocratic and republican elements. This fusion has shaped Iran into a prominent example of a functioning theocratic state within the contemporary political landscape. The body of scholarship on this subject can be analytically categorized into the following groups:

The first group includes the works of Uzbek scholars such as A.Haydarov, G.Yuldasheva and S.Fayzullaev⁹, which focus on the history of Iran's domestic and foreign policies, international relations, and the socio-political processes in the country. Specifically, these studies examine the key directions of Iran's domestic and foreign policies, the activities of the foreign policy apparatus in promoting the idea of exporting the Islamic Revolution, as well as Tehran's relations with the Central Asian republics, including political, trade-economic, and cultural exchanges, all within the scope of political science.

The second group includes the works of Iranian scholars such as M.Gods, S.Zabih, H.Bashiria, S.Haqiqat, A.Eqboli, F.Zhakhonbahsh, M.Shafifur, R.Kori, Sh.Khusain, A.Khusravpanokh, A.Dalen, S.Arjomand, E.Abrahamian, and B.Gamari-Tabriziy¹⁰, whose research focuses on the concept of "Islamic governance" within the political system of Iran, the mechanisms of popular governance in the theocratic state system, and the social-political factors that influenced the formation of state ideology and its religious-political modernism. These studies also address issues such as religious tolerance, transparency, and the guarantee of freedom of speech. These scholarly works hold significant importance in the study of Iran's religious-political state governance system after the Islamic Revolution.

The third group includes the works of Russian scholars such as L. Avdeyeva, A.Lukoyanov, S.Aliyev, A.Fedoseenkova, N.Filin, L.Polonskaya, N.Mamedova, A.Kuznetsov, V.Klyashtorina, I.Dobroviskiy, F.Nodirov, L.Ravandi-Fadai, N.Usmonov, V. Malushkov and K.Khromova¹¹, which address the issues of the development of Iran's political system as a result of the Islamic Revolution, the religious-political transformation in the country, and the integration of theocratic and secular elements in state governance. These studies analyze the period of the

⁹ These studies are listed in the "References" section of the dissertation.

¹⁰ These studies are listed in the "References" section of the dissertation.

¹¹ These studies are listed in the "References" section of the dissertation.

formation of Iran's political system from 1979 to 1989, as well as the processes of implementing democratic reforms in society from 1990 to 2005, based on the theories of political realism and liberalism.

The fourth group includes the works of scholars from the United States and European countries such as R.Rayt, N.Keddy, B.Wilfrid, M.Downs, B.Urkad, M.Warnaar, S.Ditto, K.Lim, and V.Sundquist¹², which focus on the role of the clergy and military elites in Iran's political system, the causes and consequences of the conflicts between conservatives and reformists in implementing large-scale reforms in society, and the transformation of the military-political structure the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps into the cornerstone of Iran's political system security and stability as a result of international sanctions.

During the process of preparing the dissertation, the theoretical conclusions and conceptual reflections of the aforementioned researchers were thoroughly analyzed. It is important to note, while certain studies have been conducted abroad on this academic issue, the evolution and transformation of Iran's political system after the Islamic Revolution has not been studied as a distinct, comprehensive research topic in Uzbekistan. A number of scholarly works on the history of Iran's socio-political processes have been carried out within Uzbek Oriental Studies. However, the evolution and transformation of Iran's political system, analyzed through the lens of political realism and liberalism theories, has not been examined as an independent academic study.

The relevance of the dissertation topic to the research plans of the higher education institution where the dissertation is being carried out.

The dissertation was carried out within the framework of the scientific project titled "Creation of modern educational literature on the history of Eastern countries based on the scientific study and critical analysis of historical works in foreign languages", which is outlined in the research plan of Tashkent State University of Oriental Studies under item 10.

The aim of the research is to reveal the institutional and ideological characteristics, as well as the practical aspects, of the processes of the formation, evolutionary development, and religious-political transformation of Iran's political system following the Islamic Revolution of 1979.

The tasks of the research. To achieve the stated aim, the dissertation sets out and accomplishes the following tasks:

To explain that the concept of "Velayat-e Faqih" is the foundation of Iran's political system;

To conduct a comprehensive analysis of studies related to Iran's religious-political system;

To analyze methodological approaches to studying the transformation of political systems in theocratic states;

To show the role of religious and secular institutions in Iran's system of state governance;

To show the place and role of elections in Iran's political system;

¹² These studies are listed in the "References" section of the dissertation.

To examine the growing influence of military-political structures within Iran's power system;

To show the impact of the transformation of Iran's governance system on its internal and external policies;

To analyze the transformation of the idea of exporting the Islamic Revolution into a pragmatic policy;

To explain the issue of ensuring the security and stability of the state governance system;

To identify the religious and secular aspects of mechanisms for legitimizing power in Iran;

To study the socio-economic factors influencing the development of Iran's political system;

To research the powers and operational mechanisms of the Supreme Leader institution in Iran and the modernization of the country's religious-political system.

The object of the research is defined as the state governance system of Iran, which was formed based on domestic realities after 1979.

The subject of the research is the evolution and transformation processes of the unique religious-political system formed in Iran.

The methods of the research include historical-comparative, systematic analysis, as well as problem-periodical, structural-functional, and other research methods.

The scientific novelty of the research

It has been proven that Iran's religious-political system, formed through an evolutionary process of development, representing a unique theocratic model of state governance consistently strengthened the institutional role of the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps and effective in ensuring stable political and economic development in the 21st century, also scientifically substantiated that the mechanism of state-society relations in Iran is based on dialogue-seeking and the pursuit of social consensus.

The concept of "Velayat-e Faqih", as the institutional foundation of Iran's political system, has evolved from a traditional Shia doctrine into a religious-political governance model, mechanisms for integrating state institutions with the religious system are presented through institutional and historical-comparative approaches to the study of political system transformation in theocratic states, based on the theoretical conclusions of local and foreign research.

As a result of Iran's religious-political governance relying on the institution of the Supreme Leader, the clergy's authority to oversee financial, economic, and political activities has expanded. The dual nature of the theocratic system is reflected in the parallel functioning of republican institutions formed through elections and religious-administrative bodies. Despite the modernization of the country's religious-political system, it has been demonstrated that theocratic norms continue to prevail over constitutional and legal mechanisms.

It has been shown that the legitimacy of power in Iran is ensured not only through religious principles but also through systematic indoctrination carried out by the state. A complex relationship exists in Iran's electoral system between

democratic processes and conservative control. The Guardian Council plays a key role in this dynamic by screening candidates to ensure that only individuals loyal to the Supreme Leader are allowed to be elected.

The transformation of the idea of exporting the Islamic Revolution into a pragmatic policy has enabled Iran to utilize bilateral and multilateral cooperation mechanisms on the international stage, strengthen regional integration, and leverage its geographic location. As a result, Tehran has pursued a multi-vector strategy aimed at securing national interests by developing economic, political, and security relations with countries in the Middle East, Central Asia, and the Caucasus.

The practical result of the research is as follows:

Based on recognized approaches in the field of history and interdisciplinary methods, scientific theoretical and methodological aspects of researching the political system of the Islamic Republic of Iran and its potential application in the educational process have been identified;

The transformation of Iran's state political system between 1979 and 1989, while maintaining the methods of theocratic governance, demonstrated the possibilities of adapting to reality. It was found that the abolition of the position of Prime Minister led to the optimization of the state governance system, ensuring the stability of theocratic development in Iran;

The influence of the religious-military elite, particularly the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps, on the state governance of Iran increased, as it became a key institution in political decision-making, coordinating regular armed forces, intelligence services, and economic activities. Furthermore, in the context of international sanctions, the system consolidated its position through covert economic structures, becoming one of the central elements of state governance;

Through the study of the Iranian state governance system, scientific conclusions and proposals regarding the trends of political transformation and the role and place of the religious factor in it were provided.

The reliability of the research results is ensured by their publication in the materials of national and international scientific conferences, in special journals included in the list of the Higher Attestation Commission under the Ministry of Higher Education, Science, and Innovation of the Republic of Uzbekistan, as well as in the materials of foreign scientific conferences. Additionally, the implementation of these results in practice and their formal approval by the competent authorities further guarantees their credibility.

The scientific and practical significance of the research lies in its potential usefulness for preparing textbooks and manuals on history, international relations, and the political system of Iran, as well as conducting studies on the history of Iran.

The practical importance of the research results is reflected in their application for preparing analytical materials for relevant ministries and agencies, higher education institutions, and specialists in the field. They can also be used in specialized educational institutions for the development of course curricula and programs in subjects such as "History of Iran", "Area Studies", "World History",

and “Regional Studies”. Furthermore, the research results can contribute to conducting research in related fields.

The implementation of the research results. Based on the research findings on the evolution and transformation of the political system of Iran after the 1980s, the following conclusions were drawn:

The concept of “Islamic governance” in the Iranian political system, the mechanisms of popular governance in the theocratic state structure, as well as the social and political factors influencing the formation of state ideology and its religious-political modernism, were utilized by the Information-Analytical Center on International Relations under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Uzbekistan for preparing information-analytical documents. (Reference No. 01/32, dated March 13, 2025, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Uzbekistan). As a result, these findings contributed to scientifically substantiating the role of the Supreme Leader in shaping Iran’s internal and foreign policy, as well as the activities of political institutions and groups in the country, and helped prepare recommendations and proposals on specific issues.

The research findings on the transformation of the concept of “Velayat-e Faqih” as the institutional basis of the modern Iranian political system into a theocratic governance model based on traditional Shia doctrine, and the integration of republican governance institutions with the religious system, were used by the Committee on Religious Affairs of the Republic of Uzbekistan for preparing information-analytical documents. (Reference No. 02-02/02/1/758, dated March 24, 2025, Committee on Religious Affairs of the Republic of Uzbekistan). As a result, these findings contributed to the enhancement of the information-analysis base for studying foreign political processes, improving the effectiveness of scientific-analytical work in this field.

The results of the research on the Iranian political system after the Islamic Revolution, particularly the central role of the “Velayat-e Faqih” concept as the foundation of state governance and the dual legitimacy of power in the Iranian political system based on theological legitimacy (the concept of the hidden Imam) and political legitimacy (general elections) were used by the Imam Bukhari International Scientific Research Center under the Cabinet of Ministers of the Republic of Uzbekistan for preparing information-analytical documents. (Reference No. 02/103, dated March 7, 2025, Imam Bukhari International Scientific Research Center). As a result, these findings contributed to the improvement of the information-analysis base for studying foreign political processes and enhancing the effectiveness of scientific-analytical work in this field.

The research findings on the complex relationship between democratic procedural forms and conservative institutional control in the Iranian electoral system, the role of the Guardian Council in vetting candidates in elections, and its control over political changes to ensure the election of candidates loyal to the Supreme Leader, as well as the shift in the parliament from traditional aristocratic elements to representatives of social strata between 1989-2005, were used by the Executive Committee of the Political Council of the Entrepreneurs and Businessmen

Movement Uzbekistan Liberal-Democratic Party to develop legislative initiatives and prepare information-analytical documents on political processes while studying the experiences of foreign countries. (Reference No. 01-27/109, dated March 7, 2025, Executive Committee of the Political Council of the Entrepreneurs and Businessmen Movement Uzbekistan Liberal-Democratic Party). As a result, these findings contributed to the systematic organization of the party's activities, the improvement of mechanisms for implementing political reforms in society, and the preparation of proposals for relying on governance mechanisms that aim to ensure human welfare in the activities of state organs.

The approval of the research results. The results of this research were discussed at 5 scientific forums, including 4 international conferences and 1 national conference.

The publication of the research results. A total of 20 scientific works have been published on the dissertation topic, including 2 monographs, 11 articles in scientific journals recommended by the Higher Attestation Commission for the publication of the main results of doctoral dissertations (9 of these articles were published in national journals, and 2 in international journals).

Structure and size of the dissertation. The dissertation consists of an introduction, four chapters with twelve paragraphs, a conclusion, and a list of references. The total length of the dissertation is 224 pages.

THE MAIN CONTENT OF THE DISSERTATION

In the introduction, the relevance and necessity of the chosen topic are substantiated, its connection to the priority directions of the development of science and technology in the Republic of Uzbekistan is demonstrated, the degree of research on the issue is outlined, and the objectives and tasks of the study, as well as its object and subject, are defined. The research methods, scientific novelty, and practical results of the dissertation are presented. The reliability of the obtained results, their scientific and practical significance are justified, and information on the approval of the research results is provided. Details about the structure and volume of the dissertation are also given.

In the first chapter of the dissertation titled **“The theoretical and methodological foundations of researching the political system of Iran”**, issues such as the role of the concept of “Velayat-e Faqih” as the foundation of Iran's political system, theoretical and methodological approaches to studying the transformation of the political systems of theocratic states, and the analysis of local and foreign research on Iran's religious-political system are explored. The conditions for the introduction of the “Velayat-e Faqih” concept into the Iranian state governance system following the Islamic Revolution in 1979, while preserving elements of democratic governance, and its constitutional and legal foundations are examined.

While revealing the scientific problem of the dissertation, it is shown that the “Velayat-e Faqih” concept, developed by Supreme Leader Ruhollah Khomeini in

1979, serves as the foundation of the political system of the Islamic Republic of Iran and represents a unique example of implementing theocratic governance in the modern world. The main elements of this concept, including the legitimacy of religious authority, the priority of social justice, the rejection of class stratification, equality before the law, and the foundation of state governance on Islamic principles, are disclosed.

Initially, the “Velayat-e Faqih” concept, which was shaped as “Imam Governance” within Shia statehood, was accepted as the basis of state and society building, adapted to the political reality of Iran in the late 20th century. It is shown that this led to the introduction of the Supreme Leader institution. Through an analysis of its constitutional institutionalization, it is determined that the powers of the Supreme Leader were expanded, and the theocratic government system acquired both theological (hidden Imam principle) and political (popular elections) legitimacy. The superiority of religious legitimacy over constitutional-legal norms is emphasized in this context.

The dissertation reveals that the “Velayat-e Faqih” concept, which forms the basis of state governance according to Shia teachings, reflects the transformation of theocratic governance in the Iranian context. The theoretical system developed by R.Khomeini in the early 1970s is identified as the genesis of this concept, which integrates political-administrative and religious elements into theocratic state governance. The evolution of the Supreme Leader institution is analyzed, showing that under Khomeini’s leadership, this theocratic model of governance adapted to the political reality of Iran, with reduced religious qualifications for the Supreme Leader, while political-administrative powers were expanded during the leadership of Ali Khamenei.

In the study of the transformation of the political systems of theocratic states, theoretical and methodological approaches are analyzed, with theoretical concepts such as “dynamic balance”, “secular adaptation”, “institutional evolution”, and “technological modernization” serving as methodological foundations for examining the various aspects of changes occurring within theocratic systems. The dissertation emphasizes the necessity of a complex methodological approach in researching the transformation of the political systems of theocratic states.

Through the analysis of research on Iran’s religious-political system, it is shown that in Western Oriental studies, the origins, nature, and stages of development of religious-political modernism have been systematically studied, while scholars from the CIS republics have mainly focused on the structure of state authority and internal political processes. In contrast, research in Persian-language sources reflects the subjective views of Iran’s intellectual elite. The results of the research highlight the unique feature of the Iranian theocratic system, which manifests itself in the dual nature of the political system. In this system, republic institutions formed through elections operate in parallel with religious-administrative institutions, with religious institutions having greater influence over constitutional-legal regulatory mechanisms. This situation strengthens the theocratic model of state governance.

The issue of contemporary Iranian statehood is examined within various scientific schools, each employing distinct methodological approaches. It is shown that the evolution and transformation of Iran's political system, the genesis of state governance, and the principles of religious-political power legitimacy and legality have not yet been comprehensively studied as a scientific problem.

The political transformation implemented by Supreme Leader R.Khomeini in 1979 within Iranian society, including the integration of state institutions with the clergy, is studied based on factual data and research methodologies for examining the history of Eastern countries. The legitimacy of revolutionary institutions in Iran's state governance is also explored, particularly the transformation of the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps from a simple military structure to a political-economic elite, the adaptation of the "Velayat-e Faqih" concept to the political context, and the composition of the political establishment, which includes elements of theocracy, military personnel, and representatives of political circles.

Based on these facts, a horizontal analysis shows that the theocratic governance model developed by Khomeini in Iran is flexible and adaptable to the country's contemporary political and socio-economic reality. The evolution of Iran's political system after the Islamic Revolution has been shaped by factors such as theocratic ideology, internal political competition, geopolitical pressures, economic and institutional balance, and the changing demands of society. These factors have ensured the continuous adaptation and development of Iran's political system as a unique and flexible theocratic-republican model.

As a result of the research conducted in the first chapter of the dissertation, which examines the theoretical and methodological foundations of the study of the Iranian political system, it can be concluded that the Iranian political system, formed as a theocratic state model, is characterized by the evolution of the Supreme Leader institution. The evolution and transformation of theocratic states are studied within the frameworks of theories and concepts developed in both Western and Eastern scientific schools. These theoretical approaches reveal various aspects of the changes occurring in theocratic systems.

The transformation of political systems in theocratic states is closely linked to the evolution of the relationship between religion and state. This process takes place under the influence of internal and external factors, including globalization, and its success depends on the balance between religious values and democratic principles. Therefore, it is emphasized that the study of the evolutionary development and transformation of the political system of theocratic states requires a complex methodological approach within the fields of Oriental studies and Iranian studies.

The second chapter, titled "**The evolutionary development of Iran's political institutions**" investigates the role of religious and democratic institutions in the Iranian governance system, the role and place of elections within this system, and the growing influence of military-political structures in the power vertical. The institutional architecture of the Islamic Republic of Iran is shown to demonstrate a unique development model that combines elements of theocratic and republican governance. The Supreme Leader of the country stands at the center of decision-

making processes related to both internal and foreign policies, with these decisions being part of a complex process that requires the involvement of various political forces in the country.

The dissertation presents the dualistic system of power, based on the synthesis of republic and theocracy, as a distinctive feature of the Iranian political system. It examines the distribution of powers between republican institutions such as the presidency and parliament, and theocratic structures like the Supreme Leader, the Assembly of Experts, and the Guardian Council, showing that religious legitimacy is established through constitutional-legal norms in the country.

In this chapter, when analyzing Iran's unique theocratic-republican political model and its governance institutions, it is noted that the state's institutional architecture reflects a political development model that integrates both theocratic and republican elements of governance. The Supreme Leader institution, which holds extensive powers in the realm of state governance, is highlighted as the central element of this system. The theocratic bodies, such as the Assembly of Experts, the Guardian Council, and the Expediency Discernment Council, work in harmony with the republican governance bodies, such as the president and parliament, following the principle of "checks and balances".

Based on the goals and tasks of the dissertation, the status, functional responsibilities, and powers of the Supreme Leader are thoroughly examined. It is noted that the Supreme Leader oversees government activities, including the control of financial resources, Islamic taxes, and revenues. The voluntary donation system under the control of the clergy ensures significant financial independence for the theocratic institutions. In this regard, it is emphasized that the economic block of power in Iran can exert political influence over all governance institutions in the country.

The study of the role and place of elections in the Iranian political system reveals a complex relationship between democratic procedural forms and deeply rooted conservative institutional control. Notably, while presidential and parliamentary elections are regularly held in Iran, the political processes are consistently under systematic oversight by the Guardian Council, which screens candidates and is able to prevent unforeseen political changes in a timely manner. This has been described by foreign experts as "decorative democracy".

The horizontal analysis of elections held in the country after the Islamic Revolution (1980-2024) indicates that between 1989 and 2004, the Iranian parliament played a crucial role in the evolutionary development of political institutions. It is shown that during the period from 1979 to 1989, representatives of the clergy led the political processes, while between 1989 and 2004, a block of reformists formed the majority in parliament. However, despite such changes in the political establishment, conservatives have maintained their preferred institutional mechanisms through the Guardian Council. The mechanism by which all members of the Guardian Council are directly or indirectly appointed by the Supreme Leader ensures that the election process is fully controlled by the theocracy.

The dissertation also analyzes the widespread public protests observed in Iran between 2019 and 2024, noting that these protests reflect serious dissatisfaction with the internal policies carried out by the conservative block under the leadership of the clergy, as well as a growing crisis in the legitimacy of the Iranian political system.

It is established that, as a result of evolutionary development under economic sanctions, the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC) transformed from a simple military structure into a multi-functional, transnational economic conglomerate. This structure, directly subordinate to the Supreme Leader, operated as a “state within a state” from 2008 to 2023. The IRGC gained control over more than 500 companies of strategic importance to the Iranian economy, accounting for 30-35% of the country's economy. As a result, the IRGC not only achieved a dominant position in military-political spheres but also emerged as a key economic actor in the country, playing a decisive role in Iranian politics. The increasing influence of the religious-military elite in state governance is linked to the IRGC’s transformation into an institution that coordinates political decision-making, intelligence services, and economic activities.

The results of the research presented in the second chapter of the dissertation demonstrate the unique characteristics, narratives, and impact of the electoral system on the social-political situation in Iran, based on the study of the formation and evolutionary development of Iranian political institutions. It is scientifically substantiated that in the theocratic model of Iran’s political system, the interaction between the principles of republican governance and religious institutions ensures effective state governance, while the influence of the military-political elite in state governance has steadily increased. The uniqueness of this model is manifested in its stability and adaptability to both internal and external threats, including international sanctions.

The third chapter of the dissertation, titled **“Legitimization of power and ideological transformation in Iran”** examines the impact of the transformation of the Iranian state governance system on domestic and foreign policies, the evolution of the ideology of exporting the Islamic Revolution into pragmatic politics, and the religious and secular aspects of Iran’s power legitimization mechanisms.

The study reveals that the system of legitimizing religious-political power in Iran, particularly during R.Khomeini's rule, was based on religious leadership and divine sanction. After his death, during A.Khamenei’s leadership, religious legitimacy was reinforced through constitutional norms. Furthermore, it is highlighted that at the end of the 20th century, during the 1980s, the ideological basis of Iran’s foreign policy was centered on the concept of “Exporting the Islamic Revolution”. However, starting from 1989, a pragmatic approach began to dominate Tehran’s foreign policy, especially during the presidency of M.Khatami (1997-2005), when the “Dialogue of Civilizations” policy was implemented.

The study of the impact of the transformation of Iran’s governance system on domestic and foreign policies shows that the political system transformation between 1989 and 2005 maintained theocratic governance methods but demonstrated the ability to adapt to reality. Specifically, it is noted that the

constitutional reforms of 1989, which abolished the position of prime minister and changed the qualifications for the Supreme Leader, made the state governance system more efficient. Subsequent institutional changes aimed at improving governance effectiveness while maintaining religious stability are also emphasized.

Moreover, between 1990 and 2000, although theocratic dominance remained, political liberalization took place, with increased activity of political parties and public organizations, an expansion of citizen political participation, and a shift in public sentiment toward democratization. The dissertation also points out that during the presidency of Muhammad Khatami (1997-2005), the activation of foreign political relations led to an improvement in Iran's international image. However, due to the division of political power and opposition resistance, reforms were not completed logically.

Based on the goals and objectives of the dissertation, the evolutionary process of the strategy for exporting the Islamic Revolution is studied. The results indicate that under R.Khomeini's leadership, this strategy played a central role in Iran's foreign policy from 1979 to 1990 and was planned to be implemented in two phases. In the first phase, the revolution was to be exported to Muslim countries, and in the second phase, it aimed to spread to all countries of the world. It is revealed that this strategy was also enshrined in the Iranian Constitution and was to be implemented by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps, and the Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance.

According to the dissertation, the Iran-Iraq War of 1980-1988 served as a clear conclusion for the Iranian leadership regarding the impossibility of realizing the "Export of the Islamic Revolution" strategy through military means. Based on the ideas and approaches formed regarding this strategy within the regional and international contexts, it is revealed that under the leadership of R.Khomeini, Iran's theocracy altered its position and shifted its focus to spreading the Islamic revolution ideology, first and foremost, through cultural and educational methods in the Arab-Muslim world. Specifically, mechanisms for spreading Iran's ideas through pilgrimage, cultural exchange programs, and diplomatic channels were developed.

The dissertation notes that the initial phase of the transformation in Iran's internal and foreign policy began after 1989, with Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani serving as president from 1989 to 1997. Despite working closely with Supreme Leader A.Khamenei, A.A.Hashemi Rafsanjani opposed the conservative bloc's approach to defining the internal political course. His policy during this period is characterized as an attempt to transform the duumvirate between the president and the Supreme Leader within Iran's state governance system.

The dissertation further emphasizes that after leaving the presidency, A.A.Hashemi Rafsanjani joined the reformist camp and led initiatives for political-ideological transformation in the country. His political activities were supported by the reformists under M.Khatami's leadership and the wider public, ultimately leading to the election of his ally, Hasan Rouhani, as president. The transformational changes from 1997 to 2005, driven by Khatami's "Dialogue of Civilizations" concept and Rouhani's pragmatic foreign policy (2013-2021), are analyzed,

demonstrating how the “Export of the Islamic Revolution” idea evolved into a strategy for achieving regional leadership.

In the research on Iran’s power legitimization mechanisms from both religious and secular perspectives, it is identified that the core principle of this mechanism is the “Velayat-e Faqih” concept. This principle grants the right to govern the state solely to the representatives of the Shiite clergy, limiting the opportunity for secular political parties to come to power in the country.

From the dissertation’s perspective, during the period from 1979 to 1989, the legitimacy of Supreme Leader R.Khomeini’s rule was based on two main factors: “religious inheritance (Mahdaviat)” and “divine authority (Velayat-e Amr).” After his death, the legitimacy of Supreme Leader A.Khamenei in 1989 was ensured through constitutional reforms. Furthermore, three primary approaches to the legitimacy of the Supreme Leader in the Iranian political elite are discussed: divine legitimacy (M.Yazdi); the priority of divine legitimacy with the secondary role of popular representation (R.Khomeini, A.Khamenei); and a combination of popular and divine legitimacy (A.A.Hashemi Rafsanjani). In this context, the central mechanisms of legitimizing power in the political system include the ideas of “Imamate”, “Martyrdom” and “Mahdaviat” which played a crucial role in increasing political activism and ensuring the stability of power.

In the fourth chapter titled **“Issues of the development of the political system of Iran”** the social-economic factors of the development of Iran’s political system, ensuring the security and stability of this system, as well as its modernization, are examined. The comprehensive study of these scientific issues reveals that since 1979, the Iranian leadership’s efforts to create an independent economic system capable of withstanding external influences and threats have been based on the long-term strategy known as the “Resistance Economy” concept. While this development model allowed Iran to establish nationwide resistance against the international sanctions imposed by leading states, it failed to improve the standard of living, reduce poverty, or ensure stable economic development.

Additionally, the practical application of the “Islamic Economy” concept by President Abulhasan Banisadr in 1979, as well as the political transformation implemented by pragmatic politicians such as A.A.Hashemi Rafsanjani and M.Khatami between 1989 and 2005, is thoroughly discussed. However, the transformation did not significantly accelerate the pace of social-economic development in the country, as supported by local and foreign factual materials.

Moreover, the dissertation analyzes the difficulties encountered in the privatization campaign and the process of attracting foreign investments between 1989 and 1994. It highlights the results of the first five-year plan for socio-economic development, which was introduced by A.A.Hashemi Rafsanjani. The analysis of these efforts reveals that significant measures such as liberalizing the financial market, easing control over foreign trade operations, and establishing free economic zones did not yield the intended results as hoped by the official Tehran administration.

The dissertation also examines the complex situation formed in Iranian society as a result of the government's gender policy and financial-economic reforms within the social security system. The measures taken to suppress the resistance movement, which was led by the Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps (IRGC) against the government's actions, are analyzed. In particular, the dissertation notes that the trends observed in the political field of Iran between 2009 and 2022 indicate that Iranian society requires profound transformations, including a serious change in its religious-political system to align with the conditions of the 21st century.

From the dissertation's perspective, the Iranian leadership attempted to mitigate the economic recession observed in the national economy by enhancing trade, economic, and investment relations with countries such as Russia, China, Turkey, as well as with the states of the Persian Gulf and Central Asian republics. The ambition of Iran's leadership to maintain regional dominance in the Middle East is characterized by a consistent and long-term strategy. The government's foreign policy is aimed at ensuring the effectiveness of the country's socio-economic development, and based on these objectives, Iran has strengthened balanced cooperation with regional countries such as Armenia, Iraq, Syria, Greece, Pakistan, and Afghanistan, which hold particular significance for Tehran. It is noted that the Iranian foreign policy apparatus has prioritized relations with countries where the majority of the population adheres to the Shia branch of Islam, such as Iraq, Oman, Bahrain, Qatar, Kuwait, Yemen, Lebanon, and Syria. This approach is considered a crucial component of the concept to strengthen Iran's position as a regional power center at the beginning of the 21st century.

In this context, according to the dissertation's perspective, with the end of the "Cold War" and the formation of a new international order, after the 1990s, Iran sought to ensure its sovereignty and expand Tehran's influence in international geopolitical processes by transforming into a regional power. This transformation was aimed at developing strategic support in foreign policy. Tehran sought international recognition as a regional power by leading states and aimed to protect its religious-political system from the negative effects of the international situation in the early 1990s while ensuring national security. Iran pursued the development of nuclear and space technologies to safeguard its sovereignty and regional status. Strategic decisions related to nuclear and space programs were conceptualized as transformational and asymmetric mechanisms to protect the country's regional position and sovereignty.

The dissertation indicates that, by the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century, Iran's nuclear and space programs significantly influenced the national economy's development. Specifically, resources allocated to strategic sectors ensured the intensive development of various fields of the national economy. Technological progress in the nuclear and space sectors also accelerated innovation in non-military sectors. This phenomenon in Iran supports conceptual theories that view the development of the military-industrial complex as a catalyst for accelerating technological advancement in the national economy. The Iranian

economy shifted towards technological intensification and diversification, reducing its dependence on oil and gas resources. In this context, the need to search for new markets for Iranian products led to a reevaluation of traditional priorities. Countries such as China, Turkey, India, Japan, and South Korea became Iran's new strategic economic partners.

From 1989 to 2005, the Iranian political system underwent an evolution towards liberalization, characterized by the modification of the power vertical and the institutionalization of political participation. Although a theocratic governance system was established following the 1979 Islamic Revolution, modernization processes did not cease. The "Islamic economy" concept served as an ideological cover, and in practice, the uniqueness of Iran's modernization was manifested in its preservation of traditional cultural values while focusing on technological innovation. The country's socio-economic problems were not only caused by international sanctions but were also linked to Iran's economic model. From 1997 to 2005, efforts to democratize society through the implementation of democratic reforms based on the "Islamic civil society" concept were blocked by the theocracy. Pragmatic politics in Iran between 1989 and 2005 activated the transformation of social and economic sectors, but due to the threat of weakening the traditional value system, it faced resistance from the conservative elite. Therefore, the dissertation emphasizes that the political stability of Iran depends on achieving economic development and social-political justice within the society.

CONCLUSION

According to the dissertation's research objectives regarding the evolution and transformation of the Iranian political system after the Islamic Revolution, the following conclusions were drawn:

1. The Iranian political system is based on the "Veloyat-e Faqih" concept, which represents the transformation of traditional Shia doctrine into a modern theocratic governance model. This model ensures the integration of republican governance institutions with the religious system, and defines the legitimacy of state power based on both theological and political foundations. In this context, religious legitimacy takes precedence over constitutional and legal norms, with centralized control over the religious sphere.

2. The development of Iran's political system as a theocratic state model is directly linked to the evolution of the Supreme Leader institution. Iran's political system relies on both theological (hidden Imam) and political (people's vote) legitimacy. While Khomeini's rule was based on religious guardianship and divine sanction, during Khamenei's era, religious legitimacy was strengthened by constitutional norms. In this context, the principles of Imamate, "martyrdom for religion" and "Mahdism" played significant roles. The "Veloyate Faqih" principle became the main mechanism for legitimizing power in Iran, granting the right to govern solely to Shia clergy. During Khamenei's era, the relaxation of the religious qualifications for the Supreme Leader and the expansion of their political-administrative powers demonstrated the adaptability of the theocratic institutions to modern requirements.

3. Regarding the legitimacy of the Supreme Leader, three distinct viewpoints were identified within the Iranian political elite: Yazdi advocated for only divine legitimacy, Khomeini and Khamenei supported the supremacy of divine legitimacy with a secondary role for popular representation, while Rafsanjani argued for the equality of divine and popular legitimacy. The competition among these viewpoints had a direct impact on the country's governance.

4. The characteristics of Iran's theocratic system manifest in its dual nature. In this system, republican institutions, which are formed through elections, operate in parallel with religious-administrative institutions. In the dual system, religious institutions hold a superior position over constitutional-legal mechanisms, thereby reinforcing the theocratic model of governance.

5. Iran has developed a unique state model that combines elements of theocratic and republican governance, with the Supreme Leader institution at its center, holding absolute authority. In the state's political system, the functions of the clergy have been expanded, granting them control over financial, economic, and political activities. The Supreme Leader institution has ensured the financial independence of the theocratic institutions by controlling funds, religious taxes, and financial flows. The system's effectiveness is reflected in its stability against both internal and external threats.

6. From 1979 to 1989, the transformation of the state's political system demonstrated the ability to adapt to reality while maintaining theocratic governance methods. In particular, the abolition of the prime minister position streamlined the government, ensuring the stability of Iran's theocratic development. From 1990 to 2000, although the theocratic dominance was preserved, political life became more liberalized. The activity of political parties and civil organizations increased, with greater citizen participation in politics and a shift in public sentiment towards democratization.

7. The legitimacy of power is ensured not only by religious principles but also through systemic indoctrination carried out by the state. Iran's electoral system exhibits a complex relationship between democratic processes and conservative control. The Guardian Council ensures that only candidates loyal to the Supreme Leader are selected through the vetting process.

8. In the post-Islamic Revolution development period, Iran has sought to strengthen regional integration through bilateral and multilateral cooperation mechanisms in its foreign policy. Leveraging its geographical position, Iran has developed economic, political, and security relations with countries in the Middle East, Central Asia, and the Caucasus, implementing a multi-vector strategy to secure its national interests in these regions.

9. Iran's foreign policy applies a geographically balanced approach, with a primary focus on regional leadership. In the "Shia Crescent" region (Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, Bahrain, Yemen) in the Middle East, Tehran is expanding its influence. In the West, Iran competes with Turkey, while cooperating with Armenia, Syria, and Greece. In the East, Iran is focused on managing the situations in Pakistan and Afghanistan. This situation indicates that Tehran possesses a consistent and long-term strategy for regional leadership.

10. Iran's foreign policy from 1979 to 1990 was based on Khomeini's concept of "Exporting the Islamic Revolution". Initially, this concept aimed to spread the "Islamic Revolution model" to Muslim countries and later globally. The Iran-Iraq War (1980-1988) demonstrated that this strategy could not be achieved through military means. Between 1997 and 2005, a pragmatic approach prevailed in Iran's foreign policy, while from 2005 to 2021, a policy of regional leadership was implemented. During 1997-2005, Iran's foreign policy activities led to an improved international image. Relations with the Gulf States strengthened. In the post-Cold War era, Iran became a regional power advocating for its national interests in the Middle East, Central Asia, and the Caucasus. Despite U.S. sanctions, Iran pursued policies to achieve economic independence, reduce dependency on oil, and implement import substitution. Iran's leadership harmonized its ideological and geopolitical interests by fostering military-technical cooperation with Sudan, enhancing cultural influence in Central Asia and the Caucasus, establishing strategic partnerships with Russia, and limiting external influence in the Middle East and Central Asia.

11. After the Islamic Revolution, the influence of the religious-military elite in Iran's state governance has gradually increased. The Islamic Revolutionary

Guard Corps (IRGC) evolved from a simple military structure into a multi-functional state institution. Directly subordinate to the Supreme Leader, this structure operates as a “state within a state” and controls about one-third of the country’s economy. Under conditions of international sanctions, the IRGC has further strengthened its position through hidden economic systems, becoming one of the central elements of state governance.

12. In the theocratic leadership of Iran, the political elite, referred to as the “religious-political bureaucracy” was divided into two directions regarding the modernization of the country. After the 1979 revolution, the modernization process continued based on religious and cultural traditions. The pragmatic policies between 1989 and 2005 accelerated changes in economic and social spheres, but they faced resistance from conservative elites due to their potential to weaken the traditional value system. From 1989 to 1994, under the reforms of Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani, the first five-year plan was implemented, focusing on export diversification, industrial development, and the establishment of free economic zones. However, the model created under the concept of “resistance economy” was unable to fully meet the needs of society. Between 1997 and 2005, President Mohammad Khatami developed a democratic reform program based on the concept of “Islamic civil society”. After the 2009 “Green Movement” protests, the IRGC’s control over the political system increased. From 2017 to 2023, a new middle class, intellectuals, and youth became the main force behind protests. Between 2017 and 2024, institutional, governance, and systemic crises deepened, leading to a decrease in the effectiveness of state institutions, a reduction in the political influence of the clergy, and an intensification of conflicts within the political elite. The division of political power and resistance from the opposition prevented reforms from reaching their logical conclusion.

As a result of the research conclusions, the following proposals and recommendations were made:

Establishing a Department for the Study of the Evolution and Transformation of the Iranian Political System in scientific centers of Uzbekistan that focus on the Eastern countries is advisable. The department would aim to conduct comprehensive research on Iran’s modernization experience and develop theoretical foundations for Iran-Central Asia relations. Strengthening collaboration with Iranian research centers and improving programs for training specialists in Iranian studies are of great importance.

In the political-diplomatic sphere, it is recommended to maintain balanced relations with Iran, strengthen cooperation on regional security issues, and continue constructive dialogue within international organizations. In the economic sphere, it is important to study Iran’s experience in maintaining economic stability under sanctions, develop transport-logistics corridors, and explore opportunities for diversifying trade-economic relations.

In the cultural-humanitarian sphere, expanding educational exchange programs, developing scientific and academic cooperation, and strengthening historical and cultural ties are important tasks. In the security sphere, it is advisable

to exchange experiences in combating international terrorism and religious extremism, enhance cooperation on border security, and take joint actions to fight drug trafficking.

Within the framework of regional cooperation, it is necessary to improve mechanisms for developing Central Asia-Iran relations, actively participate in regional transport projects, and pursue a balanced policy on regional security issues. In terms of utilizing economic opportunities, expanding trade-economic relations with Iran, establishing joint ventures, promoting investment cooperation, and strengthening ties in the tourism sector are of great significance.

In the scientific and technical field, exchanging experiences in innovative development, strengthening scientific-technical cooperation, and implementing joint projects in high technologies are considered promising directions. The implementation of these proposals and recommendations will contribute to the further development of Uzbekistan-Iran relations.

**НАУЧНЫЙ СОВЕТ № DSc.03/31/01/2024/Tar.21.03
ПО ПРИСУЖДЕНИЮ УЧЁНЫХ СТЕПЕНЕЙ ПРИ ТАШКЕНТСКОМ
ГОСУДАРСТВЕННОМ УНИВЕРСИТЕТЕ ВОСТОКОВЕДЕНИЯ**

**ТАШКЕНТСКИЙ ГОСУДАРСТВЕННЫЙ УНИВЕРСИТЕТ
ВОСТОКОВЕДЕНИЯ**

ХОДЖИМУРАТОВА ДИЛШОДА СУННАТИЛЛАЕВНА

**ЭВОЛЮЦИЯ И ТРАНСФОРМАЦИЯ ПОЛИТИЧЕСКОЙ СИСТЕМЫ
ИРАНА ПОСЛЕ ИСЛАМСКОЙ РЕВОЛЮЦИИ**

07.00.03 – Всемирная история

**АВТОРЕФЕРАТ
диссертации доктора исторических наук (DSc)**

Ташкент – 2025

Тема диссертации на степень доктора наук (DSc) по историческим наукам зарегистрирована в Высшей аттестационной комиссии при Министерстве высшего образования, науки и инноваций Республики Узбекистан под номером B2025.1.DSc/Tar487.

Диссертация выполнена в Ташкентском государственном университете востоковедения.

Автореферат диссертации на трёх языках (узбекском, английском и русском (резюме)) размещен на веб-странице Научного совета (www.tsuos.uz) и на Информационно-образовательном портале «ZiyoNet» (www.ziynet.uz).

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Защита диссертации состоится «___» _____ 2025 г. в ___ часов на заседании Научного совета DSc.03/31/01/2024/Tar.21.03 при Ташкентском государственном университете востоковедения. Адрес: 100047, г.Ташкент, ул. Шахрисабз, 16. Тел.: (99871) 233-34-24; факс: (998971) 233-52-24; e-mail: tdshu@exat.uz; сайт: www.tsuos.uz.

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ВЕДЕНИЕ (аннотация диссертации доктора наук (DSc))

Цель исследования заключается в раскрытии процесса формирования, эволюционного развития и религиозно-политической трансформации политической системы Ирана после Исламской революции 1979 года, а также институциональных и идеологических особенностей и практических аспектов этого процесса.

Объектом исследования является государственная система управления Ирана, сформированная на основе внутренней реальности после 1979 года.

Предметом исследования являются процессы эволюции и трансформации уникальной религиозно-политической системы, сформировавшейся в Иране.

Научная новизна

Доказано, что религиозно-политическая система Ирана, сформировавшаяся в ходе эволюционного процесса развития и представляющая собой уникальную теократическую модель государственного управления, последовательно усиливала институциональную роль Корпуса стражей Исламской революции и эффективно обеспечивала стабильное политическое и экономическое развитие в условиях XXI века. Также научно обосновано, что механизм взаимоотношений между государством и обществом в Иране основан на стремлении к диалогу и поиску социального консенсуса.

Концепция вelayata факиха, как институциональной основы политической системы Ирана, эволюционировала от традиционной шиитской доктрины к модели религиозно-политического управления. Механизмы интеграции государственных институтов с религиозной системой представлены через институциональные и историко-сравнительные подходы к изучению трансформации политических систем в теократических государствах на основе теоретических выводов как местных, так и зарубежных исследований.

В результате того, что религиозно-политическое управление в Иране опирается на институт Верховного лидера, полномочия духовенства в контроле над финансовой, экономической и политической деятельностью были расширены. Дуалистический характер теократической системы проявляется в параллельной работе республиканских институтов, формируемых через выборы, и религиозно-административных структур. Несмотря на модернизацию религиозно-политической системы страны, было доказано, что теократические нормы продолжают преобладать над конституционно-правовыми механизмами.

Установлено, что легитимность власти в Иране обеспечивается не только через религиозные принципы, но и посредством систематической индоктринации, проводимой государством. В избирательной системе Ирана существует сложное соотношение между демократическими процессами и консервативным контролем. Совет стражей конституции играет ключевую

роль в этом процессе, отбирая кандидатов таким образом, чтобы на выборы допускались только лица, лояльные Верховному лидеру.

Трансформация идеи экспорта Исламской революции в прагматичную политику позволила Ирану использовать двусторонние и многосторонние механизмы сотрудничества на международной арене, усилить региональную интеграцию и воспользоваться своим географическим положением. В результате Тегеран реализует многовекторную стратегию, направленную на обеспечение национальных интересов через развитие экономических, политических и безопасностных отношений с государствами Ближнего Востока, Центральной Азии и Кавказа.

Внедрение результатов исследования

На основе полученных результатов исследования эволюции и трансформации политической системы Ирана с 1980-х годов:

Содержание и сущность концепции «исламского управления» в политической системе Ирана, механизмы народного управления в теократическом государстве, социально-политические факторы, оказавшие влияние на формирование государственной идеологии и ее религиозно-политический модернизм, а также трансформация этого управления в новый механизм сочетания теократических и светских элементов, были использованы в подготовке информационно-аналитических документов в Центре информационно-аналитической работы Министерства иностранных дел Республики Узбекистан. (Справка № 01/32 от 13 марта 2025 года).

Результаты и выводы исследования, касающиеся того, как концепция теократического управления «Велаят-э факих» трансформировалась в модель теократического управления в рамках традиционной шиитской доктрины, обеспечившей гармонизацию институтов республиканского управления с религиозной системой, были использованы в подготовке информационно-аналитических документов Комитетом по делам религий Республики Узбекистан. (Справка № 02-02/02/1/758 от 24 марта 2025 года).

Результаты и выводы исследования, касающиеся того, как концепция «Велаят-э факих» занимает центральное место в государственной модели управления Ирана и как политическая система страны основывается на двух формах легитимности власти — теологической (концепция скрытого имама) и политической (общенародные выборы), были использованы в подготовке информационно-аналитических документов Международного научно-исследовательского центра имени Имама Бухари при Кабинете Министров Республики Узбекистан. (Справка № 02/103 от 7 марта 2025 года).

Результаты исследования, касающиеся существующих сложных взаимоотношений между демократическими процессами и консервативным институциональным контролем в избирательной системе Ирана, а также констатации того, что Совет по охране Конституции обеспечивает выбор только тех кандидатов, которые верны Верховному лидеру, и что в период 1989–2005 годов произошло изменение в составе парламента с представителями традиционной аристократии на представителей социальных

слоев, были использованы в разработке законодательных инициатив и подготовке информационно-аналитических документов Политическим советом Исполнительного комитета Либерально-демократической партии Узбекистана «Движение предпринимателей и деловых людей». (Справка № 01-27/109 от 7 марта 2025 года).

Структура и объем диссертации

Диссертация состоит из введения, четырех глав (по двенадцать параграфов в каждой), заключения и списка использованной литературы. Объем исследовательской части диссертации составляет 224 страницы.

E'LON QILINGAN ISHLAR RO'YXATI
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