The Middle East and the Legitimate Government based on James Rosena's Theory of Chaos with an Emphasis on Iran

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Abstract:

Man was created with problems and he overcame them with the cooperation of humans. The complexity of the problems caused people to establish social institutions such as government. But not only did it not solve the crises, but also added to their complexity. In this article, we tried to show with the help of the "chaos" model of "James Rosena" that the crises in the age of communication and globalization, which have disturbed the world order; It is the same as order, and it is the result of a series of actions with the variables of tyranny, monopoly, corruption, lack of efficient institutions, rent, weak and dependent governments, which is the reaction of chaos. Nations elect government leaders with collective participation to establish stability, prosperity, comfort, justice, security, distribution of resources, transparency, progress, democracy and stable human dignity; Otherwise, cooperation, participation, trust, legitimacy, initiative and creativity will decrease and cost, multipolarity and corruption will increase in the society. Can leaders earn trust? In a word, yes, With the hypothesis that bilateral cooperation and legitimacy should increase. The solution in honesty is to keep promises and be accountable; So that social trust and the relationship between the government and the nation return to the society. Citizens' trust in government and institutions is dynamic, changeable and cause and effect. The governments of the Middle East, such as Iran, are regulated in the framework of command and obedience, and demand and demand have no place in it. Therefore, the formation of a modern government is in an aura of uncertainty.

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Introduction

The modern government is an evolutionary, dynamic and fluid phenomenon and cannot be evaluated in a one-way and one-dimensional way. The emergence of the government in the territories depends on its economic, legal, cultural, social, political, geographical, historical and even military structure. Undoubtedly, the government is the most active factor in human societies, so we can claim that life starts and ends everywhere within the framework of the government. The institution of the government has been evaluated more from the political and sociological point of view, but the legal approach in general and human rights in particular have received less attention. The indicators of the structure of the word's "government", "governance" and "ruling" have specific dimensions, importance and diversity in different periods and countries with a modern or traditional appearance. The government, as a system of government, is facing the issue of legitimacy that the citizens should not be motivated by illogical habits or calculating profit and loss, but consider obedience to the government as a right and have understanding and participation in the affairs of the government system. According to Max Weber, this understanding is based on three traditional, divine and legal-intellectual cases, the third type of which is suitable for the modern government; Through the establishment of laws, credit is measured by universal and general criteria. What used to be called unity or internal sovereignty became the power and monopoly of the state (distribution of power, wealth and control of production and means of production). One of the contemporary challenges is the increase of people's mistrust in national and transnational governments, centers and institutions. When the rule of law is not respected, we cannot speak of a democratic institution, democracy and legitimacy! The words freedom, equality, rights, justice, independence, order, citizen, sovereignty, authority, legitimacy, democracy, modernity and globalization are different with different cultures and identities (time and land). It is important for human dignity and the provision of moral, legal, customary, privacy and tradition principles to promote human being as an autonomous subject with a rational, practical and path-breaking constitution.

Otherwise, society will be in chaos. Today, we are witnessing the crisis of man, religion, life, thinking, logic, education, science, technology, environment, economy, culture, law and governance, security, interaction, development, health, immigration, politics and implementation at different levels. The participation of citizens and their active participation can lead the management of society from a one-sided view to a two-way and twin approach in the form of interaction, which causes the formation of civic identity. Balanced social development with the observance of the principles of citizenship rights in order to benefit from the general power of the societies must be respected in the mutual way of defending human rights and civil liberties within the framework of the constitution and the norms of the society. In this research, we tried to show with the help of descriptive-analytical method that chaos and crisis in every society is a logical reaction, but with an irregular form that seeks an answer for today's needs.

1- Research background

In relation to the legitimate and developed government, Majlis Research Center in a report (serial number ID 14801 2016, Seyyed

Younes Adyani) emphasizes the importance of government and social development and states modernity as the reason for the emergence of modern government in society. It introduces the government as a source of authority and forced and legitimate employment, and demands the loyalty of the inhabitants of the land, and for the modern government, it also proposes the assimilation of identity in the society along with the monopoly of legitimate control.

Mehdi Balvi et al., in their three-volume book "Government of Fundamental Rights" (2016), do not consider the continuation of the modern state without a certain amount of legitimacy.

Clement M. Henry et al., (2016) in Globalization and Development Politics in the Middle East, conclude that the anti-democratic nature of oil rents causes a lack of competition, accountability, and poor economic performance to have a negative impact on development. The innovation of this article is that if good and developed governance is less seen in the region, it is not only the causes of globalization, identity crisis, rent and single product. Globalization, development, science, and progress are very useful and efficient for mankind, but appropriate historical, geographical, cultural and identity contexts are also necessary.

Political Science Quarterly (14th year, no: 43, summer 2018, pp. 133-160); In the article: What is the modern government towards an organizational approach); Alireza Azghandi believes that the modern government is a political organization that has continuity in time and place and does not disappear with the change of governments due to various stable institutions. He considers the emergence of the modern state as a precursor to management tools and control and power in the territory of

the land according to the constitution to regulate relations between institutions and individuals in a rational and loyal structure in the direction of unity and common identity.

In fact, all the researches have focused on a specific cause in the crises, if today the causes of the crisis ruling the world are interwoven, just as globalization has become the enemy of tradition, tradition and identity have also created a crisis with the enemy of tradition.

2- Theoretical foundations

The theoretical framework is a model based on which the researcher theorizes about the relationships between the factors or variables that play an important role in the emergence of the problem. Deep and stable crises put man in the process of darkness and become an obstacle to progress and development. The crises that are created after the activation of faults and cause the removal of details and the erosion of rationality at different levels are marginalized from the decision-making process. Chaos endangers human dignity and becomes anti-development. John Locke believed that humans are born with the right to complete freedom and unconditional enjoyment of all the rights and benefits of natural rights; He shares these rights with other people in the world, no matter how many there are, and he is equal. Man, not only has the power to protect his property, that is, his life, freedom and wealth, against the harm and overreach of others; Rather, he has the right to judge and punish others for violating those laws (Locke, 2013, p. 338). According to John Locke, as a human being enters society from nature, how should he form a government so that he does not lose his rights and freedoms and adheres to his duties and values. He calls this transition the transition of man from the natural state to the civil state (Quechan, 2016, p. 22). According to

Aquinas, the field of worldly and spiritual politics is distinct (Majidi, 2015, p. 469); Farabi considers the axis to be intellect. The recent developments show the turmoil in the world that at the peak of legalism, convergence, interdependence, there is no law of stability! environment, new diseases, war, terror, immigration, discrimination, human trafficking, weapons, drugs, the division of countries, the illegitimacy of rulers, national protests, the multiplicity of actors, the uncertainty and confusion of nations in terms of economy and identity; Everything has signs of disorder and chaos to show; There is a certain disorder in the same order in the world. In chaos, there is a possibility of change, which will probably be accompanied by resistance. Transformations are at different levels (chaos). Such as: lack of identity of marginalized people; Escape from loneliness, division, social fragmentation and media bombardment that is constantly invading the minds; The diversity of interests and conflicting goals in the field of politics and the lack of legitimacy and the inability of governments to meet the demands of citizens cause the revelation between simplicity and complexity, between order and coincidence and predicting the future. The language of chaos is the establishment of orderly change in the midst of disorder and the non-periodic occurrence of seemingly random events. In chaos, there is order and in order, there is chaos, these two are more connected than we think (Sardar 2010, p. 28). The characteristic of chaos theory is non-periodic instability along with strong dependence on the initial conditions, which can be called the first identifier of chaos, and the factor that caused self-identity, repetition and increased power of takfiri groups such as ISIS from the point of view of fractal theory; It has been a power-finding and

acting in power-seeking competitions (Alipour 2014, pp. 199-200). Chaos is a living being that must be creative and innovative to reach a better position. when it approaches equilibrium and compatibility; To maintain dynamism, it needs changes within itself, which instead of adapting and adapting to the environment, will cause transformation in existing relationships and we will witness the interaction between stability and instability.

Rosena believes that the developments in the multi-central world are proceeding in an unconventional and fragmented manner; In such a way that the chain of actions has been stretched from one system to another and from one sub-system to other sub-systems of the same system and other general systems. They are more similar to a waterfall; They are similar to the current (limited and weak or strong) of the roars that roll down from the stone bed of the river; The chain of actions in the multi-centered world also moves and gets stronger; And sometimes they stop or change the direction, and its reflections affect and spread in the overall systems and sub-systems (Rosena, 2005, p. 611). Chaotic conditions are potentially fertile for creating a creative compromise and of course in the conflict between order and freedom, the will of the majority and the autonomy of the minorities, individual needs and social welfare, innovation in technology and cultural integrity, between growth and stability and change and continuity (Rosena, 2005, p. 611).

3- The history of civil society challenges

Politics with complex means seeks to ensure the creation of order in society. The interaction of forces is effective in the structure of governments. Developments with factors such

as: the behavior of governments have caused the stability of the existing situation in various fields. With the decline of sovereignty in its traditional meaning, concepts such as intervention have also been deconstructed and the restrictions governing governments in governance have intensified (Javedani Moghadam, Kiani, Basiri, 2021, p. 239). Walter Benjamin believes: the revolution is not the result of human progress during the empty and homogeneous times, but rather a sudden leap to the past that mobilizes the pains of the past against the government; Gustave Le Bon sees the transformation in widespread dissatisfaction; Max Weber believes that nations may give up their interests, but they never forgive when their honor is injured; Kant gave a cry of enlightenment that people, use your reason and don't surrender to fate. Autocratic and power-seeking rulers have planted the seeds of lies and illusions in the minds of their nations that they are still immature for freedom and must submit to the government and destiny to maintain security. As far as Rousseau believes, we are so used to slavery that we have even lost the desire to be free and we cannot live without it.

Why is it difficult to reach a modern government in Iran? Is it deception of the nations by the governments? Using ideology and creating a single authority that there is only one savior for the comfort and security of the people; which sacrifice tradition, ideology, land and freedom under the pretext of maintaining security with authoritarian actions and homogenization of appearance and value forms and even creating a unified thinking in the society. Symbolization, brainwashing, propaganda and media pressure, promises to achieve great power in the region and the world, creating a hypothetical enemy and putting problems on him, and many other things can be mentioned.

In fact, power is the chance of people to realize their own will in a collective action even with the resistance of others who can participate. Democracy is different in countries (Al-Shaqiqi Al-Marini, 2019, p. 52). It is not difficult to achieve democracy without price and tolerance; Our country has wide cultures, values and special concepts (ethnicity, race, language, history and tradition). Changing them in the name of building a civil society and democratization is actually marginalizing the nation and contradicting a government that only proclaims the rule of the people over the people. In a non-democratic society, authority and legitimacy are obtained through power. According to Toffler, power includes the three elements of wealth, power and knowledge.

4- Chaos and crisis

With the arrival of modernity, the way of the feudal lord, patriarchy, white beard in the traditional society was weakened. In fact, there is neither modernity nor development nor tradition! We believe that science without infrastructure in the name of civilization and development and human rights caused confusion of identities, caused chaos and disunity at the levels of society, and the security pressures of governments increased in the name of protecting the homeland and national interests.

4- 1- Globalization

Globalization with neoliberal policies created new threats along with restrictions and repressions of political institutions, violation of human rights, dissatisfaction of civil society and the feeling of the need to fight for freedom and social justice and led to the mobilization of social groups (Fakheri, Rezaei, 2021, p. 196). Globalization failed to lead developing countries to the promised paradise. Although the economic growth and gross product of most

countries increased, poverty, unemployment, inequality and class divisions and environmental degradation have increased inappropriately, management, planning and organization. Therefore, they cannot play a dynamic and active role in international relations. Globalization penetrated like a flood and questioned identities and traditions. Many nations, races, languages and beliefs were weakened or destroyed by globalization, nations became more dissatisfied and angrier than before.

Today, in the paradigm of globalization, it is not possible to determine the winners and losers. Diversification of life on the one hand and lack of common definition and understanding caused challenges in the principle and foundation of its goals. Positive concepts and better life expectancy in the context of rule of law, equal opportunity, ability to solve human problems, sustainable development, benefit and efficiency of resources, reforming structures, rational participation; It promises the nations to be responsible and answerable and maintain human dignity in appearance. But a turbulent, crisis-ridden world with international predatory companies and invasion of culture and tradition brought corruption, unemployment, class and ethnic distance, environmental destruction, migration and the spread of violence. Financial policies were dominated by globalization movements. The national island system, which strengthened the states, weakened and questioned the Westphalian order. The combination of international governmental organizations with non-governmental organizations (INGOS) is another clear example of the weakness of national governments, globalization is the new form of colonialism and exploitation in the world. Russia's attack on Ukraine, possible reconciliation between Iran and America; Changing the

strategy of the Saudis (expanding relations with China and withdrawing trust from the United States); De-escalation of tensions with Iran and limited peaceful resolution of the occupation of Palestine; Creating stability and avoiding bloodshed, violence and negative competition and creating new crises and a step towards establishing peace and security and a positive future is a sign of strategic alignment in the region and the world.

David Harvey links globalization to postmodernity and postmodernism in The State of Postmodernity. Ulrich Beck and Giddens consider their era as modernity that seeks to rethink life. It is clear that escaping from globalization is erasing the face of the problem, not solving it! Immigration, citizenship rights, environment, tradition, culture, well-being and human dignity each have their place and none of them is superior to the other. One of the simplest definitions in government is the rule of laws, not the rule of humans. In civil government, there is globalization of free access and exchange of information and technological advances at the domestic and international levels without the pressure and influence of governments (Zifcock, 2014, p. 354). Rational and dynamic behavior and laws can be used to minimize social gaps and civil protests (Sadeghi Jeqeh, 2017, p. 11).

4-2- Democracy

With the expansion of globalization and the development of communication, the power of the state-nation in many fields decreased and was overshadowed by other institutions and processes. Antonio Gramsci's term is hegemony by which the dominant class, through promises and alliances with other sections and discouraging others, causes the satisfaction of

the people and the development of the authority of its government. He considered ideological and political factors to be relatively independent from the economic infrastructure. By emphasizing ideology, Louis Altus believed that governments influence society not only through repressive institutions but also through ideology. By emphasizing the elites, according to thinkers such as Max Weber, Joseph Schumpeter, Michel's, democracy is nothing but the competition and relationship between parties and the trading of elite votes. Foucault believes that power is fluid, intangible and productive of knowledge and sometimes tools, sometimes owned by the government by resorting to law for domination and repression in order to maintain more domination without considering how institutions and social discourses function. Later, with changes in his attitude, he also deals with the relationship of power, domination, resistance and struggle. At first glance, democracy evokes a special meaning for everyone, but perhaps there are three types of deliberative democracy (Habermas); Radical (Laclau and Mouffe); poststructuralist (David Held) expressed" (Nash, 2015: p. 256). In the processes of globalization at the national level, tradition, authority, and legitimacy were questioned, and the duty of the government is to prevent the breakup of identities, which is a step in the direction of civil society and democracy.

Democracy requires flexibility, providing facilities, planning, rationality, transparency, increasing control over social, political and economic systems. And at various levels, it has the responsibility of removing the responsibility from the government and delegating it to other institutions and groups of society, healthy competition and participation, criticism, individual freedom considering collective interests with the rule of law and fair

distribution of power and wealth. The above issues have different meanings in different societies. For the implementation of democracy, there is no binding and efficient global legal institution, except in a part of Europe. It should be resorted to with more pressure and help from international institutions, media, mobilization and enlightenment of public opinion and protest against national injustices and illegalities. So that the charter of citizenship rights is considered a happy and praiseworthy process to preserve human rights and dignity in the society (Seyf al-Dini, 2017, p. 31).

4-3- Election

Elections are a tool by which the will of citizens can be intervened in the formation of the country's political institutions and the determination of the people exercising political authority in the country (Ahmadi, 2010, p. 26). Elections are a set of operations to control power. From this point of view, elections mean selection techniques and different methods of determining representatives (Qazi, 2021, p. 287). The decline of parliaments following the rise of the executive power should be considered relatively. This process can be seen in socialist and developing countries (Shoalier, 2017, p. 214). The institution of parliament in the "Watergate" case of the United States showed itself as a tool of complete modernization. According to Huntington, one of the models of the transition to democracy and then to modernity is the agreement between the ruling political elites who do not have the power to eliminate each other and reach a common understanding (Qahremanpour, 2017, p. 52). According to Hannah Arendt, in the unreasonable atmosphere of the dominance of propaganda, half of the politics of imagery and the other half is the art of making people believe these images"

(Arendt, 2018, p. 25). In fact, they show the inner meaning of the text, which is hidden behind the outer meaning" (Ahmadi, 2017, pp. 35-34), in an arbitrary way. Democracy is not just elections. Citizens have equal rights in front of rulers, not in front of governments. Perhaps the first mistake started from the fact that the government meant the ruling and the ruling meant the government. The government derives its power from the sovereignty, and the sovereignty comes from the people, which in the present age is good governance from the developed liberal western society, which has been socialized and designed with the intelligence of the sustainable principles of socialism (Adyani, 2018, p. 163). The state country is a framework that reveals all the themes related to individual rights in the political society, their meaning, and concept (Qazi, 2010, p. 129). A developed society does not exist in practice because a developed society must be dynamic, fluid and changeable, otherwise it is no longer developed. Robert Cox believes that "undoubtedly, the draft of the future world order depends more on the factors that created the world order" (Rosena, Singh, 2006: p. 154). The concept of power and sovereignty and its application is also evolving. Instead of power being related to the control of national borders, according to Castells, "it makes sense in the space of places" (Casteles, 1989).

4-4- Corruption

Anti-corruption processes indicate that governments are apparently serious about fighting corruption. But its dark side is the weaponization of corruption charges to settle political scores. Anti-corruption processes must mean accountability.

4-5- Modern government

In the past two decades, the Middle East was associated with two historical events: the US attack on Iraq and the so-called Islamic awakening protests. The first one disrupted the order based on containment of Iraq and Iran and caused the increase of Iran's power maneuver in the region. And the second led to the emergence of democracy in Tunisia, the fall of Mubarak, Gaddafi, protests in Bahrain, Syria, Libya and Yemen. The drop in oil prices also fundamentally changed the internal political stability in the region and the ambitions of the governments. Oil that creates a kind of social contract based on the distribution of subsidies from the government to the people, and in return it causes the loyalty of the people to the government (Qahremanpour, 2020, pp. 7-10).

4-6- Levels of order in governments

We believe that a constitution or joint document accepted by regional governments based on interaction and in order to cooperate and resolve possible disputes; On the other level, the existence of institutions that can regulate rational and logical relationships between actors in different fields; And at the final level, temporary and topical agreements between countries are important to prevent crises and resolve disputes (Sarto & et al., 2019, pp. 8-9). Before being a citizen of this or that country, many people consider themselves to be Arabs or Kurds, and they consider the borders to be artificial and to sacrifice their identities, and as illegitimate and imposed (Hinebush and Ehteshami, 2011, pp. 69-68).

Problems and crises usually come back to the gap between political power and people. If people do not feel that they have a share in governing themselves and are not allowed to

demand a share, there will be problems. In this gap between the nation and the government, there are individuals and groups like ISIS who resist filling this gap to the last bit of their strength (McMillan, 2017, p. 274). The great powers, imperialism and the post-colonial governments resulting from it, (seek) the formation of civil society (Henry and Spring, Borg, 2016, p. 509). After the Arab Spring, the failed governments, contrary to the democratization process, included the re-radicalization of Islamist movements, the intensification of sectarian conflicts and the increase of rivalries simultaneously evoking the prospect of a big explosion with a series of smaller explosions in the region; which continues now. (Ayoub, 2018, pp. 114-115).

The unrest in the Middle East countries reminded the leaders not to ignore the threats to their monarchy (Cycle, 2018, pp. 97-96). The kingdoms in the Persian Gulf are soft authoritarian regimes that do not hesitate to repress without destroying the power structures or making the leadership look attractive. In other words, it is a trick that makes the backward face of these countries look more beautiful. Are its causes economic, geographical, cultural, identity, language, tribalism and ancients? Is it the lack of democracy, individual and collective restrictions, free media, parties or lack of technical knowledge that hinders the existence of civil society (Ahani Amini, Madani, 2004, p. 228)? The way of civil society passes through rationality, and the way of rationality passes through civil society! A crisis emerges when each of the parties to a conflict with a common identity and goal feel dissatisfied and feel the need to change the status quo (Creisberg, Dayton, 2017, pp. 131-132). Actors of the countries need knowledge and rationality to overcome the unstable situation; Satisfaction and respect for people's opinions

and beliefs is necessary, no person should feel defeated or marginalized. Just as legislation is a strategy to establish dominance; Breaking the law is also a strategy against steel! Paths of exercising power tend to be more exploitative and oppressive. Interdependence is the cause of need, just as it can be the cause of participation, it can also be the cause of threat (Johnoski & et al., 2017, p. 346).

Norms are the secondary safeguards of democracy. With the ineffectiveness of these norms, the range of acceptable political behavior expands, and this in turn causes the emergence of speech and actions that put democracy at risk (Lutiski, 2019, p. 268). Freedom and equality are in the basic laws of the countries, is it the slogan and abuse? People's opposition to authoritarianism should be by keeping the rules and being rational, not by causing disruption!

Habermas believes that while the validity of technical rules and strategies depends on the validity of true and correct propositions. The validity of social norms comes back to "mutuality" or inter-subjectivity of mutual understanding of goals and intentions (Nowzari, 2014, p. 203). Every contract is a reflection of the consent of all partners and not submission to the will of one person; Because the parties are equal who agree with each other, not one surrenders to the other. In Europe, the fields of social and economic changes were associated with the emergence of the feudal government system until the 13th century with the emergence and expansion of cities, and before that city were the dense residences of a multitude of people, each of whom was looking for a specific production to make a living. Gradually, due to interests and division of labor, they were placed in complex and contradictory situations (Poji, 2019, p. 75).

By examining twenty-eight countries, Edelman found that more than half of the people in more than half of the countries do not trust their governments, such as: (Germany, England, Sweden, and Japan) (Richard Edelman, 2015). And they trust non-governmental organizations (NGOs) more than commercial organizations, commercial organizations more than media, and media more than governments. Nations often distrust domestic and then transnational actors at first, and then illegitimacy emerges. In 2016, Obama said that you cannot have a (rational) democracy where people do not care about what they say (Kettle, 2019, p. 25).

According to John Locke, rebellion is an opposition not against individuals, but against authority, which can only be found in the constitution and laws of government. The goal is the good of humanity, people may disrupt the situation whenever they want, this will only lead to their annihilation and destruction; Because until the damage is not publicized or the sick plans of the rulers are not revealed and people are not prone to be provoked and understand things rationally and emotionally. The culprits are those who take things so easily that they cannot understand them as they are (Locke, 2021, pp. 248-261).

Today, with developments, globalization and the emergence of the human rights discourse, the perception of the tradition of the state's relationship with its citizens and even the Westphalian nature of the state has undergone a transformation. Illegitimacy comes from unlimited power and nations do not consider power to be neutral. John Locke writes: In order for the exercise of government power to be legitimate, the government must be limited and satisfy the people and not violate the fundamental rights of the people. Power governs through the social contract. Individual freedom should not be restricted in the society, except by the approved law, provided that the approving government is satisfied with the people's president and not any law, the law is approved and must gain the trust of the people (Locke, 1690, p. 22).

Legitimacy does not come from force and guns and security forces, or claiming a connection with God and suppressing the opposition. Legitimacy comes from people's satisfaction and sense of security. Chaos causes mistakes to be made in the society and logic is forgotten. We believe that the visibility of the crisis and the discovery of the solution will help the process of consolidation and stability of the development of the nation-state. John Rawls by raising the question whether in the first situation (laws) people are aware of their interests and whether they will make decisions based on their individual interests or in the direction of their general interests (Bashiriyeh, 2015, pp. 115-116)? As an institution to establish justice and protect people's interests, the government should take steps to ensure a common understanding of interests (Siyaghi, 2019, p. 104). According to Hume, in an acceptable government, everyone's equality before the law and the principle of satisfaction before obtaining public benefit is justice in securing public benefits (Bashiriyeh, 2015, p. 116). The law of the future is looking for stable justice and the social contract alone cannot meet his needs. Obeying the law is necessary for the interests of citizens, provided it does not conflict with the national interest, which is otherwise destructive. The relationship between the people and the government is bilateral. The mutual relationship between security and obedience seems necessary according to

human nature and divine laws (Hobbes, 2021, pp. 571-572). Underdeveloped countries lack free will and ruling rationality. They pursue development in an imitative way without considering national interests and with controversy from developed countries. In the ruler's mind, the illusion of wisdom, management and prudence surges. Governance has a technique in which justice and fairness appear in the light of political history (Platoon, 2018, p. 374).

The rule of law is different from the rule of law, in the rule of law, governmental decisions and rational collective wisdom are taken; But law is based on social traditions and customs and moral thinking. Governance is a complex political environment in which visible and invisible powers are playing a role at different hierarchical levels (Bovard, Loeffler, 2014, p. 383). Sometimes governance reinforces the political imagination in such a way that information is apparently accessible. But in practice, this method deepens the passivity of the citizens; On the surface, it is popular governance, but space is left for the independent operation of bureaucratic and administrative structures. A person is either inside the system with good information or outside the system like a closed and unknown box. Hobbes believes: When someone does not start his rational speech with definitions, that speech is either based on another way of thinking or it is another person's statement, which in both cases does not doubt his knowledge of the truth and non-deception; Therefore, that speech is more valid than the truth of the words of people who trust and believe in him (Hobbs, 2021, p. 115).

Conclusion

Rational governance is in the affairs of the observer rather than the interventionist and with the help of non-governmental organizations through education, participation, non-governmentalization, they can be effective in improving development. In order to reach the civil society, changes are necessary that cause a decrease in power, and any decrease in power is an open invitation to violence. We believe that every revolution and transformation only change the form of governments, but it has not been able to change the concept of government and sovereignty. The following are required for Utopia. Governance based on law, rationality, transparency, council system, existence of strong parties, systemic organization, participation, efficiency, healthy competition, stability and flexibility, fair distribution of power and wealth, legitimate and accountable and responsible authority for national interests. In civil society, it is mandatory to respect the rights of people with traditional and customary norms. We could not transfer the Asian man from being a subject-oriented person to a citizen-oriented person, and it became a reason for inappropriate behavior. In the citizen-centered rule of law, respect for human rights, free political participation without any interference and influence from irresponsible institutions, accountability from all rulers and acceptance of the principle of responsibility in front of any type of decision is necessary.

As stated, we tried to show with the help of descriptive-analytical (qualitative) method that chaos and disorder in society is a logical reaction; But with an irregular form that seeks a rational and practical answer to the needs of marginalized and hopeless people. If in the Islamic awakening of the countries, they had the characteristics of civil society in matters of equal proportion, you would never change the governments and actors; in Iran, the destruction of the Qajar regime,

The arrival of Reza Shah, Mohammad Reza's coup against Mossadegh, the uprising of June

5th and the revolution of 1957 were not properly analyzed and investigated by the governments in order to give a logical answer to the people protesting against the current situation. The protests of the years (2009, 2017, 2019, 2022) or union protests of workers, nurses and teachers at different levels, if the actors of governance are neglected, will have grounds for creating more severe crises. Protest will not always be controlled by order, external pressure, presence of biased people, absence of political parties and civil institutions are effective in crises. Legitimate governments do not always consider the will of the nation to be equal to the source of alienation and enmity. Citizens' trust and sense of security in political institutions and heart legitimacy depend on the performance of the rulers. Solving problems requires skilled hands and honest relations between citizens and the government. To achieve good governance, we need participation and smart governance policy.

Therefore, in order to continue dynamic legitimacy in our dear country of Iran, laws based on the following are necessary. Institutionalized, clear, transparent, logical, cost-effective, generalizable, forward-looking, dynamic, requiring respect for fundamental values and public and private rights of society and individuals; With a single and rational definition of them, equal distribution of power and wealth according to effort and merit, not relationships. Therefore, incompetence, incompetence, corruption in governance and management, failure to provide proper services to citizens, increases the distance between the government and the nation and delays development. What is important in dynamic legitimacy is that a free and autonomous human being, while obeying and submitting to his will

and loyal to accepted authorities, is accessible to welfare, comfort, and human dignity in the continuation of national interests and the nation. In the desired society, for the sustainability of development, the concept, tools and removal of development obstacles are necessary. National interests need a dynamic, rational, intelligent, technical model, without illusions and stability in human dignity. It is necessary to go out of the conference, meeting and approval and the macro level and enter the micro level; Freedom should be close to the concept of participation rather than autonomy and irrational resistance.

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