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SECURITY FROM THE PERSPECTIVES OF REALISM, COPENHAGEN, LIBERALISM  
WITH A LITTLE TASTE OF TECHNOLOGY

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## ABSTRACT

Security is one of the concepts in the humanities that, like many other concepts (society, culture, value ...). Complexity and ambiguity are its inherent characteristics. Security is the main task of the national government and the most important issue. It has so far been considered by scholars under such topics as war and peace, strategic studies and national security studies International relations. Therefore, in this study, we use the descriptive-analytical method in Perry We are the answer to the fundamental question of how the schools of realism, Copenhagen and liberalism view security. Hypothesis Research shows that realism sees security in survival and a social contract, Copenhagen believes Security is made by the minds and decisions of the actors, and liberalism believes in security in free ideas and the profit-oriented nature of man LT is. In this study, we first address the concept of security and then examine the schools of realism, Copenhagen and we look at liberalism and look at security from their perspective; we also have conducted a brief study regarding the relation between security and technology.

## INTRODUCTION

« Security » creates an ambiguous, vague, controversial, contrasting and, of course, contradictory concept (Tajik,1998: 117). The issue of security has long been considered a vital issue for all countries and countries make every effort to Preserve and expand it, as well as many theorists throughout history on the subject of security in the form Numerous

schools have worked and tried to highlight it. In fact, without the existence of security, man and society do not exist

It can go through the path of development and progress, and in a way, the movement of society towards excellence requires complete security All dimensions. Unlike Morgenthau and the classical school in security studies that security in the absence of war and The preservation of territorial integrity and political institutions can be summed up and, in a way, limited to existing national security In the new security discourse, they were satisfied with the existence of territorial integrity and political institutions to a higher level, that is, the will. And the skill and necessity of promoting the satisfaction of the inhabitants of the land as well as the efficiency of political and non-political institutions are considered Therefore, paying attention to security from other perspectives is very important. That is why in this research we first conceive We look at the science of security and then examine the schools of realism, Copenhagen and liberalism in their view of security We consider.

### **Security concept**

Security is one of the concepts in the humanities that, like many other concepts (society, culture, value ...) .Complexity and ambiguity are its inherent characteristics. The mystery of security and immersion in an aura of mystery and The theoretical, ideological, and everyday secrets are so great that Mr. Bari Bozan, one of the leading theorists in this field, States that any attempt to understand the concept of security without sufficient awareness of the contradictions and shortcomings in This concept itself is simplistic (Tajik,2000: 37). Security is one of the concepts in the humanities that, like many other concepts (society, culture, value, .....) Complexity and ambiguity are its inherent characteristics. The mystery of security and immersion in an aura of mystery and The theoretical, ideological, and everyday secrets are so great that Mr. Bari Bozan, one of the leading theorists in this field, States that any attempt to understand the concept of security without sufficient awareness of the contradictions and shortcomings in This concept itself is simplistic (Yazdanfam,2007: 726). Leading authors and researchers in the field of security studies have provided various descriptions of the concept of security All of them indicate the multiplicity and ambiguity of this concept. Arnold Wolfers in an article entitled "National Security as a Vague Symbol" published in 1973. "Symbolize security "In his view, the national security system is nothing but a factor to increase ambiguity that has a semantic twist," he said. It is special. Hugh McDonald tried to dispel the ambiguity of the concept of security by using a series of classifications; but in the circle of its classifications failed, declaring that security was a flawed concept. Patrick Morgan, "Security, like health or dignity, is a condition that is not easily defined and analyzed," he said. McSweeney also described security as slippery and unstable words in a confusing range of fields. Diverse and used for multiple purposes by individuals, companies, governments, and academics in this space, a set of things, people, means, goals, external events and inner feelings are meant. The door ultimately, from Buzan's point of view, the complexity of the concept of security is that security is an underdeveloped concept. In his view, security has not yet developed enough

to be considered a single external example provided a clear definition of it. Hence, one of the fundamental problems in examining security in the post-war era Nasred has intensified it and is still going on, what is security that there is no agreement on There are no thinkers (Giouri,2012: 27).

It has a definition that it expressed, but considering these dimensions, it is difficult to provide a definition of it, these dimensions including:

1: The ideology of the concept of security 2: How to use this concept 3: The instability of the identity border in the definition of self and Another 4: Inadequacy of security-related concepts 5: Security subjectivity 6: Security environment 7: Security realm 8: Relativity Security 9: Security and Power 10: Linguistics and the term Security 11: Necessities of historical context 12: The role of politicians in They added the complexity of the concept of security; So that the discussion of security without considering its real circumstances leads to confusion Will lead (clocky,1999: 50-51).

### **National security**

The US National Security Council defines national security as the protection of the public in order to prevent damage to institutions and Defines core values. Tesagar and Simon Nir include national security in that part of government policy they know that its purpose is to create favorable political, national and international conditions in order to preserve or spread vital values National against existing and potential enemies. According to Bari Buzan, national security has military, political, economic and social dimensions and environmental. However, the concept of security as a human need has long been in the minds and writings of ancient philosophers. In a way, the term "national security" has become widespread following the formation of the new nation-state Political texts and international relations (Askari Hassan, 2016: 84). In this process, security is limited by "single And "single-level" and in the new concepts of cultural, social, political, economic and biological dimensions Environment has been added to its traditional dimension, ie military, and in addition to "government-centric", "at the individual level", "security "Humanity", "social levels" and globalism (Mandel,1994: 58).

Although there is no consensus among thinkers on the definition of the concept of national security, it is certain that and to maintain national security, whatever its attitude and definition, as one of the primary and enduring goals of governments. National is considered in the current international system, but the tools and ways to provide it in the face of changing circumstances The external and internal processes of national governments and the international system are heterogeneous and diverse (Rahbari, 2009:94). Henry Kissinger the behaviors by which society strives to maintain its right to life and survival knows the national security framework. Dr. Hamed Al-Rabi 'believes: National security is a container in which all incomes, power and The forces of society come together in different forms, and this gathering together leads to the formation of strategies Like political strategy, military strategy, economic strategy and propaganda strategy. Terms of society the situation of current and potential enemies defining the special doctrine of national security of that society and

thus overseeing the approach and the decisions of political and military leaders will be aimed at maintaining the security of the country and society. With the transformation of quality Enmities and alliances of the country in the concept of national security can be reconsidered (Shirmohammadi,2010: 16).

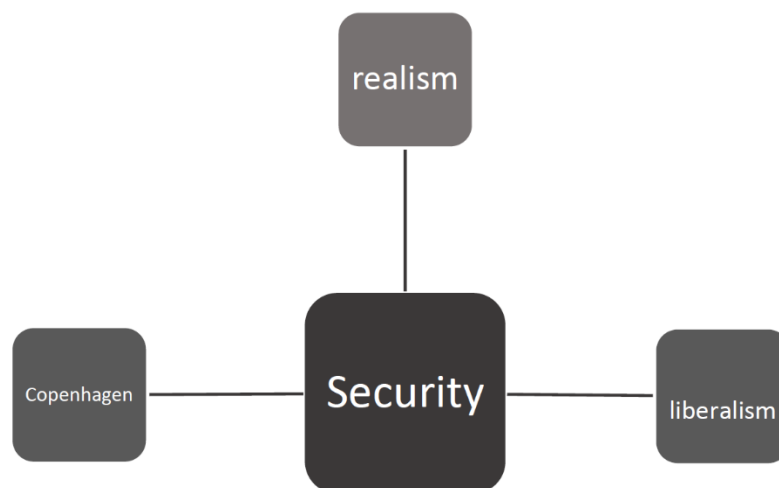


Figure 1. Security <sup>1</sup>

**Realistic approach**

Realism in its classical form is reflected in Thucydides' War of the Peloponnese (twenty-seven centuries ago). Has been. This tradition in modern times in Europe Klaus Weitz (about war) Leopoldrenk (foreign policy priority) Frederick Mainck (the reason for the existence of the government) followed and in America researchers and politicians such as Hans Morgenthau, Henry Kissinger-George Kennan presented a theory and discussed it (Ghavvam, 2012: 228).

Realism has traditionally been the dominant school of international theories. Some of the main themes of this school are the following is: The government is the leading player in international and regional systems, accordingly the government is the main unit of analysis in it is considered realism. Governments are simple rational actors <sup>1</sup> seeking to advance their national interests, responding to external threats and taking advantage of opportunities provided by regional and inter-systems are international. The national interests of governments are defined in terms of power. Power is the stimulation of another actor's ability to adopt defined behavior based on the desired pattern or to refrain from performing undesirable behavior. This power or it is achieved and maintained through diplomatic means by moving forces. According to national interests Contradictory governments and the fact that too much security of one government is usually achieved at the expense of other governments Come on, the international system is fundamentally unstable. Finally, this power is the two assumptions raised above It is precisely the actions and perceptions of the foreign policy elites that shape these elites who are capable of politics Adjust the foreigner apart from any considerable pressure on their domestic political and economic

<sup>1</sup> Security

systems in general From the beginning of the twentieth century, realism emerged as the dominant paradigm in international politics, so that in practice He influenced many theorizing efforts in international relations. Realistic views on description and the analysis of the great wars of the twentieth century is very important. All factors such as striving to earn the colonies and the arms race that led to World War I, especially the issue of security, the concepts of realism are consistent. Also increase military power and serious defense of national interests (especially the emphasis on power National) is one of the issues that paved the way for the outbreak of World War II, which is completely realistic Complies (Ghavam, 2018: 90). Realists consider governments to be the main actors in the international politics scene, according to which other actors such as Multinational corporations and non-governmental organizations in general operate within the framework of intergovernmental relations While emphasizing power and national interests, they believe that basically destroying the power instinct is merely an ideal. And the struggle for power takes place in an environment without central authority. Some realists among foreign policy and distinguish internally; Because foreign policy operates in an environment without central authority, while Domestic politics takes place in an atmosphere of order and the existence of central authority (Ghavam, 2012: 228).

### **Realism and security**

While emphasizing the issue of security, realists believe that if the government cannot maintain its security, it should do so nothing will be able to do. Under these conditions, an efficient military force to support diplomacy, foreign policy and finally, security is essential. Compared to military capability, economic capability plays a lesser role in security National plays. Proponents of this view argue that historical experience shows that humans in terms of They are selfish in nature and have weaknesses that make them inefficient. Realists see the world community in a state of chaos and unchangeable, and thus gain more power to ensure national security, they introduce the main motive for the action of all governments. In other words, the basis of attitude they are based on force and power (military dimension. People like Morgenthau, Kaplan, Kissinger and Huntington with Such an attitude defines national security (Bassiri, 2001: 169). The realists' definition of state security is central, in which the state is a phenomenon that threatens both Most of the threats are of foreign origin and military nature, and the target of the threats is mainly territorial integrity and It is the national sovereignty of countries. In this approach, the best recommendations for the government to achieve national security are: Building military installations is an effort to achieve military superiority and ultimately achieve military balance. During the Cold War, this Advice to achieve security, at least in the case of global superpowers in the sense of effective expansion of strategies it was a deterrent. With the abrupt end of the Cold War, an intellectual crisis arose among the realists because of their approach. It could not have predicted the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War. The dilemma of realist theory is its emphasis on balance. Military power and acceptance of the status quo were a deterrent to the superpowers. Such perceptions allow to predict this He did not say that

a superpower might disintegrate and that international politics would disintegrate rapidly (Siahvashi, 2013: 20).

International May So in terms of realism, security means a relatively less dangerous and violent world than a safe, just world and peaceful »Absolute security is inaccessible, because the function of international anarchy (secrecy) allows and enables it he does not give. In this view of security, governments are certainly seen as rational actors and skilled In this environment between Knows in calculating the costs and benefits of various policies in order to earn The power in this dangerous international environment is considered skilled. These actors (governments) are the main target in this system, they consider the protection of citizens in the internal and external spheres. Undoubtedly, creating a safe environment in This scope is impossible without the rationality of governments to establish a changeable order, and only governments can use such They are objective (Rahmati,2010: 141). In other words, the realists say that the presence of the ruling power within the countries means that people should not worry about security. Be themselves because their security is available in the form of a legal system, the support of the police and prisons, and internal authority can Restrict and direct the power-hungry demands of individuals in more lenient ways; On the other hand, the structure Domestic politics is hierarchical and based on guardianship and subordination, while at the international level the government Independent parties consider themselves the highest authority. So from the point of view of realists at the level of domestic politics, the issue is the name of existential security has no meaning and is defined only at the international level of security. Therefore, realists are only Believe in security analysis and policy-making at the international level; In other words, national security is nothing but them Security is not international (Abdollah khani, 2010: 68).

**Table 1.** Levels of security in the tradition of realism<sup>2</sup>

<b>System level (International Security)</b>	<b>Government-country level (national security)</b>	<b>Individual level</b>
The structure of the international system, the principle of anarchy, the creation of the principle of self-help, the characteristics of the units of the international system and the distribution of capabilities ↓ The survival of the system as the highest value, the formation of structural threats due to the distribution of power	- The government as the sole agent in affairs - The link between the government and the nation and the formation of the nation - The presence or absence of a crisis of identity, legitimacy, authority and influence ↓ - Financial infrastructure of the national government or country ↓ - The formation of different types of countries in terms of national power and action power and different degrees of	People in the normal state, the emergence of the riddle of security and survival ↓ Formation of a social contract ↓ Forming a society with a security agent, ie the government (minimum or maximum government)

<sup>2</sup> elaboración propia

<p>according to the principle of anarchy of the system and anti-systemic movements</p> <p>↓</p> <p>- Formation of the area of external threats against units (due to the structure of the system)</p> <p>- Vulnerability within the system and threats within the system</p> <p>↓</p> <p>The dilemma of international security</p>	<p>vulnerabilities</p> <p>↓</p> <p>- The emergence of vulnerabilities and the possibility of threats</p> <p>↓</p> <p>Forming a security puzzle</p>	<p>↓</p> <p>The formation of various threats in society</p> <p>↓</p> <p>structural violence of government</p> <p>↓</p> <p>The inefficiency of the government in establishing social order and security as its essential function</p>
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According to the table above, it can be analyzed that the realists' security view of the ontological foundations of this current, Negative view of human beings, centralization of the state as a level of analysis and, consequently, anarchic system The international community has been affected by the competition of national governments. Realists with a pessimistic approach to human nature and to Subsequently, the domestic and international social system raises the dilemma of security and mechanisms for achieving Considers domestic security as the factor in the formation of a single national government. Also internationally due The anarchy of the world system and the lack of a central government, the balance of power at the systemic level and the increase of its military power And they see the weakening of others as a factor of security at the international level (Sotoudeh,2014: 5).

### Security insecurity

Realists say insecurity is a hallmark of the international system and exists as a normal norm. Of course this It does not mean the absolute absence of security in the international arena; because the minimum security required by the actors and the system But what exists is the overcoming of insecurity over security in the international system. Historical realists' distrust Countries are taken for granted in a system of chaos. He says permanent war may not be a permanent feature of the international system, but it is always a fierce security rivalry there will always be war where rain is always possible. Classical realists equate the issue of power they know one of the main reasons for paying attention to insecurity instead of security, and they believe that power is inherently always a blow. It nurtures others. Therefore, the accumulation of power in governments makes them in a position to harm others for Earn more than a limited set of benefits (usually less than requests). The door Along with the hostile nature of power, there is also the issue of its attractiveness, and because it has many supporters, and on the other hand, Its resources are always scarce and limited, so a dispute arises over it (Abdollah khani,2010: 68).

The realist approach is based on four assumptions;  
A: Pessimistic view of human nature

B: International relations are necessarily controversial, and war is the ultimate solution to international conflicts.

C: National security and government survival are the highest values

D: Lack of belief in the development of international relations, such as domestic political life, that is, relations between nations based on chaos. And there is chaos and there is no international government that everyone can follow.

These four hypotheses have been the essence of the thought of realist thinkers and theorists from the past to the present.

The school of realism in international relations has three principles:

- 1- statism
- 2- survival
- 3- self-help

In realist thought, man is described as a being who has pursued personal interests, therefore, it is involved in competitive relationships with others. Therefore, he always likes to play the first role so that he can play it. Use the position. The same issue makes in relation to other actors at the macro level, including relationships the international community is working with other countries to try to influence them. Because other people too they do, so the issue of preventing others from excelling is a global issue. This pessimistic view of nature Man, openly in Hans Morgenthau's theory of international relations as the one who shaped twentieth-century realist thought the data is reflected. He believes that men and women are seeking power. Politics is especially international politics. Morgenthau believed that politics was the same as trying to exert power. It is the people and since the ultimate goal is power, so it strives to obtain, maintain and display it. These are the same techniques of political action. Theories related to realism in international politics, in determining it and Countries' foreign policies have a special and long-standing role, status and prestige. And Special sign (Ajorlou and Haj zargar bashi, 2009, 21-22).

### **Survival and security**

Survival is a precondition for achieving all national goals. Whether such goals are in order to gain power or not. Maintaining independence in this case sometimes realists believe in a kind of Machiavellianism (justifies the purpose of the device) to the subject. Survival is at stake because under these conditions governments are allowed to maintain even their political existence in order to maintain themselves. Such an attitude is often caused by realists being blamed for not paying attention to moral principles. And be criticized. Contemporary realists sometimes argue that the set of moral and political rules that They are used in domestic politics, they are not necessarily applicable in the field of international politics. Henry Kissinger. The expert on international relations and the US Secretary of State during Nixon's presidency believed that responsibility. The primary and ultimate goal of any government is its survival, so that it can in no way be compromised or compromised. Put at risk. In some cases, this responsibility has been given a moral color and glaze, which in itself can be a justification for violation. Be considered the laws of war. The United States, for



example, justifies such a justification in the 1945 nuclear bombing of Japan Took advantage (Ghavvam:2011: 301).

In other words, realists with the concept of survival, consider security as synonymous with survival, and survival means the possibility of continuation. The life of the state is country to country in the international system. By choosing the survival option, they define security in a well-defined framework Of course, they put a limit, so that with this solution, many threats are removed from the circle of security threats. And only war and phenomena quite similar to it are within the framework of security phenomena. Security in this Space is considered as the probability of continuity of existence or survival, and like all probabilities, this equation in There is a range from zero to one, zero means complete destruction and one means complete security. Here is the order The destruction of the state deprives it of its sovereignty, to the extent that its territory and population may be in the hands of the state No longer be placed. Under this equation, if any of the possible relationships are zero, the government is in complete security And in general, the less likely each relationship is, the higher the level of security; But it should be noted this It is an all-encompassing equation and not just about government security. In this regard, if the possibility of war and defeat The actor in question is very high and with the probability of the destruction of the government and the government in question being very low, the security of the government is higher than The result obtained in this calculation will be; For example, the US war with the Ba'athist regime in Iraq in this context The formula can be analyzed in such a way that each of the relations of this formula is in chronological order to the execution stage. The Ba'athist government and regime came to the brink of extinction following the defeat of the war and lost their territory and population (Abdollah khani,2010: 79).

### **Government and Security**

The realists consider the government as a source of security and by denying the issue of security inside the country due to its availability in the form of The legal system, police and prison support, seeks security within the framework of the international system and the source of all phenomena Consider insecurity and security threats abroad. With such an analysis of the level of security, they go to this They conclude that because governments are key players in the international system, they will be the source of security Took. On the other hand, the government is analyzed based on the political theories of Marx Weir, Hobbes and Kant. According to these votes, the government is considered as a manifestation of the will of the people; Therefore, it discriminates The security of the people is not from the government. At the same time, they do not consider the people competent in this regard and believe in equality The anonymous phenomena and threats that exist in the chaotic structure of the international system, only the government has the authority It has to deal with it and the threats are also directed at the government, and if the government is threatened, its insecurity in the name of the whole country. It is considered the same (Abdollah khani,2010: 81).

Realists see the government as a major player in the international political arena, other actors such as multinational corporations Nationalities,

and non-governmental organizations in general, operate within the framework of intergovernmental relations. Impossible national actors are considered in the government and can not act independently of the government. While the government in The internal level is able to exercise power, at the external level in a system without central authority with other governments Lives together, in such an environment, governments compete with each other for security, the market, and so on. The nature of such a competition is explained on the basis of the game with the sum of zero. Based on this argument, logic Competitive power politics prevents agreement on global principles and norms (Ghavvam,2018: 80). In other words, from the point of view of realism, the concept of state is associated with the use of force, which Marx-Weber's definition shows The situation. Accordingly, governments are a monopoly on the legitimate use of physical force in a particular territory. So Order In such a specific environment, the government has the supreme authority to legislate and enforce laws. In fact this is itself It is the basis of an unwritten contract between individuals and the government. In a sense, it can be said that here freedom is created by Security is traded. Based on this argument, when security is achieved, civil society will make sense, but In the absence of security, art, culture and society will lose their meaning. That is why the first act of realism Internal organization is power. While the government is able to exercise authority at the domestic level, at the external level A system without central authority coexists with other governments. In such an environment, governments compete with each other for security, the market, and so on Competitive is explained based on the game with the sum of zero. Based on this argument, the competitive logic of power politics from Prevents agreement on global principles and norms (Ghavvam,2012: 300).

### **Self-help and security**

From the perspective of realism, the main factor that modulates the behavior of governments in the field of international politics is the issue "Self-help" is practically justified by the lack of world governance, and at the same time we can not cooperate seriously between Governments were hopeful on a large scale (Ghavvam,2018: 10). According to this principle, governments can in no way rely on the guarantee of another government for their survival and security To be. In international politics, the structure of the system does not allow for friendship and trust in the absence of a world government We are in a vague state. Based on this principle of coexistence through maintaining the balance of power Becomes. Limited cooperation in interactions as the real government seeks greater benefits than others International will be possible. Some realists believe that in a system of self-help, the balance of power is even in the absence of one Informed and planned policies will also appear. They believe that the balance of power does not necessarily reflect It is not a stable situation. The balance of power can be upset by war or peaceful change New balances must be struck. However, some contemporary realists believe that regimes can be To facilitate cooperation, and therefore agree with the Liberals, but at the same time believe that it is very difficult That can be achieved and maintained in a system of self-help (Ghavvam,2012: 301).

Realizing the issue of self-help, realists emphasize the distinction between internal and external spheres, because Foreign policy operates in an environment without central authority, while domestic policy operates in an atmosphere of order and rule. The existence of central authority takes place. Because realists attach great importance to the independence of countries, therefore, they believe that governments cannot rely on the guarantee of other governments for their survival, because in International politics the structure of the system does not allow for friendship and trust. In the absence of world government, we are practically in the same situation. And we live in the unknown. According to this principle, coexistence is achieved by maintaining the balance of power. In circumstances that the realist government seeks to gain more benefits than others, limited cooperation in international interactions will be possible. Some realists believe that in a system of self-help, the balance of power is even in the absence of a policy. Informed and planned will also appear. They believe that the balance of power necessarily reflects a situation not stable. The balance of power may be disturbed by war or peaceful change. New is achieved because governments are independent political units that are primarily self-interested. They think of their own survival and do not follow a central authority, under these conditions of self-help and self-reliance. It is imposed on them as a kind of obligation. The pursuit of security in the political system means no government. The necessity of the principle of self-help to maintain oneself is considered to be the truth, a natural answer to the riddle. It is considered security. Since the principle of self-help is the result of the political independence of states, so long as the world prevails. Based on separate decentralized organized political units, this situation will continue. In fact, lack of self-help rule as a fundamental behavioral principle in international politics, meaning wide-ranging change and it is widely believed in the system that such a change has not yet taken place in the current situation (Ghavvam, 2018: 81).

### **Liberal approach**

The next liberalism is broad and comprehensive, including the theories of idealism, neoliberalism (see Walker, 1993; Nye 1997, 1989), Theory of Side and Side Image (Gurovich, 1978), Bureaucratic Policy Perspective (Allison and Zelikov, 1999) and domestic policy perspectives (Reese-Kopen, 1995 and Schneider, 1991).

Liberalism is an ideology and, in accordance with the nature of any ideology, seeks to change and transform human societies, and to organize it based on its principles and goals. If the liberal system or any order is based on static ideology, over time its legitimacy is diminished, such an order must either grow or disappear over time. Growth must also be at all aspects, scientific and technological human beings should be done continuously. Obviously such an orientation and a move will lead to instability and insecurity in sections and institutions of society. In any ideological system – including Liberal - Change is more a solution to a problem than a definition of the status quo contrary to the realist order. That the password is "security", in the liberal order the password is "freedom", and as Waltz said "If you want freedom, you have to accept insecurity," or, as Dean Epsen put it, "we are the children of freedom. Are; "We can not

feel safe except in an environment where freedom prevails." (Abdollah khani,2010: 93).

Principles of Liberalism Approach in the Framework of the Theory of Garrettism in International Relations Contemporary international relations owe much to the liberal approach to, for example, the creation of international institutions Like the United Nations and the United Nations, it is directly related to the liberal thinking of ending the turmoil between Internationalization and the rule of law has been a liberal theory of international relations based on a series of propositions. Which mainly results from the comparison of the internal system in terms of the relationship between individuals within the government, including: peace to The best is achieved through the spread of democratic institutions around the world, it is the governments that They cause war, not the people. Accordingly, democracies are inherently more peaceful than other political systems. Thus an international system consisting of democratic governments will establish lasting peace and end Conflict will lead. Under these circumstances, imperialism is considered an immoral phenomenon and satisfaction is the only factor It is the legitimacy of governments. Accordingly, the right to self-determination is a prerequisite for democracy And the judgment of world public opinion is a major factor in maintaining peace. In fact, the right to determine the fate of the theory of the relationship between It is the state and the nation in which a state has the right to know the form of its government by external interference The second determinant is the belief in the natural harmony of interests. That is, if people and governments are concerned about Let their interests be rationalized, in this case like Adam Smith's invisible hand between national and international interests. There will be coordination, under these conditions the free market and human nature encourage interdependence This in itself leads to the avoidance of war because in a state of interdependence the actors are interconnected with each other. Servant, anything that happens to one of them can affect the others. Based on the view of liberalism The rule of law can be applied to individuals as well as to governments, and differences between governments can be ruled out Resolved through an impartial judiciary (Ghavvam,2018: 33).

Based on this approach, there are characteristics in human beings that lead them to cooperate and do good deeds. Gives and human attention to the welfare of others provides the grounds for progress and development in the national and international community This type of thinking originates mainly from the Enlightenment, during which it promises the improvement of civilization. In such a context The idea that there is deviance in man that causes violence, war and conflict does not come from his nature, yes Existence of undesirable institutions and lack of suitable facilities for the growth and prosperity of individuals provide the necessary grounds for pursuit Provides selfish behaviors and harm to others. So by making institutional reforms we can

Prevented war. At the macro level, war is an international issue that requires control and cessation It is a collective and multilateral effort, not just a national effort. Liberals believe that the international community must exist Institutions that impose war on nations must be aware, and nations

must be reformed And democratizing them are more effective steps towards peace and cooperation between governments Take (Ghavvam, 1391: 282).

Liberals, like any other school or approach, have different thought patterns. For example, Team Don »split Introduces the threefold and two-stage classification of liberal thought patterns that include

: Internationalist Liberalism

Idealist liberalism

: Institutional Liberalism

This division was later modified as follows:

: International neo-liberalism

Idealist neoliberalism

Institutional neoliberalism

Divide other liberal thought patterns into two groups

: Pure liberals

:Moderate liberals

Between pure liberalism and the categorization of internationalist, idealistic, and institutionalist liberalisms on the one hand, and moderate liberalism on the other By the category of international neoliberalism, idealism and institutionalism is a kind of commonality (Abdollah khani,2010: 96)

Liberals do not accept the government as the main actors in international politics, but believe that

In addition to governments should be transnational actors such as international organizations, multinational corporations, associations and International regimes and others paid a high price. Liberal cents for naval powers within a system International trade seemed natural and logical, and this was the case in countries like the Netherlands Britain and the United States were honest. It was no coincidence that the oldest liberal writers, including; Hugo Grossius was Dutch and Adam Smith was British. Accordingly, these powers in the formation and implementation of rights The international community played an important role that was fully in line with their trade interests (Ghavvam,2012: 283).

The Liberals make a series of recommendations to encourage global cooperation through international institutions, disarmament and International law provides that:

1: The need to strengthen attitudes towards the development of unity among human beings instead of emphasizing the existence of ruling governments

National and local loyalties

2: Utilizing the capacity of the ideologues through limited political socialization to arouse global public opinion against War and Violence

3: Develop free international trade and remove barriers to international free trade instead of emphasizing economic nationalism

4: Establishment of a military composed of public covenants instead of secret diplomacy

5: Strengthen multilateralism and militaryism based on collective cooperation instead of establishing bilateral alliances and Establishing the so-called balance resulting from the creation of these alliances (Ghavvam,2012: 285).

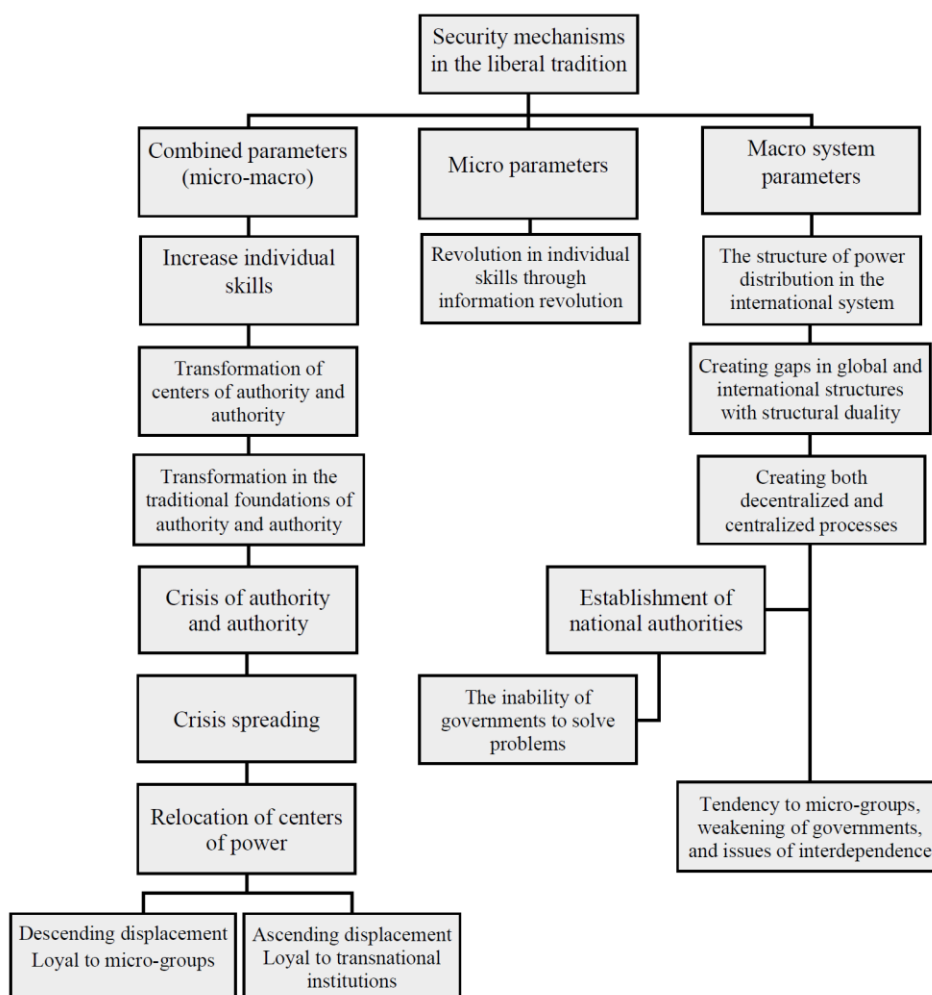
### **Liberalism and security**

The study principles of Miss Liberals, unlike realists based on war, rely on peace. Liberalist

Although, like the realists, they emphasize the chaos of the international system, this situation is not inevitable. Know and, contrary to them, argue war as the reality of the international system and deny the usefulness of war; The winner of the field Continuous war is threatened by the long-term consequences of war, so victory always has two meanings: "More security "Current" and "future name threat"; Because the losers and the observers challenge the conquering government for fear of threats Kill. Another important axis in liberal security solutions is the issue of "beliefs" of liberals They see that the politics of power is the product of ideas, and ideas frame the concept of security in the actors On the other hand, opinions can be changed; therefore, it is always possible to change the concept of security with certain actors (Abdollah Khani, 2010: 96). According to liberals, the transfer, change and transformation of governments is a precondition for rewriting the concept of security. in this The process of paying attention to human rights, cultural identities and economic and ecological life are top priorities, however

Security needs to create a platform for popular participation at the international level, so that it is monopolized by experts Remove security and government policymakers; In other words, efforts should be made to eradicate the mentality that governments are alone Contrary to the realist approach, security and order in the liberal view do not result from a balance of power. It is the result of interactions between different layers of government, compromise between laws, norms There are common, international regimes and institutional regulations; In this regard, liberals to encourage cooperation through International Disarmament Institutions and International Law, on Strengthening Multilateralism and a System Based on Group Cooperation Instead of establishing bilateral alliances and establishing the so-called balance resulting from these alliances, the collective emphasizes (Sotoudeh,2014: 5).

In this approach with regard to increasing permeability and interdependence such as poverty, development, human rights, living issues Environment, energy policy and communicable diseases are on the government's policy agenda and are now as Security issues are significant. It is often argued that a liberal post-war economic order helps Many have contributed to international security. Accordingly, if markets and resources are freely and competitively available To be. We use force to expand interdependence. Use more force to lose your efficiency Gives. This situation takes us away from unilateralism and leads to multilateralism. Thus Under these circumstances, the issue of security shifts from higher and military policies to economic, social and cultural policies And the concept of security becomes multifaceted.



**Figure 2.** Security mechanisms in the liberal tradition<sup>3</sup>

According to the chart above, it can be analyzed that the security approach of liberalism, like realism, is based on ontology. This current is optimism about human nature and human intellect, the centrality of the individual as the main actor in the international system and As a result, lack of anarchy and optimism affect the stable order in the international system, which, unlike realists, The existence of human security at the micro and macro levels is entirely optimistic, and the mechanisms for achieving this are in place Tools such as institutionalism, mass security and search (Sotoudeh,2014: 6).

In dealing with non-liberal governments, Michel Doyle suggests the following solutions to security solutions Liberalisms are famous:

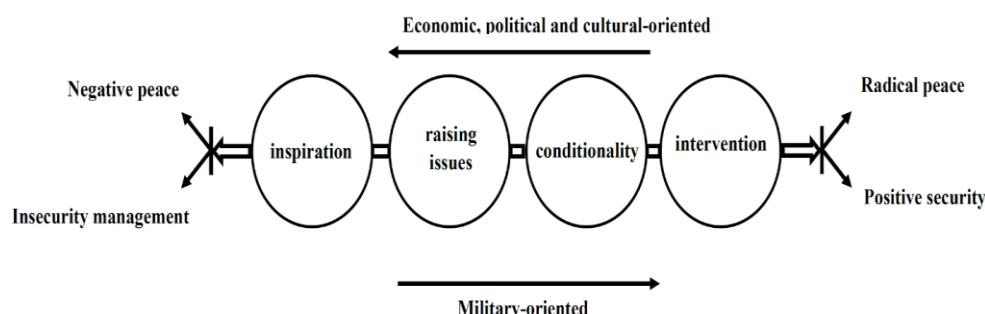
1- Creating a strong coalition between like-minded governments and confronting non-liberal regimes within the framework of the balance of power region

2: Development of the liberal region and in other words liberalization of non-liberal countries using a set of tools Diplomatic and economic, especially those on the border of the liberal and non-liberal world.

<sup>3</sup> elaboración propia

3: The third solution is based on encouragement, punishment and a kind of coercion and its main solution is the concept of conditioning.

4: The last and almost the fastest route is defined as the concept of "intervention".



**Figure 3.** Liberal security strategies <sup>4</sup>

Double for the first axis considers the solution (inspiration). In this strategy, he hopes that the people of other countries Liberals insist on fighting for their freedom. This solution is in the context of Wilsonism and with an urban interpretation "Faraz Tappeh" can also be interpreted. In accordance with this principle, liberalism radiates with growth and development within liberal countries Neville considers "inspiration" for the first axis, in which he hopes that the people of non-nations Liberals to fight for their freedom emphasizes this strategy in the context of the Wilsonian view and with the interpretation of "urban Above the hill "can also be interpreted. In accordance with this principle, liberalism grows and develops within liberal countries It will send its rays to the illiberal world, and thus, the illiberal world will step on the path to liberalization. Will take The second solution (raising issues) is based on a kind of education and raises the issue of peace building and economic reconstruction he does. Contribute to the promotion of human rights and contribute to economic reconstruction through international financial institutions, mainly These are in the liberal world In the framework of the third solution (conditionality), first conditioning economic aid to change its structure and function The economic system of non-liberal countries was in line with the liberal model, including the privatization of the economic sector. But today, supporting and helping non-liberal countries is conditional on a change in the political system and the norms of law Mankind has become in line with the liberal model. In this context, taking advantage of all kinds of sanctions and pressures, especially pressuresIt is political. In accordance with the fourth solution and the solution (intervention) if most members of the political community express their widespread dissatisfaction with Demonstrate sovereign power or that their human rights are constantly violated, liberal governments must To intervene directly in the internal affairs of such countries (Abdollah Khani,2010: 103).

<sup>4</sup> elaboración propia



### **Copenhagen approach**

The Copenhagen School is a term coined by Bill McSweeney in the works and views of Barry Bozán, El Weaver, de Wilde, and others. No longer used. This school is the only approach that is based solely on security studies and is one of the first approaches. It is working to establish an independent position for security studies, security studies from studies Strategic and separate it under International Relations and Strategic Studies under Security Studies Has set. This effort by Bozán and his colleagues stems from their focus on removing security issues from the narrow military sphere. Becomes. The theorists of this school have compiled many books and articles to explain their views; Including Books (people, governments, fear), (security, a new framework for analysis) and (security and insecurity). in the same In particular, Ken Booth called the book "People, Governments, Fear) by Bozán (1983) the most comprehensive theoretical analysis of the concept of security." Knows in the literature of international relations. Bozán and L. Weaver are two important figures of this school in the framework of realism approach. Yuzán is a neo-realist and El Weaver is a structural realist. Therefore, we always see the influence of thoughts and opinions Structural neo-realism and realism in security studies will be at the Copenhagen School (Abdollah Khani,2010: 119).

This school is based on three principles

- 1: Its level of analysis is not global and tends to regional analysis.
- 2: The sectors and dimensions of security are numerous and do not include mere militarism.
- 3: Regarding the "security" of the issues, he has a special view and believes in denying it.

The field of security takes place at three levels: global, regional and domestic. More globally to performance analysis And we have the policies of the great powers. At the regional level, the scope of analysis is limited and trends and Regional powers are more important. Finally, there is the internal level at which policies and internal performance and influence It is about security (Najm Abadi,2017: 122). The Copenhagen School is an approach that focuses solely on security studies and new ideas and horizons.

Opened about this concept. This school aims to challenge traditional security issues and new issues Add to it. This theory, unlike traditional theories of liberalism and realism, has a narrow view of the subject It is not security and does not reduce security issues to military confinement and war and peace. New ones (such as critical theories and postmodernism) do not just seek to critique and challenge old ideas. In this regard, Buzán considers security as an "undeveloped" concept and tries to redefine conceptualization. Offers security. Barry Buzán as the founder of the Copenhagen School of Security Studies criticized what He calls it a simplistic conception of the concept of security, stating that contrary to the realists' belief in security Through the acquisition of power or the idealists' belief in securing peace through peace, there is now a need for a middle ground Which includes both the concept of power and peace is essential as the best definition for the concept of security (Najm Abadi,2017: 123).

### **Copenhagen and security**

Barry Buzan as founder of the Copenhagen School of Security Studies criticizes what it's simplistic conception of the concept Named security, it states that contrary to the realists' belief in gaining security through the acquisition of power or belief The idealists of securing peace now need to offer a middle ground that embraces both the concepts of power and peace. It is essential as the best definition for the concept of security. Buzan by designing the basics New such as expanding the scope of security studies, verbal action, security conundrum, social security, supranational reference Security and, ultimately, security The security forces have taken important steps in the field of strategic security studies (Najm Abadi,2017: 122).

The Copenhagen School seeks to address the challenges of reference tonight by raising the issue of personal security and the concept of government. Explain and then provide a more accurate concept of it. According to this school, although personal security indicates a certain level and It is important to analyze that individuals cannot be considered a security reference. Storm for not accepting the person, as a reference National security addresses the following set of reasons

1. Individual security cannot be easily defined by factors such as life, wealth, social status, health and freedom The titles of the indicators of individual self-sufficiency are very complex, because its fronts are contradictory, such as the protection of individuals Against a crime that restricts mini-freedoms. The same limitation poses problems in evaluations It creates objectively and mentally, in such a way that it becomes difficult to distinguish real threats from imaginary ones, and of course the cause relationship. And the cause of most of them is also ambiguous and controversial, such as individual justifications versus social justifications of the crime that They are different from each other.

2. There is no acceptable weight and criteria for assessing security at the individual level because a large, diverse and Paradoxically, threats, dangers and threats have overshadowed the fate of human beings; For example, although prosperous people Able to protect themselves against certain insecurities such as famine, economic exploitation and criminal violence. Some are on a par with the poor, such as natural disasters, nuclear war, incurable diseases, and some Cases are also more vulnerable than other sections of society and their lives are more insecure; Things like air accidents, kidnappings And diseases.

3. Many threats are due to the fact that people live in a human environment and this environment creates All kinds of unavoidable social, economic and political pressures. Buzan raises the issue of contradiction between the environment and the individual And the government considers insecurity at the individual level to be inevitable, natural and insignificant. In this human context They are naturally willing to sacrifice part of their freedom to achieve a more appropriate level of security To this end, the government is formed, but as the government grows in power, it becomes a source of threat to individuals The opposite is also true, and it is possible that their own people will become a national security issue. So contradictory Individual and national security is inevitable, and this contradiction is rooted in the nature of political rallies. The conclusion is

that although individual security indicates a clear and important level of analysis, it is essentially a function of political structures Higher governmental and international. On the other hand, personal security is positively and negatively affected by the government And the inconsistencies between individual and national security indicate this constant contradiction (Abdollah Khani,2010: 124). Buzan defines security as an intersubjective issue, Buzan defines the starting point of a security issue with the subject of security as subjective And knows based on the decision of the actors, but immediately emphasizes that the title of subjectivity for security has a precise meaning Does not and states that the issue of security in the community is known; Because actors can refer to it and Look at some phenomena as a threat and force others to define the security situation and the implications Follow it. So it does not seem that these issues exist only in closed minds, but one It is a social feature. On the other hand, in rejecting the objectivity of security, Bozan argues that even if we wanted a solution to the security problem More objectively, it is not clear how this should be done and so far none of the security theories in In particular, the objective criteria of security did not say anything, and even if they did, it was not clear that the solution was objective Be effective and successful (Abdollah Khani,2010: 122).

In general, according to the Copenhagen School, national security is the center of gravity and the axis of security at the international, regional, governmental and

It is social in every country. Buzan enumerates the following reasons to prove the need to expand the dimensions of security:

1. The increase in the intensity of international relations has caused the action and reaction between anarchy and reciprocal dependence.

2. One of the features is that in the form of extended security, the concept of security prevents the opposition between idealists and reality. Becomes orientalist. Another feature is related to the misuse of security.

3. The third reason is to adopt a comprehensive security agenda. In this context, the concept of security is a way to link theory and Analysis in International Studies. Copenhagen thinkers consider stability and security to come from society. In their view, it is a model for the security of nations It is not the same and each region has its own nature and destiny. Those who teach a region for a region Others practice, they are sorely mistaken. It comes from the mental creations and dynamic perceptions of people in society (Adami,2016: 98).



**Figure 4.** General division of the three approaches of realism, liberalism and Copenhagen<sup>5</sup>

Explanation: This diagram, which is an overview of the theoretical framework, states that in the school of security realism in The lowest level is felt for the whole society, so these people seek to make a pact to ensure their security It is with a social contract that the outcome of this contract is the formation of an institution called the government. This is the government that formed First in the domestic arena with a series of problems such as the crisis of influence, the crisis of legitimacy, the crisis of identity and the crisis Authority faces that if it can not solve these problems, it will cause inefficiency and as a result it will fall. But if it can solve these problems, this government will be stable from the domestic point of view and will enter It becomes an international (foreign) arena. In the international arena, this government deals with a series of issues such as nature The anarchist of the international system faces self-help, survival, increased power and security if he can address these issues. To be solved in the international arena enjoys complete security in the international arena.

<sup>5</sup> elaboración propia

- **Security and technology**

It appears to be indispensable nowadays to use information and communication technology solutions aimed at the successful implementation of social policies, including the impact of social security reform and the design and strategic management of security programs on the sense of social ICT. Now everyone clearly realizes that developing countries' failure to achieve social, economic, and even cultural progress and outcomes roots in their inability to recognize or develop the right technology and use it in production activities. For the same reason, the security of these countries has now become dependent on the acquisition and development of technology (Dorjani, 2013: 272).

Information technology has come to play a key role in defining the power and civilization of societies in the present era. Accordingly, developed and technological countries have led to focus on information as the fundamental axis of development. Thus, each of these countries in turn has designed and created specific and certain national and regional plans for the development of this technology aimed at ensuring their domestic and foreign (internal and external) security (Sufi, 2012: 5).

ICT has caused many changes in social security as it has influenced the culture and form of social and economic life and the social development of societies. The changes occurring in social security can be examined and evaluated from two aspects of type and nature. Since information and communication technology leads to the use of further intellect, more instability, and more specialty in jobs and occupations, then, the necessary job requirements of individuals seem to encompass continuous training to improve the level of knowledge and awareness. It should be noted that the ICT potential for job creation can be activated by the availability of appropriate conditions. Hence, benefiting from this potential would be subject to creating and facilitating conditions such as a competitive environment in the distribution and generation of information, free flow of information, respecting the intellectual property, and the creation and development of information infrastructures (Ammarzadeh, 2006: 204).

## **CONCLUSION**

The issue of security has long been considered a vital issue for all countries and countries make every effort to Preserve and expand it, as well as many theorists throughout history on the subject of security in the form Numerous schools have worked and tried to highlight it. In fact, without the existence of security, man and society do not exist It can go through the path of development and progress, and in a way, the movement of society towards excellence requires complete security All dimensions. Hence, several schools sought to study security, and in this study, the sand of the school of realism We examined Copenhagen and liberalism. The school of realism considers security in the survival of a social contract In the school of realism, security is felt at the lowest level for the whole society, so these people to provide Their security seek to create a treaty with a social contract that the output of this contract is the formation of an institution It is the name of the government. The government that was formed first in the domestic arena with a series of problems such as the crisis of piety: It faces a crisis of legitimacy, a crisis of identity and a crisis of authority, which, if

it fails to solve these problems, will cause Inefficiency and consequently its collapse, but if it can solve these problems, this government from the domestic point of view It enjoys stability and enters the international (foreign) arena, in other words, it enjoys security. School Copenhagen believes that security is built on the minds and decisions of actors at three levels: government, regional and intermediate International is manifested and believes that priority is given to regional security. In the school of liberalism, security in free ideas and The profit-oriented nature of man can be summed up, in other words, this view believes in collective cooperation and interaction Between different bills, peace, interdependence and competition result, resulting in overall security. In sum, each perspective analyzes and defines security in accordance with its theory and approach.

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