Sarvgolo Taghipour and Ali Mohammad Haghighi*

Abstract

This research was conducted aimed at examining the role of political development in the development and expansion of national security. The present study is a research one in terms of objective. The research method is descriptive, since library studies and interviews with knowledgeable individuals have been used to prove the objective of the research. Data collection was done using articles, dissertations and interviews with individuals and political experts. In this research, comparison with past research and rational reasoning were used to answer the research questions. The results of the research showed that political development has a strong correlation with national security, since political development increases the citizens' political understanding, accountability, strengthens the sense of control of citizens towards the political system and their obligations to the government; therefore, the greater the degree of political development of individuals, the national security rate will also increase.

Keywords: development, political development, national security, political discourse.

Introduction

Political development is regarded as an important principle in the political sociology of states, so that its quantity and quantity determines the type of government and the structure of decision making in it and how people interact with the government and vice versa and embodies the foundations of contemporary democracies. Although the dimensions of political development are diverse and its expansion prevent the attention to all aspects of it in a particular study, for this reason, indicators such as political participation and competition, political parties and the press are examined in this research. On the other hand, national security as a dependent variable is considered among major issues of international relations, in such a way that the life or destruction of governments is largely investigated in the form of threats or national security. Although this concept has a certain degree of ambiguity and complexity and different political systems regard the different dimensions of economic, military, social, cultural or political as threatening or safeguarding national security based on their macro-attitudes, and the requirements of time and developments in the field of international politics have played a fundamental role in the interpretation of these attitudes, so that at some point, the fear of a military attack and the aggressive power of states from the perspective of military equipment and armament formed the basis of the national threat posed by other states.

The political development which is an integral part of democratic systems has grown more and more day by day with its pillars and indicators, in line with the changes in political regimes arena from individual authoritarianism towards democratic political

^{*}Authors are Ph.D. Scholar and Assistant Professor of political science (Iran affairs), Islamic Azad University, Lamerd unit. Fars, Iran.

systems It have been accompanied by thought revolutions and all the governments regard themselves as bound up with the principles of political development; some, according to the Constitution, and some at least in the slogan and maintaining or increasing the credibility at the global system, and it comes to mind that political development is one of the essential requirements of the democratic system. In the Islamic Republic of Iran, given the fact that it has been founded based on the idea of a popular government and the establishment of human and political rights of the people, in the beginning of the revolution, the background to consider some of the indicators of political development was delayed due to the struggles to stabilize the revolution, then the imposed war, and then the attempt to repair the ruin and destruction of war, and according to those conditions, national security also meant just maintaining territorial integrity and political independence and preventing military invasion.

In the new era, which is assessed along with the fundamental changes in attitude towards domestic and foreign policy, the ground for paying attention to the basic features of political development was provided, that some of them are addressed in this research. Following the government's special attention to such a problem, stances and thoughts seek to destroy or acknowledge its special importance.

This research which is based on the belief in the importance of the subject in the present situation of Iranian society, has been made an attempt to explain and analyze the effect of the above issue on the political life of each country, i.e. national security and sought to explore and research in line with the ability to richer the issue and its role in national security, with the idea close to reality that the research on political development in Iran is very small.

Literature

Political development

Political development is one of the requirements of democratic societies in the contemporary world, with various definitions have been presented on it by different scholars and every thinker has placed a greater emphasis on a number of dimensions of political development in his opinion and in accordance with temporal and spatial constraints. The definitions given by the most important thinkers are described to clarify the discussion.

Mark Gasiorowski sees the development as a progressive campaign to achieve a goal and emphasizing this issue believes that political development is a political and goaloriented conception, which presupposes a political goal and has an ideological burden (Aminzadeh, 2009).

Cyril Black believes that communities must go through four steps in order to achieve political development. These four steps are: 1. initial conflict against modernism. 2. Establishment of a modernizing leadership. 3 economic and social transitions from rural agriculture to an urban condition. 4. Integration of the society includes the re-ordering the social structure (Lucian, 1966).

According to Huntington, a desirable political development will be realized when the political system can create flexible, complex, autonomous and interconnected institutions, by focusing on the sources of power. The main pillars of political development are divided around the three pillars of the people, the political system and the government's structure. First, in relation to the people, political development means changing from the state of wide dispersion of people and in some way to the expanding solidarity of active citizenship. Second, in relation to the systematic performance of the government and the public sector, political development means the expansion of the capacity of political system for the administration of public affairs, the control of disputes and meets the public demands. Third, in relation to government's structure, political development means increased structural differentiation and more specialized functions and centralization of all participating organizations and institutions (Aminzadeh, 2009).

The three basic conditions can be expressed for the entire developed political society in a way that we can separate the social-economic system connected to it: 1. the existence of a comprehensive and meaningful competition between organized groups (especially political parties) for the purpose of obtaining all government officials within the structure of political power, such a competition should be conducted at regular intervals and not involve the use of force and violence. 2. The general level of public participation in the selection process of the elites and the selection of political policies (fair selection and without excluding any political group). 3. a level of social and political freedoms such as freedom of expression. Press, membership and formation of organizations, the level of these freedoms should be such as to ensure the integrity and respect of competition and political participation. Therefore, developed political systems accept the need for legal political parties, the limited power of the rulers, the press and the independent media(Attarzade, 1999).

In addition to the above, the need for a developed political society with a rich political culture is that this political culture has several features in the political development societies: 1. belief in the right of public participation (determination of leaders and their policy). 2. Political self-confidence (individuals can change). 3. The culture of tolerance and lack of undemocratic removal and degradation. 4. Avoiding violence. 5. The existence of a cultural context for compromise, negotiation and conformity (Bashirieh, 1999).

Conformity means to tolerate the reality of the opposite belief, nor to accept of it or act of it. Conformity does not mean not to oppose, not to defend our view, and not even to lack of mockery and hatred, but merely means not to attempt to exclude others and eliminate competition. In the developed political society, there are different tastes and ideas about governance and the administration of the society and since direct participation is not technically and technically feasible, the competition of political groups is in the form of different parties which is a symbol of public demand, and the participation of people in competing rivals on the political scene is interpreted as political pluralism. The pluralists (who believe in political development) believe that respect for the different ideas and the proper setting for their presentation and expression on the one hand, can psychologically prevent the concentration of latent ideas that may appear exaggerated and violent, and on the other hand, causes system expansion and increases the exchange of political system and people and provides conditions for political development.Dandruff of political sociologists believes that if social groups are allowed to organize and express their beliefs, the possibility of violent conflicts will be reduced, otherwise, people will use violent means to share power and cause instability in the political system and Luis Cuzu also says that a government that has not been able to distribute a part of its power among dissidents due to fear and inability to manage affairs and if necessary, the only way that it thinks in a militant time is to use force and violence (Eftekhri, 2002).

Many social and political scientists regard the lack of political development as unrest and instability, considering the conditions of most Third World countries. According to them, the influence of new beliefs and values, along with expectations from the onset of the development process in these countries, usually raises expectations that One of these expectations is expecting broad political participation. If the political system governing the society cannot meet the expectations in a legal and institutional way, the resulting failure will provoke a fire of insurrection and protest and these protests and rebellions undermine the integrity that continues to be a prerequisite for the survival of the state. Undoubtedly, this unity in the entire society requires some kind of public confidence and trust, but many governments in vain believe that they are able to achieve this unity through the elimination and pursuit of unity destroyers, unaware of the fact that the breakdown of the society itself is unity destroyer (Mahdizadeh, 1998).

National Security

In dictionaries, the overall concept of security relies on a feeling of freedom from fear or a sense of safety that pertains to physical and psychological safety. In the realm of international relations, some generally oppose the precise definition of national security, but another opposing approach provides a traditional and limited definition of national security that emphasizes the study of the threat, use and control of military forces and focuses on the study of the causes, consequences, ways of treating war, and

the study of how national governments use military forces effectively to deal with foreign military threats; but the domination of these ideas has recently declined.Buzan explains that national security is conceptually weak and vague in terms of definition, but remains politically powerful, because the unclear concept of national security opens the way for elaboration of strategies for the expansion of power by political and military elites (Quoted, 1999).

Claudzig argues that the scope of the concept of national security needs to be expanded in order to cope with the challenges of today's world. The advocates of this view usually tend to integrate wider aspects of social sciences, such as economics, psychology, sociology, and anthropology into financial security studies or cover a wide range of international issues as "security studies", including domestic violence, sub national and transnational threats, drug trafficking, massive population explosion, environmental pollution, and a growing gap between poverty and rich (Seifzadeh, 2004).

Although in the classical political issues, the most important work and the existential philosophy of the government has been ensuring security, in the following centuries, Enlightenment theorists, including Hobbes, Kant, Locke, Rousseau, etc., also have a major focus on security. Hobbes considers the security as the cause of the government, and today, the government remains an unparalleled player in terms of security, despite the prevailing neo-globalist tendencies in the world that are aimed at the government at the very least, and more restrictive of the government. In addition, with the emergence of a new government structure and a redefinition of its relationship with society, which is governed by specific rules in the name of the law, security is defined according to it (Mandel, 2008).

With regard to the term national security, the importance of the nation is evident, because national security indicates that the goal is to provide national security and since the idea of national autonomy has considerable legitimacy in the current international system, the established relationship between the nation and the government is a strong practice in the free activity of international anarchy and this is a key factor in the contemporary possibilities of the international society and is also an essential element of national security. On the whole, at the international level, the combination of the nation as the idea of legitimacy and government and sovereignty as the basis of the international anarchy society is crucial to develop the concept of international security (Zareshahi, 2000).

Governments like fruits, despite similarities, are very different and diverse, and because of this diversity, the issue of national security is fundamentally different from state to state.Different parts of governments are vulnerable to various threats, for this reason, the issue of national security is raised in many respects, many of which are not

related to military defense and the concept of national security involves national goals, and this is not the case in very weak states.

The distinction between governments that have important internal security issues and those with significant external security issues is important for understanding national security; as much as the government is weaker, the concept of national security is more vague and national security often relates to the government's relationship with its environment. As long as the state of the government is disturbed, there will be no security; creating stronger states is a necessary condition for individual and national security, and the existence of stronger states does not entail security, but undoubtedly their permanent absence creates insecurity (Buzan, 1999).

The conceptual understanding of national security requires a broad understanding of the basic levels of analyses and topics that constitute international studies, although the term national security seems to be a matter for the government. The connections between this level and the individual, regional and system levels are so numerous and strong that no one can deny them. Also, although national security is apparently focused on political and military aspects in which the government plays a key role, but this idea cannot be understood without regard to the role of the performers and the campaign of the social, economic and environmental dimensions (Scraton, 1983).

After the Cold War, the national security framework has undergone a change, which it does not mean the end of the system of national governments despite the significant reduction of governments control over what goes on within their borders and also does not means reducing security concerns for governments less than the Cold War period. In general, national security has changed from three dimensions: 1. factors such as the emergence of non-state actors, the permeability of national borders and the division of states.Lower self-esteem at national level, the spread of technology and the spread of power have reduced the national sovereignty of states.2. Moving from the bipolar system to multi-polar, increasing regionalization wave, increasing immigration and spreading democracy and capitalism, equalizing tastes and technology, and standardizing weapon systems have led to an increase in international interdependence, which in turn led to a change in national security.

In total, for the lack of accurate and scientific analysis of the concept of national security, there are several possible causes, namely: 1. the inherent complexity of the concept that reduces the amount of relief to researchers. 2. The domination of a realistic view that has led to the domination of the concept of power and the subordination of the concept of security to the concept of power, and this has undermined the conceptual argument of national security.3. the course of the anti-liberal movements in the late 1970s was such that, they welcomed the introduction of attractive concept of peace while criticizing Realism and as a result, the concept of security has continued to deteriorate in the new research era, which is still evident in

recent reactions to realism. As we see the concept of collective affiliation and the concept of security in the true sense, we cannot find it(Mandel, 2008).

Security discourses in the Islamic Republic of Iran

One of the main characteristics of security issues in the Islamic Republic of Iran is the lack of a general consensus among elites about the concept of national security, security policies and threats and vulnerabilities. For this reason, there are numerous and contradictory approaches to security, the factors influencing its development and strength and its threatening factors, that a variety of issues are effective in this multiplicity of approach and discourse; but there are two fundamental and almost conflicting discourses on national security in the Islamic Republic of Iran.

The traditional discourse of national security

This discourse, which emphasizes the continuation of the past trends and sees the future of the Islamic Republic as a continuation of the past, still has remained loval to the ideological tradition of the Islamic Revolution with the characteristics that it was based on during the first decade of the revolution and emphasizes its general preservation of principles as the basis for action in the future. Based on this view, the power and security of the Islamic Republic of Iran depends to a large extent on its revolutionary and ideological positions at the regional and international levels and in the future, these positions will continue to be the main guarantor of Iran's security and the main factor in the country's strength and development. Based on this view, the main goal of the enemy is the cultural transformation of the regime and the threat of the values of the Islamic revolution and the weakening of the people's trust in the religious and revolutionary beliefs of society and in this way, national security is threatened. This threat is more effective than military and economic threats in the current situation, and its purpose is to mark the heart of the Islamic Revolution, that is to emphasize the domination of religious values in human life. From this point of view, the enemy has threatened the country's security with a cultural invasion from two external fronts (satellite, television and video, and various propaganda) and the domestic aspect through the publication of some press, film production and ... many of them may be politically or intellectually dependent on the West. It is necessary to deal with them in terms of security.

In traditional discourse, hardware perceptions of security are also prevalent, and words like enemy, invasion, conspiracy, and violation are considered as keywords of the traditional discourse of national security. There is a deep pessimism in this view than other countries, and there is always the possibility of military aggression or any other conspiracy against the security of the Islamic Republic from them. This is why the country's military preparedness and development to deal with these threats is of particular importance. in this discourse, economic priorities are marginalized in the context of national security that this idea is unlike new theories that place the threat of

economic security in the top priority.In traditional discourse, security of the political system is given priority to the security of the people and in the event of a conflict between the two, the security of the political system is preferable and people are so long focused that they are aligned with the political system (Haji & Mohammadi, 2002).

New discourse on national security in the Islamic Republic of Iran

With the election of Mr. Khatami to Iran's presidency in 1997, conditions were created for the formation or development of a new discourse on national security. This discourse has been introduced within the sovereignty of the political system and in conflict with traditional discourse in the society. Although streaks of this discourse have always been active within the political system, there has never been a serious opportunity to make it happen that with the election of Mr. Khatami, the background was provided to discuss it in the society. According to this new security discourse, as long as the Islamic Republic cannot organize its own society and internal political system based on its claimed values, will never be able to be a good source for religious values in the world. Therefore, it is imperative that while accurately defining religious values and recognizing them from non-religious values, we can organize our political, economic, and social life based on them. It also considers that new values such as democracy and human rights are compatible with Islamic values and that they are essential for national security; based on this view, individual rights and freedoms, the sovereignty of the people, observance of the constitution and ... not only do not contradict religious values, but also constitute the realization of religious values and if they do not be realized, the security of the society will suffer.

This discourse criticizes the excesses of foreign threats and excessive concentration on foreign enemies and the emphasis on military threats and has a more realistic attitude towards it and while considering foreign threats, believes that foreign threats cannot seriously endanger national security while there is no internal context for vulnerability.

This view rebuilds many criteria for friends and enemies of the interior and the overseas and emphasizes the concrete interests of the country to determine them and does not accept the extreme insistence on military threats and considers the various aspects of the threat, including economic, social and cultural (Rahimi, 2009).

The impact of political development on national security

Political development means the expansion of the rights of the people and their impact on various aspects of the political system so that rulers agree on the integrity of the people in their choices and consider their position as originating from the people; on the other hand, citizens also choose between political parties with different programs that provide for public endorsement, by exploring the institutions that are known

necessary to ensure effective public control, such as electoral competitions over time. The elected legislature acts on behalf of voters to answer the executive branch. Independent judiciary, the press and the independent mass media are seeking to fulfill their demands in order to spill over the government actions and when such a situation is created in a country, and the public interest is still tangible that citizens seek to achieve their own interests, by expressing their interests and wishes through the political participation and competition, the formation of parties and the use of the press, emphasized in this research and by electing rulers and continuous monitoring through the organized and coherent institutions above and in the event of a conflict and a failure to meet popular demands, citizens will punish them with distrust in the next election and choose those who are in line with their interests and wishes.

On the other hand, since the provision of national security is the main concern of the people in order to comfort and secure their interests, and in developed political systems, people are considered as the main contributors to security, that this is contrary to authoritarian regimes that decision making on different issues is done individually or as the exclusive group and without regard to popular demands, people are considered to be the backbone of the rulers for making decisions and the satisfaction and support of the people is an integral part of the adoption of any policy by the statesmen. For this reason, the type of people's relationship with the authorities and the political system plays an important role in addressing threats or strengthening national security issues. In this chapter, we are going to examine the extent of the impact of several important indicators of political development (participation, political competition, political parties and the press) on national security. Finally, by expressing two attitudes in the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran with the titles of detent and moderation discourse of the Thought and Hope Government which are resulted from the creation of conditions for political development in the country, and conducted at the same time as the Thought and Hope Government came into being, we will examine the impact of the adoption of the above strategies in foreign policy on national security.

The impact of political participation and competition on national security

With the popularity of the principle of the sovereignty of the people, the issue of citizen participation in politics is at the heart of contemporary political discourse and the stability of any political society depends on the relationship between the level of political participation and the level of political institutionalization of that society. The level of political institutionalization in societies with a low level of political participation is far lower than that of a society that has a higher level of participation, complexity, adaptability and coherence of the political institutions of society, political stability will be maintained.

Hanmington believes that urbanization, rising literacy rates and the spread of mass media and education have led to higher dreams and aspirations and if these ambitions are not met, individuals and groups will enter the political scene, which, in the absence of strong and flexible political institutions, will lead the increase in political participation to instability and violence (Dehshiri, 2009).

Therefore, political competition and participation can strengthen national security and political stability if political groups and parties are active and transparent in society and institutionalized. In this case, peaceful and obvious political competition will control the mass participation and the existence of public agency bodies in the face of competitive political participation can be seen as a sign of modernization and democracy.

On the other hand, political participation and competition provide legitimacy for the state system, and people view rulers as their direct agents. The political system can be sustained with the support of the masses of the people and under the rules and less need to use the pressure and tools of violence. Such a government is continually seeking to maintain popular support and ensures the continuity of such a process through the mechanisms of civil institutions; otherwise, popular support subsides in the same way that it has peaked.

Political participation and competition in developed societies provides the conditions for the transfer of political power from one group to another, and the lack of such a rule for the transfer and distribution of political power and the administration of the society has various disasters, which among them, monopoly and corruption of power, intermittent political instability, potential increase of violence and coercion in the political society, the replacement of the interests and interests of politicians and governors rather than the interests of the people and the consumption of resources to preserve the government without the people having an interest in it can be pointed out.

Increasing political participation and competition reduces the need for government to adopt violent and suppressive policies, since the existence of channels of political competition and participation prevents opposition from violent acts and national security is strengthened.

In addition to the above, regarding the impact of political participation and competition on national security, it should be emphasized that a system of governance and a political system can achieve a stable and sustainable equilibrium in which three important factors are realized, namely: 1. legitimacy. 2. Public participation 3. Performance.

The impact of the press on national security

Since awareness is a prerequisite for development and progress in any human society, the basic role of the press in this awareness is determined and the real independence of the press guarantees peace and security in the intellectual space of society as well, and the victory not achieved by rivals or non-compliance with the rules of the game is not a victory in any culture. Although the way of behavior and social impatience against individuals differ in the way of thinking kills no one and eradicates no belief, but its consequences are devastating in the public domain, because it forces people to conceal those ideas or to refrain from any attempt to disseminate it (Etaa't, 1999).

The reign of overwhelmed disbelief in Third World countries, which impedes the transparent expression of beliefs, makes how to express the national security at risk and harmful, at the right time that the intensity of the authority of this space diminishes. Because the Third World Governments have failed to make a meaningful effort to strike a balance between a major focus on security and the measures taken to protect the fundamental rights of citizens and themselves and most governments in Third World Societies did not try to protect the freedom of expression of their citizens as much as they tried to keep their sovereignty and the media in such societies are more concerned with encounters, disagreements and scandals, and less with peace and stability, to the continuation of moral harmony and national consensus (Akhavan, 1999).

The issue of the impact of the press on national security can be considered from two negative and positive aspects. In the positive view, there is any media impact that directly and indirectly strengthens national security. From this view, helping to increase national integrity and ethnic homogeneity, building people's trust in the system and political leaders, helping to increase political participation, and the presence of people on the scene to defend national interests, are of the ways in which the media help strengthen national security. The negative view is that of any immediate or long-term impact of the press, which somehow undermines national security. Encouraging public opinion, creating distrust towards the system and political leaders, questioning the vital values of a system and exposing categorized military secrets are as the effects of the press on national security. But in some cases, in underdeveloped countries, powerful individuals and groups who see their interests in danger, create restrictions on national security, by resorting to the threat to it and the interests of individuals and groups replace the national interests that the grounds for the abuse of individuals and groups should be limited by reference to the constitution. In the Islamic Republic of Iran, according to the Constitution, there are two general issues of disruption of the principles of Islam and the general order of the scope of freedom of expression of the press. Measures must be taken to implement these two principles, in order to maintain the freedom of the press and its role in providing national security (Nagibzadeh, 1998).

Detent and its impact on the national security of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the eleventh state

The foreign policy of the Islamic Republic has always been involved in subjectivity and objectivity in various post-revolution years and in all these years and contrary to the claims of the authorities, there has never been a specific and codified strategy for foreign policy and national security in the Islamic Republic of Iran and the research projects carried out in this area have had more tactical and case aspects.

Each effective political and military system has its own distinct but vague and unclear definition of national security implications. The judiciary and Ministry of Foreign Affairs have controversy over the definition of a hostile state and the only government that has a transparent position from the point of view of Iran's foreign policy is Israel, which is regarded as the hostile enemy and in the case of other neighboring or influential countries of the world, Iran is still confused in identifying the situation between "Enemy States", "Neural States", "Covenant States ", "Islamic States" and "Truce States" and if the government has an analysis in this regard, that analysis is not confirmed by other influencers of the national security area and of course, there has not been a clear strategy in dealing with the same single issue of national security.

One of these approaches and discourses that had been promoted for many years as the foreign policy doctrine of the Islamic Republic of Iran was the Umm al-Qura Doctrine. According to this doctrine, if a country can surpass its leadership level beyond of its boards with the formation of the Islamic state, it will be in the forefront of the Islamic world.

This theory, although as an alternative to the stylized doctrine of the adventurous issuance of the revolution, was put forward in the atmosphere of the weakening of revolutionary leftism and were promoted through official platforms for years, but after the emergence of Islamic fundamentalist groups, it was challenged in important parts of the Muslim world as well as in opposition to the spirit of Arab nationalism and today, in addition to the division of Shiites and Sunnis, the Islamic world clearly has a fundamentalist, secular, Arab, and non-Arab division.

For this reason, the leadership of this conjugate is neither possible nor desirable, although a country like Saudi Arabia is trying to take over the leadership of the Muslim world by relying on the elements of Arabism and tradition and fundamentalism, it has not succeeded even with the catalyst of incalculabledollars.

After the very special era of the Ahmadinejad government, which tried to direct the Iranian national security discourse machine with a reverse gear to the expansion of the discourse and the issuance of revolution, in Rouhani's government, attempts were made to adopt completely new and different solutions for national security and foreign

policy. Extensive and crippling sanctions left over from the previous period of aggression against international systems have led the new government to consider geo-economics as an important parameter in the National Security Doctrine and conduct a significant part of its relationship with Russia and China, as well as its main argument in negotiations with the 5 + 1 countries in this area.

This definition of national security, which was previously raised only in the Bazargan government, which at the time was confronted by the opposition of all revolutionaries, , led to Iran turn into an "interactive government" from an "ideological, aggressive and insurgent regime" in the eyes of the world, according to the interim administration's foreign secretary.

But this impression was shaken by the actions of other institutions and in a series of events such as the attack on the Saudi embassy and the support of Bashar al-Assad and a stance against influence, it became apparent that unlike the government, other groups tend to enter the cultural and ideological concepts intodefensive and security strategy.

These days in a space known as "post-success", debate over the success or failure of new government approaches to national security has been raised, but what has not been taken into account is that these policies are still at the tactic level, and the Islamic Republic of Iran is still lagging behind in the lack of a national security strategy.

This undeclared strategy of Iranian national security lacks either unwilling or unwanted the interact and being affected by international developments and therefore, lacks the minimum impact on it.

Nuclear talks lead to serious contradictions in the definition of the center of national security threats to US centrality and today, organizing the national security discourse in favor of the "enemy", lead to divisions more than coherence.

The national security discourse in the Islamic Republic continues to deliberately ignore some of its neighbors, especially those who share the civilization and Persian language with us. It also ignores the unstable features of the northern neighbors; at the same time, does not consider Arab nationalism, which is one of the most important factors affecting the region's relations.

In Iran, losers and sloganists still have high influence on national security strategy despite losing elections and this group, in addition to ideologicalism, seeks for dogmatic security discourses without consequences and pests. Something that its practicality and subjectivity have been proved for many years, at least after the collapse of the leftist and communist regimes. In the modern world, national security doctrines are raised influenced by developments in the international systems and then

affect them and the nature of the sponge and the interactivity of these doctrines with the international environment, are their main differences with constructed doctrines of medieval times.

The challenges of Iran's national security during the post-success years, most notably the conflict with the Arab world and in the economic aspect, the elimination of written and unwritten economic sanctions indicate that to the extent that Iran was able to succeed in the negotiations, there were many weaknesses in the overall management of foreign policy and national security.

Moderation dialogue in foreign policy and its role in national security

Given the experience of Rouhani's presence as secretary of the National Security Council, articles, books, as well as his speeches and debates during the election campaign, the eleventh government's foreign policy can be described as "constructive engagement with the world within the framework of a developmentalist state". This foreign policy seeks to pave the way for the country's economic growth and development in the context of upstream documents through détente, confidence building, securing, avoiding getting security, improving face and prestige of Iran, active diplomacy and relations with other countries and International organizations. According to Hassan Rouhani, the foreign policy of the past few years has virtually made Iran into a security phase with tension and radicalism and reduced the ground for realizing the comprehensive development of the country. As a result, in order to bring the country back to the path defined by the upstream documents, such as the Perspective of Iran 1404, a developmentalist state should have the power; a government that puts the principles of constructive engagement with the world at the heart of its work and provides a platform for economic growth and development.

In this approach, the departure from idealism stems from the proper knowledge of the Thought and Hope Government's agents of international environment and the observance of the rules of acting in the current Westphalicstate-oriented system. The attempt to resolve the misunderstandings with the United States or called "Sheriff" by Rouhaniis the key to this realism. The attempt to eliminate sanctions from the window of reaching a nuclear agreement with the 5 + 1 as an attempt to prevent Iran's strategic depletion (Mohammad JavadZarif's view) is also analyzable from this window.

It seems that the foreign policy of the government of Rouhani, in parallel to the opening of internal economic inflammations inside and the peaceful settlement of issues between the Iranian and the so-called international society, has turned from a reactionary and positional mode into action in regional and global engagements. Therefore, the eleventh government's foreign policy has faced many reactive aspects in the early years, mainly due to internal economic constraints and regional and international crises (including the nuclear case and the Syrian crisis). The foreign

policy of the state, called Thought and Hope, is composed of three main dimensions (realism, developmentalism, and normativity).

The discourse of foreign policy in the government of Hassan Rouhani, contrary to (especially the first six years), the government of Mahmoud Ahmadinejad considered interaction with the West. During this period, this discourse was somehow affecting some Iranian policies in support of the forces that could have been the bearers of the values of the Islamic Revolution in the region. For example, the government of Hassan Rouhani, which is a combination of traditional right movements, technocrats close to Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani and reformists close to Mohammad Khatami, is struggling to avoid any serious confrontation with the United States and Saudi Arabia in order to reach an agreement with the West on the nuclear issue and later on to maintain the success that has been established between Iran and the so-called "1 + 5" group since June 2015. Hassan Rouhani's government aims to reduce the sensitivities on the part of the West and the countries of the region by removing sanctions by severely curtailing the development of the nuclear program and attracting foreign investment and a kind of extroverted economy to develop and solve the livelihood and employment problems in the country. This view has shown its outlook on foreign policy and the kind of look at movements and groups that are inclined towards Iran.

Discussion and conclusion

According to the objective of this study, having national security means being in a situation where the vulnerability and vulnerability of the pillars of the system can be reduced in the face of internal and external threats, and one of the most important factors in the establishment of consensus, authority and the promotion of national security is participation. Indeed, as stated above, participation is the manifestation of the legitimacy of the ruler, and any government that attracts more effects of cooperation and empathy and the participation of the people in various political and social dimensions, especially in defending the country and the state against threats, has a better and more credible reputation at international level and on the other hand, will have a strong backing for the country's preservation with the participation of people.Many theorists believe that political participation is actually a dangerous factor for social image, and these two categories are hardly separable. But political issues are often more sensitive and competitive. Therefore, due to the sensitivity of the subject, security is reflected more. Also political development has a strong correlation with national security, since political development increases the citizens' political understanding, accountability, strengthens the sense of control of citizens towards the political system and their obligations to the government; therefore, improving political development depends on increasing national interests and national security. On the other hand, awareness of the socio-cultural status of the society in which the individual lives and increasing the level of awareness of one's capabilities, talents and needs, along with awareness of individual and social duties and responsibilities, can

be an effective factor in increasing development.Considering the national conditions and the generalization of the results show that Iran's political and strategic policy has been in recent years in a way that strengthened national security. A part of this development has been linked to the success agreement for public safety.On the other hand, the system of government in Iran has succeeded in managing, manipulating and tolerating competitions, interactions and understandings due to its special abilities (soft power), which before them can sustain and even strengthen their lives.This ability has led a large part of social groups, both political and non-political, to reform the structure and avoiding radical movements, which increases the national security, and, on the other hand, the public satisfaction of the rulership and governance that is very important in domestic security; in this regard, government agencies and institutions such as Police, municipalities, governorates, banks, and all organizations that directly deal with people, have laid down appropriate rules of social discipline and increased general satisfaction.

References

- AkhavanKazemi. (1999), Bahram. Parties, Political Stability and Security; Strategic Studies Quarterly No. 4, 1999. 107.
- Aminzadeh, Mohsen. (2009), Political Development: Political and Economic Quarterly. No. 117-118 p. 105.
- Attarzade; Mojtaba. (1999), Political Tolerance and National Interests; Strategic Studies Quarterly, No. 4, pp. 60-61.
- Bashirieh, Hossein. (1999), Civil Society and Political Development in Iran; Tehran: OlumNovin Publication. p. 64.
- Buzan, Barry. (1999), People, Governments and Panic; Translated by Institute for Strategic Studies, Pajooheshkadeh Publication, p. 100.
- Dad, C. H. (1985), Political Growth, Translated by EzatollahFuladvanad, Tehran: No Publication, p. 30.
- Dehshiri, Mohammad Reza. (2009), The Impact of Civil Society on Foreign Policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Political and Economic Quarterly, No. 145 & 146.
- Eftekhri, Asghar; (2002), Political Media Stability in Proceedings of Media and Political Stability; Research Institute for Strategic Studies, 2002, p. 99.
- Etaa't, Javad. (1999), Political Competition and Social Convulsions; Strategic Studies Quarterly, No. 4, Summer 1999, Pages 9-10.
- Haji, Yousefi, Amir Mohammad. (2002), Eftekhri, Asghar; Iran Security Policy Round Table, Defense, Security Studies Quarterly. No. & and 4.
- Huntington, Samuel. (1992), Political System in Changing Societies; Translated by Mohsen Salasi, Elm Publication, Tehran, 1992, p. 119.
- lucianpye. (1966), Aspects of political Development. (Boston. Brown and Co 1966) p. 39.
- Mahdizadeh, Seyyed Mohammad.(1998), Press and political development; Hammhahiri 17, July.
- Mandel Robert. (2008), Variable Face of National Security, ibid. p. 49.
- Mandel, Robert. (1998), Variable Face of National Security; Translated by Research Institute for Strategic Studies, Tehran: Tehran Research Institute for Strategic Studies, p. 29.
- Nagibzadeh, Ahmad.(1998), Political Parties and the Democratic System; Political and Economic Information; May and June. No. 28 p. 25.

- Quoted from Iranian Press Statistical Quarterly. (1999), Published by the Press Information Bank; Center for Studies and Research and the Media Publication, No. 2, Autumn.
- Rahimi, Hasan. (2009), Iran's Security Policy in the First Decade of the Islamic Revolution with an Emphasis on the Defense Field; Defense, Security Studies Quarterly, No. 3 & 4.
- sayegh, Yazid. (1998), Security in Developing Countries, the Confrontation of the 21st Century. Translated by Mostafa Imani and AlirezaTayeb, Tehran, Elmi&Farhangi Publication.Pages 10-11.
- Scraton, Roger. (1983), Adhectionary of Plitical thought, Mac mollon, Referens Books, London. p. 421.
- Seifzadeh, SeyyedHossein. (2004), The Mystery of Security and New Challenges the West, Bureau of Political and International Studies, Tehran, 2004 p. 41.
- ValipourZuramy, (1993), Seyyed Hassan; National Security Discourses in the Islamic Republic of Iran, Strategic Studies Quarterly, Second Edition, Summer.
- Zareshahi, Ali. (2000), Political Instability and Economic Security and Its Impact on Production Factors in Iran; Strategic Studies Quarterly, No. 7 & 8.