ORIGINAL ARTICLE

Democracy, Media, and Soft Security Umbrella Pattern

Mohammad Reza Akhzarian Kashani

Faculty member of Islamic Revolution Supreme Studies Center, Tehran University

ABSTRACT: Islamic Republic of Iran has passed 2 security discourses in its challenging history that the first negotiation was about centrality of hardware and value-oriented security of revolution holly values to be protected against any oppositions and extension of enemies definition to boundary of denying all holly privacies in economic, political, and cultural fields and even in its micro levels and in the second negotiation, which was governed after June 1997, liberal thought was replaced by previous pattern and extended from boundaries of Friends of Islamic Republic of Iran to beyond enemies boundaries by weakening values and holiness of Islamic republic of Iran. Passing historical stages of these 2 discourses and displaying abilities and weaknesses of both negotiations on one hand and media system governance and soft negotiation on security interactions of Iran and the world necessitated revision in this pattern. This article tries to use media experiences of Islamic Republic of Iran in publishing written literatures and developments of soft security umbrella to suggest more proper model for Iranian democracy for today of Islamic Republic of Iran. This model determines boundaries between 2 streams in Iran Islamic revolution using insider and non-insider patterns to provide possibility of using comprehensive negotiation of national media as the most important bed to guarantee state soft security and stability of more populations under government umbrella.

Keywords: security, media, Islamic revolution negotiation, insider, and non-insider, soft security umbrella

What is Media?

Media is known as communication tool and it is defined as "media is a tool sender transfers his ideas and conception to receiver. In other words, media is tool of containing message for receiver. Book, newspaper, magazine, photography, movie, voice and visual tapes, radio, television, satellites etc. are all media.[1]

Sadni Mide knows common specifications of mass media as following:

Mass media receivers are relatively high.

Receivers' combination is very varied.

Message repetition is made by sending message by mass media.

Message distribution is quickly.

Cost is low for consumer. [2]

Media is considered as one of very important factors of changing vales, beliefs, and national criterions for their abilities whether able to form a society thoughts by accurate and controlled planning and orient their behavior to favorite side or not. This fact is so tangible in today world that initial groups are replaced with seconded groups and emotional and face to face relationships lose their state and people have ben influenced more than anytime by mass media; this fact make responsibility of media authorities, owners, and holders more. Wilbur Schramm know them as "society goalkeeper" and said: who are in news networks include correspondents that should decide to highlight which part in a court or a special event or demonstration, release which news, place which news in communicative media process. In addition, goalkeepers includes authors too, because they should decide to talk about which subject or not propose which life point of view. Movie producers should also decide to make movie from which sense of life. Book sellers should also decide to sell which books, teachers should decide to select which reference book. Event summarization authorities should also decide to add which news in their summary[3]. According to interpretation of John Casino, mass media instruments can help significantly to correct culture and homogenize patterns and thoughts. [4]

Television has merits of both radio and cinema and inters more easily to private life of people. Today, most politician of the world search success in politics in TV and try to provide their political advertisement and

---

[1] Amir Teymuri, Mohammad Hassan, educational media, Shiraz, Sasan, 1998, p:10

[2] Mohsenian Rad, Mahdi, communication study, Tehran, Sorush, 2001, p:62

[3] Sarukhani, Bagher, sociology of communications, Tehran, Etellaat newspaper, 1993, p: 65

[4] Casino, Zhan, sociology and mass media instruments, translated by Baagher Sarukhani and Manuchehr Mohseni, Tehran, Etellaat newspaper, P: 155

message. TV has determining role in achieving political power and protecting it and making relationship between people and government and influencing on public thought. In this regard, TV news state is considered so important, finally TV, satellite, and nearly Internet is recognized as one and governments or part of "penetration in "public thought" use them for main private instruments to get their purposes. TV and satellite are very important instruments to form public thoughts about domestic and foreign politics. [5]

Security and National Security

National security in term means protection against danger (objective security), sense of safety (mental security), and release from doubt (reliance to personal perceptions).

Conception of security has various definitions which the most comprehensive one is that: security is ability to remove foreign threats against political life or national benefits emphasized on various aspects. [6]

In democratic political system, government responsibility is providing national security. Actually, resultant of all responsibilities and performances of government in a democratic system is providing national security which means security of all society members.

Of course, interruption of each variables of national security is different in various countries.

National security is conception that won't accomplish unless by national authority. Some researchers such as Morgenthau mentioned demography specifications, national features, ideological mutual values, and amount of social correlation, national unity, and contingency as elements of national authority beside geographical, natural, political, and army abilities. In this regard, Morgenthau defines political authority in proportion of psychology between power and author of power; these are proportions than can influence on others minds by penetration.

Stanley Hoffman defined national security as support nation and protection society from physical attack and outer destructive streams but with tactic change and imperialism approach and colonialism by ancient methods based on physical and military attacks by today cultural and economic dominance what threats the third world countries by great powers in not only physical attack but today. However, enemies attacks in not only military in today world, confronting with enemy, enemies, or competitors will be cultural,

identical, and developmental defense. For this purpose, many of theoreticians of national power and security such as Robert McNamara believe that in near modern communities, security is not software; although, it may encompass it. In addition, security is not military force; although, it may encompass it. However, security is development and there is no security without development. [7] McNamara believe that security is tied with human thought in light of scientific development and we know well that development is qualitative conception that is accomplished by culturing process and making cultural identity.

Society suffered from identity crisis and consequently participation won't develop and naturally won't have high level of national authority and security.

Features of National Security

Security is both objective and mental. Both existence and sense of security is mentioned. Of course, mental aspects should have objective symbols and not considered abstract.
Yet, state elites can consider mental and objective aspects by 3 dimensions of validity they consider for threatening forces, validity they can make by threatening factor, and ability of threatened values centrality and priority.

National security has aspects of affirmative and privative. Lack of threats for privative aspect is definition of security. Not having potential threats, reduction in potential and de facto vulnerability is affirmative aspects of security.

National security has software and hardware aspects.

Hardware aspect of security includes physical issues such as geography, natural resources, prier economy population, and proper land extension, number of forces, war instruments, and defensing power against threats.

Software aspect of security includes ideology, historical and virtual environment (ideals of players), having national self-esteem, proper and efficient human forces, culture, cultural and social beds, integrated identity, creativity, and innovation.
National security has domestic and foreign aspects.

Types of threats and fighting methods are different in each aspect. Insider aspect of security is principally have more powerful morale and software aspects but in outer aspect, national benefit and beneficiary aspect or hardware is emphasized. Of course, separation of inside and outside aspects is difficult today. As much as a country has less security problems, it represents better in appearance.

[5] Hassan, Ruhani, strategic researches publication of Expediency Council, spring, 2008, p: 11
[6] Roshandel, Jalil, national security and international continuity, Tehran, Samt publication, first express, 1995, p:11

[7] Hassan, Ruhani, previous, p: 8

National security has threat harms aspect. The difference of harm and threat is that if is not face correctly, it is possible to change into threat. Similarity of harm with problem and threat with obstacle.

National security has opportunity threat aspects. A subject can be threat in one occasion and opportunity in another occasion. Difference between threat and opportunity is not possible in outer era.

security has exact/proportional aspects. It is not possible to say at al that a place is totally secured; however, it can be secured in a time and unsecured in another time.

Various factors are involved in formulating security policy as following:

Mental conception and thought and political decision makers.

Political, economic, and cultural conditions dominated on society

International system and resulted obligations.

State geopolitical situation

Long-term and short-term national purposes

Final purpose in domestic and foreign policies of Islamic Republic of Iran is providing security.

Conceptual evolution periods of national security in Islamic Republic of Iran

In investigating security political evolutions of Islamic republic of Iran was mentioned after Islamic revolution in 3 periods of "extension-orientation", "protecting-orientation", and growth-orientation"[8].

According to this theory, Islamic Republic of Iran since victory of Islamic revolution has past 2 discourses:

Governance period of traditional discourse for national security of Islamic Republic of Iran

Governance period of liberal discourse for national security of Islamic Republic of Iran

In the first period, extension-orientation discourse is dominant on orientations of Islamic Republic of Iran that protecting Islamic Republic of Iran is tied with extension it and security is considered as more conservative conception. According to this theory, national security can't be discussed in extension-orientation period but the main priority is Islamic world security.

By starting imposed war, this changed place with protection-orientation discourse regarding which, protecting system has main importance and priority. Theories such as Omol-Ghora were shaped in this period. This theory necessitates protection of Islamic

---

[8] Hajjarian, Saeed, conceptual evolution of national security in Islamic Republic of Iran; Tajik, Mohammad Reza, public security and development (vol. 1 & 2) security and military administration of state ministry, March/February 1996; Larijani, Mohammad Javad, introduction on conceptions and doctrines of national security, revolution challenges in foreign policies, Tehran: Ketab Sobh, 1996

Republic of Iran for protecting Islamic world. This discourse was also dominant on mentality of elites of Islamic Republic of Iran and basis for system decision making. Based on this discourse, system extension is tied with system protection. Gradually, a new discourse was shaped by ending war which main priority was economic development and national security is defined and determined based on development variable. Regarding to this discourse, successful pattern of "national security" will be successful strategy of national security and proper condition for development is not anything except security. Therefore, security is basis of development and development will be basis for development. According to view of this theory, security emphases find domestic aspects and we should seek for development from inside.

In more general conclusion, national security of Islamic Republic of Iran can be classified into 2 dominant discourse:

Traditional discourse of national security of Islamic Republic of Iran

On one hand, this is resulted from revolutionary society; on the other hand, this is resulted from war conditions. Traditional discourse was formed after deep evolution in political and cultural structure of state and has acted as the only security discourse of state in recent 2 decades by non-principal and sectional evolutions.

Traditional discourse is an abstract definition of security and follows extensive perception of security theoretically and practically. For this purpose, it enters every thing in security field.

According to abstract definition of security, insecurity field is so extensive.

Traditional discourse of security

It provides value-orientated definition and protecting values is hidden in gravity center of this security view. Protecting values from domestic and foreign threats is secret off Survival of Islamic Republic of Iran. Since Iran Islamic revolution is valuable revolution, excavating cultural and value roots is the biggest insecurity resources.

Traditional intellectual and political discourse is responsibility of state and government and government has morale interpretation. Traditional discourse is knows responsibility of government as humans transcendence and moving toward God. Therefore, it puts values in the most inside layers of security definition and know its protection same as security.

Traditional definition of security is a government-orientation definition and also protecting political system is the most important political

purposes of traditional discourse security. If we know system as collection of values, structures, roles, and processes, all definitions is issue of security definition.

Traditional attitude is hardware attitude and notice foreign threats more and emphasizes on their political aspects. This fact causes negligence of domestic factors and considers domestic threats a security threat by foreigners' penetration and knows nature of domestic threats more cultural/ valuable which purpose is cultural transmutation of system. According to view of this discourse, foreign factors and their domestic relatives threat system values.

Traditional discourse notices process of political development as intrusive of national security and considers extension of media activities and open cultural and political spaces as threats for national security and emphasized on priority of economic development of present conditions of state. This attitude knows potential and de facto threats of system as its disabilities in providing people economic needs.

Liberal discourse of national security of Islamic Republic of Iran

This discourse, that was formed by selection of Sayed Mohammad Khatami as president of Islamic Republic of Iran, internal political, social, and international conditions, can be called hope development following changing others and ourselves and drawing new thoughts from ourselves and others which are in conflict with traditional discourse.

Liberal discourse defines security as a software approach of national security, policy, and power and redefines itself and others.

Liberal discourse defines security on basis of repetition so believe that pluralism in politics, culture, economic, and acceptance of intellectual, political, and ethical disorders as the main factor of providing state security.

Liberal discourse is culturally the most important threat in gap between though and action of elites.

Politically, it has software approach for security and knows the most important threats in lack of political justifying, integration, unity, and low political capacity, and economic disabilities and inefficacies. It knows influencing fields of foreign threats in each aspect (cultural, political, and economic) in vacuumed and internal weaknesses. For this purpose, political development is significantly prioritized and knows state economic reconstruction impossible without political development.

Liberal discourse redefined values. In this regard, gap between valuable system of government and people is threatening and attempt to make cooperation between them is a necessary value which

prerequisite I loyalty of government to people new demands.

Liberal discourse hasn't yet interpreted extensively from security conception ad consider any threats against national security. [9]

Media and National Security

One of positive and affirmative influencing aspects of media freedom on national security is that free media remove conditions of oppositions against political system to go underground by expression and arrival different thoughts and criticizing point of view.

Free media can increase stability coefficient and society security by providing proper condition for expressing various ideas and views.

Free media can help governors in important security matters ad domestic or foreign political orientations by reflecting authorities' and experts' ideas with deep investigations and discussions so to make decision by accurate and all-aspect identification and awareness from people real ideas.

It changes to factor of attracting support of public thought for political system.

State national security coefficient is usually different by association of citizens with political system. Therefore, free media can form and guide people by attracting public thoughts along with national aims and protecting national security.

Other influencing aspects of media on national security is attracting people participation and vice versa; making political indifference and numb sense among citizens.

Media can influence on state national security by protecting or neglecting values and believing principles respected by society members by both positive and negative role on performance.

Modern discourse of Soft Security Umbrella

Passing time and difficult and sophisticated turns in security eras and displaying efficacies and inefficacies of both military approaches clarify necessity of revision in various elements of such discourse and divulge soft elements of security more than ever.

This necessity shows itself more whenever we perceive effects of global media such as radio, TV to social networks etc. and we consider penetration coefficient of such networks.

Therefore, it is necessary we obtain more boundaries out of liberal and traditional frameworks of national security to a modern and pervasive discourse to provide possibility of executing national governance

---

[9] Ranjbar, the purposes of national security discourses in Islamic Republic of Iran: political sciences chapter, no. 9

in soft condition using the least tools and hardware methods.

Undoubtedly, principal pillar of this discourse modern is attracting the maximum in national level and extending value elements umbrella of Islamic revolution on various thoughts inside system framework.

Infrastructural Elements of Soft Security Umbrella discourse

For better understanding infrastructural elements of modern discourse, it is necessary to accept this hypothesis that each includes elements along with the reciprocal addressees' identity and complete reciprocal element. For this purpose, for better identification these 2 groups of elements along with pervasive discourse production of Islamic revolution, it is better determine purposes and means of discourse owners and extract and announce its infrastructural elements.

Islamic revolution discourse, also based on Saint. Leader, includes 2 groups of elements "insider" and "non-insider" shaping 2 sides of discourse and making and development Islamic revolution discourse is stopped by reinforcement of insider signifier and weakness of non-insider signifier.

It is said that do we have "inside" and "non-insider" if we count people, no! All society members all insider but political stream, yes! We have insider stream, non-insider stream? Insider is heart bits for Islam; revolution, Imam and respectful for people really. Who is non-insider? Ono-insider is who takes order of foreigners, his hear bots for foreigners, his heart bits for returning to America.

Non-insider is who think to make relationship with US since revolution; swear Imam but love US! Not bothered by who swear Imam but become sad if a person swear to one of their partner out of boundaries. Hey are strangers. What are their names? Who are they? What is their relationship with us to talk about them in holiday pray? Anyone in this features is stranger.

The philosophy of this revolution is freedom-thought and freedom of speech – but it shouldn't be in a way to prioritize word, need, analysis, and orientation of enemies on other talks, consider it as theorem. "When a person becomes friend with enemy, can't be relied anymore".[10]

Who are Insiders and Non-Insiders?

To better understand conception and insider and non-insider elements in Islamic system and formulation and inserting a revolutionary pervasive

discourse , determination legal elements for pervasive discourse implementation of soft security, it is necessary to state the most important features of these 2 spectrums by point of insider and ono-insider conception:[11]

Features of Insider Elements

Insight
Revolutionary orientation
Political abstinence
Fairly critics
Legal regularity
Maximum attraction and minimum removal
Recognizing enemies
Unity

Features of Non-Insider Elements:

National betray
Enemy recruiting
Separation followers
Unhealthy management
Guilty elites
Suspicion space
intriguing
Political work and display
Unintellectual confrontation with a wrong thought

National Media and Pervasive discourse of Soft Security Umbrella

National media is duty as the effective principle of soft security in state to extend its umbrella on system and its element to cover insider elements in limitation of its system one by one in order to provide possibility of expression various thoughts under system umbrella and utilization varied cultural and human selections and interest by discourse governance of Islamic revolution.

In this framework using experience of written media and literatures of states can make a space with thee most multiplying polls for Islamic revolution principles and regulation and protect all under the dominant discourse and deprive violators of these regulation from this media. In this regard, as it is possible to manage various thought spectrums in written media such as Keyhan and Vatan-e-Emruz and deprive violators from media, yet there are tendency and intellectual needs to respond to significant part of press, can rely on networks and even radio or TV programs equal to Keyhan, Resalalt, and Sargh newspapers and respond to national media addresses the best, attract all under Islamic revolution pervasive discourse and deprive violators from media. This

---

[10] Saint leader, speech in holiday pray speeches, Tehran, 1999

[11] Adopted from determining-analytical site of Borhan, www.borhan.ir

pattern can develop social capital and satisfy addresses needs and reduced illogical reference to enemy and non-insider media.

Obviously, acceptance and accomplishment of this process needs managerial patience on one hand and adding precision in designating antenna intelligently to various believing, intellectual, and political groups, and using all capacity of national media including radio, TV in free discourses space.

Undoubtedly, this era provides possibility of presence of system maximum elements under Islamic revolution discourse and accomplishment the valuable maximum attraction, and system soft security will happen qualifiedly.

This fact needs loyalty to obligations and qualified accomplishment of some are as following:

Necessity to change media security discourse and modification hardware interpretation of national security to software attitude.

Accepting this hypothesis that enemies' speech is not disruptive of national security but how to say and advertise may be interruptive.

Accepting this infrastructural hypothesis that Islamic revolution discourse circle is as vast as maximum.

Providing chance of using thoughts and various insider streams from freedom under revolution umbrella in national media.

Attribution plans gradually with shallow slope f networks management to insider elements of revolution.

Using radio and TV maximum capacity with national, regional, or issue level to make a shallow slope

Possibility to insert soft governance in legal management and supervision on networks performance.

Establishment supervision court and and council on inside media and disclaimer from violators of media regulation.

Necessity to formulate supervision mechanisms on dispersing productions adjusted with Islamic revolution discourse elements.

Using varied experiences of media in press field for management of national media

Conclusion

Change in discourse of state security structure and tendency to permanent and soft security is necessity that can't be neglected at any rate. In condition of soft security, present of all people is possible in state discourse space and Islamic revolution enemies circle reduces to the minimum level by attracting the maximum and removing the minimum approach. In addition, attached critics to law can utilize facilities of system and express their critic not in enemies discourse but in enemy using revolution instrument under system umbrella, potential violators will lose capital of system reliance and welfare of legal utilizations.

It is tried in this research to formulate necessities of democratic and religious aspects of soft security umbrella discourse in a practical and tested pattern.

References

Amir Teymuri, Mohammad Hassan, educational media, Shiraz, Sasan, 1998

Casino, John , sociology of mass media, translated by Bagher Sarukhani and Manuchehr Mohseni, Tehran, Etellaat newspaper

Determining- analytical site of Borhan: http://www.borhan.ir

Hajjarian, Saeed, evolution of national security conception in Islamic Republic of Iran

Larijani, Mohammad Javad, an introduction to conceptions and doctrines of national security, revolution challenges in foreign policies, Tehran: Ketab Sobh, 1996

Mohsenian Rad, Mahdi, communication study, Tehran, Sorush, 2001

National security discourse in Islamic Republic of Iran, Ranjbaar, Maghsud: political sciences chapter, no. 9

Roshandel, Jalil, national security, and international continuity, Tehran, Samt publication, First Pub. 1995

Ruhani, Hassan, strategic researches center express of Expediency Council

Saint. Leader, speech in holiday pray speech, 1999

Sarukhani, Bagher, sociology of communications, Tehran, Ettelalat Newpaper, 1993

Tajik,, Mohammad Reza, public development and security (Vol. 1 &2), security and military administration of state ministry, March/February 1996